

OUR PEOPLE'S WAY: A STUDY
IN DOUKHOBOR HYMNODY AND
FOLKLIFE

Pt. 1

F. M. Mealing, 1972

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University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D., 1972
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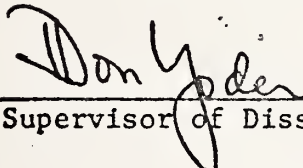
OUR PEOPLE'S WAY:
A STUDY IN
DOUKHOBOR HYMNODY AND FOLKLIFE


Francis Mark Mealing

A Dissertation
in
Folklore and Folklife.

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1972


Supervisor of Dissertation


Graduate Group Chairman.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I have much gratitude to offer many people. Above all, probably, are those who have been very close to this work in one way or another: Dr. Don Yoder of the University of Pennsylvania, my advisor; and Sally and Carter Craigie, whose assistance in very many fundamental ways has been of such real help. Thanks and greetings, too, to Professor John Carson, recently retired from the University of Victoria for help and encouragement in dark moments, and to Edith Fowke of Toronto, likewise for encouragement and generosity.

Among institutions, the help of the National Museum of Man, and especially of Dr. Carmen Roy and Kenneth Peacock is acknowledged, as is that of Selkirk College and its Library, in more ways than, perhaps, they know; of the Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore; and especially of the Special Collections department of U.B.C. Library, and Mrs. Maria Horvath, whose bibliographic praises should be sung high indeed. The B.C. Provincial Archives may also be remembered here.

Mr. Koozma Tarasoff of Ottawa also gave, not only encouragement, but the loan of valuable materials. In addition, he donated a major collection of photographs to the B.C. Archives, of which I have made use; this work too is to be commended.

The section on Psalms owes most of its merit to the pioneer efforts of three people: Eli Popoff of Grand Forks, Mercedes Cheveldayoff of Blaine Lake, and Roman Piontkovsky of London, Ont.; to their names those of Anna Gattinger, Lucy Kazakoff, and Peter Legobokoff should be added: all

these have broken trail in translation and indebted everyone who finds this work of value.

Folklorists are apt to bandy the term 'informant' about in a fairly callous manner, so that it sometimes becomes easy to forget that they are human beings. Let me here thank some of a number of people, most of whom have been, not only informants, but friends: The Soukerukoff family of Tahgum; the Makortoffs of Crescent Valley; the Ozeroff family of Glade; Peter Maloff, who did not live to see this work ended, Cecil Maloff, and Harry Lebedeff, of Thrums; Mrs. Anna Markova, Mr. Larry Swetlikoff, the Cheveldave family, and the Gevatkoffs, as well as members of the U.S.C.C., all at Brilliant; the Castlegar Youth; Peter Samoyloff of Ootischenie; the Kavalloff family of Blueberry Creek; Tom Oglow of Castlegar; Fred and Pete Oogloff of Robson; Elma Hadikin, Nick Verigin, and the Soukeroff family, all of Pass Creek; Peter Kolodin of Krestova; Russell Verigin of Canal Flats; the Makortoff family and the Popoff family, John Verigin, U.S.C.C. members and the Central Office Staff, of Grand Forks; Tarryl Popoff of Vancouver; and those whose names have somehow been missed.

The Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society has also rendered help that has sometimes been mutual: I have been glad to be able to repay some scholarly indebtedness.

Thanks of a special kind to the Canada Council, which two years in succession made it possible for me to demonstrate that major research can be done in this decade with no kind of official recognition or aid.

Finally, again thanks to some very close to me: the Folklore/Folk-

v

-life department of the University of Pennsylvania; my wife Kay, who endowed the research fund almost completely from her earnings, who made bread on the sink and ironed on the floor because the kitchen table was cluttered with dissertational impedimenta, who corrected my indefatigable propensity to spell independant as I just have, and who sustained me generally; and, last of all, thanks to Tatiana, Nikki, Byhrtmod, and Hrothgar, who rarely held chases through my papers, never ate the typewriter ribbon (more than once), and were also sustaining in their Siamese way.

To everyone, then, БОЛЬШОЕ СПАСИБО И БОЛЬШЫЙ ПОКЛОН; Many Thanks and a Deep Bow.

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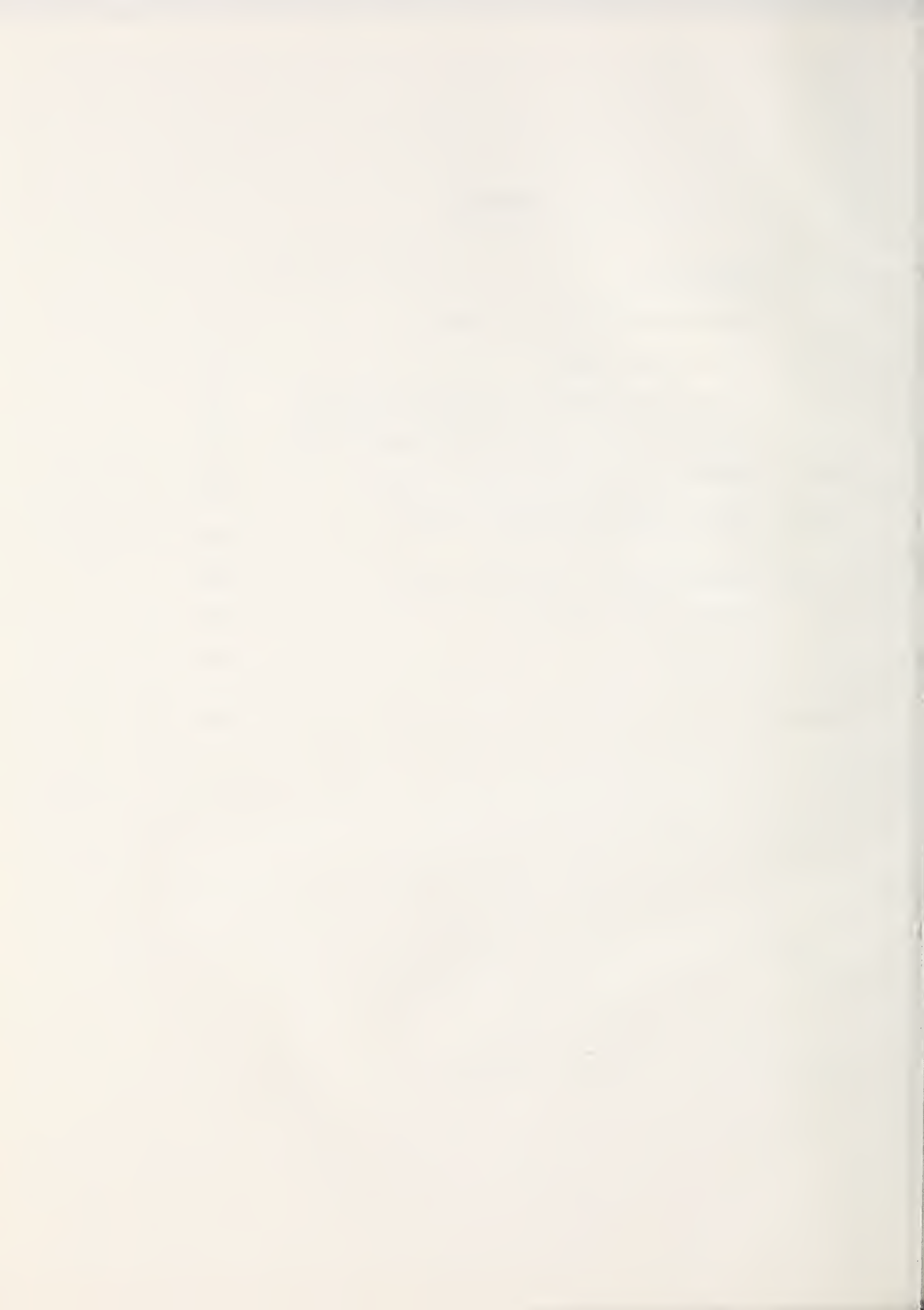
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BIBLIOGRAPHY
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DOUKHOBOR FOLKLORE & FOLKLIFE

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- P I. Observations and Interactions: to 1914.
- P II. Observations and Interactions: after 1914.
- P III. General and Scholarly Analysis: to 1914.
- P IV. General and Scholarly Analysis: after 1914.

Preface.

Nearly all the resources cited in this Bibliography are to be found in the excellent Doukhobor Collection of the Library of the University of British Columbia. The Collection and an accompanying Bibliography (q.v. under Horvath, A/VII) are basically the result of ongoing work by Mrs. Maria Horvath, who has accumulated an essential collection of original and facsimile materials, and whose Bibliography is so designed as to allow for clear initial selection and survey of materials.

The present Bibliography grew under the requirements of this study, but its aim always was to present all items which could be of value to a Folklore or Folklife scholar, or to any scholar in an allied discipline

who needed materials referring to cultural expression, history, or group interactions. The selection has been made inclusive rather than exclusive, though some poor and peripheral material has been rejected as reduplication of existing entries. Some materials not cited in the text have been included here as of use to future researchers. No doubt omissions will be found, made either for want of opportunity or want of knowledge; for these I apologize, and seek whatever counsel is offered. Russian materials in particular have been neglected, through both inexperience with the language, and the scarcity of sources. Many ephemeral pamphlets and circulars, etc., were published, especially by Svobodniki in the period c. 1940 - 1962, but have been lost in various ways, thereby becoming utterly inaccessible, a regrettable loss of primary materials.

The system by which the Bibliography was organized took shape during initial study and has been proven of value through use. The cut-off date, 1914, reflects the influence of the First World War upon scholarship, and a difference of mood, experience, and training of most writers on either side of that division.

The distinction between Book and Pamphlet, and Periodical, publications becomes of use only in the areas of specific studies and accounts of interaction, as the organization of Periodical materials reflects. It is felt that the subject breakdown of the Bibliography more than makes up in precision what it loses through the inconvenience of seeking an individual author's name in several places. Entries take the following form: standard entry, according to A.A. usage, with Modifications for Govern-

-ment Documents and unauthored publications (which are entered alphabetically by title for convenience in reference); where the relevant material is included in a general study, volume and page number are given for easier access; and a short critical note. The notes usually indicate the content of useful materials, relevance to Folk studies, and some comment on quality. Items including the entry 'not available' were considered important, but were inaccessible during the research period for several reasons; these and most Russian-language entries are described from Mrs. Horvath's entry, which may be abridged. Such citations are always placed in parentheses, (thus).

It is recommended that users of the Bibliography gain some minimal familiarity with the past 150 years or so of Doukhobor history, as some entries refer without expansion... to major figures or events.

For further research, the following archival sources are recommended, in order of size and specialization.

The Doukhobor Collection, Special Collections Dept, Library of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

The Local Collection, The Library of Selkirk College, Castlegar, B.C.

The Library, Central Office of the U.S.C.C., Grand Forks, B.C.

The National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Canada.

The Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

The Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penna., U.S.A.

To all these sources and to others (especially Mr. Mike Chernoff of Castlegar and Mr. J. L. Smith of Nelson), my sincere thanks for their great assistance.

A. Books and Pamphlets (with some periodical materials).

I. DOUKHOBOR DOCUMENTS AND MSS.

Biriukov, Pavel I.

1908. Dukhobortsy: sbornik statei, vospominanu Risem i drugikh dokumentov. S. Petersburg, I.N. Kushnerev.

(Documents, Photographs, and several psalms).

Doukhobor Society of Canada

1967 Statute. Salmo, B.C., p.p.

Independent Doukhobors' organizational manifesto; bilingual.

Doukhobor Society of Canada Committee

1961 Doukhobors: Their Faith. Canora, Sask., D.S.C., 'printed by N.N. Kalmakoff.'

A short account of Doukhobor faith prepared by a committee of Independent Doukhobors; with a collection of some eight psalms and three prayer-psalms with translation. The psalm texts are preceded by a highly edited set of excerpts from uncited Catechetical psalms

Doukhobor Youth Summer Meeting

1964 Chemical-Biological-Radiological Warfare brings Desolation. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C..

Short articles presented at or arising from a conference.

Evalenko, Alexander H.

1913 Message of the Doukhobors.... New York, International Library.

Includes original documents of the period. Journalistic reports, letters on emigrations to Cyprus and Canada, an early account of the Burning of Arms, and reports of official abuse and atrocity against early zealots. Valuable data is presented, but the general emotional and uncritical style lowers the book's credibility far more than should be the case.

Faminow, Peter S.

1954 "As a Doukhobor Sees It", Challenge (of Capacity), II/no. 3, Vancouver, B.C. p. 1, 7-8.

A short, objective essay analyzing Doukhobor actions and suggesting that Svobodnik violence arises from an inability to achieve legitimate ideals, and calling for "integration rather than Assimilation."

1943- Iskra. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.

Official publication of the U.S.C.C., currently edited by Peter Legebokoff. Currently bi-weekly. Russian-language Community business, news, articles, letters, death-notices, announcements, reprints, etc.; with short similar sections in English for youth.

Kazakoff, Lucy

MS Past, Present, and a Glimpse of the Future. Local Collection, Selkirk College Library. c. 1968?

Koochin, M.J.

1959 "Mission and Message of the Doukhobors", Peacemaker, XII/no. 6. Cincinnati, Ohio. pp. 2-3.

An article briefly discussing Doukhobor/Canadian interaction and asserting a non-verbal ideal for action: "Doukhobors believe that almost any mission needs to be performed rather than ex-pounded verbally."

Lebidoff, Florence I.

1948 The Truth About the Doukhobors. p.p.; in B.C. Archives. Short paper by future S.C.C. secretary, affirming Svobodnik ideals, followed by an assortment of historic documents and letters.

Makarov, Petr G., et al.

1929 Voyna ili mir? K chemu prim knut'. Kanada[sic].

(First pamphlet relating to Doukhobor religion ever published by Doukhobors).

Maloff, Peter N.

1948 Dukhobortsy, ikh Istorifa, Zhizn', i Bor'ba. Thrums, B.C., p.p. Peter Maloff.

MS Doukhobors, their History, Life, and Struggle. c. 1956? in Doukhobor Collection, U.B.C. Library.

First half (second half forestalled by death of author) of a proposed two-part history of Doukhobors in Canada. In three sections: history, autobiography, correspondence. The MS is a slightly damaged translation, by Maloff, of the Russian edition, with minor changes and abridgements. The book is considered authoritative by many Doukhobors of varying affiliations. It is an essential and invaluable source for esoteric attitudes and otherwise unavailable early Folklife data.

1953 Doukhobors and Canada: third independent report on the Doukhobor Problem. [Thrums, B.C.], p.p.

1957 In Quest of a Solution: three reports on the Doukhobor Problem. [Thrums, B.C.], p.p.

1958 Canada & Doukhobors: an independent report # 4. [Thrums, B.C.] p.p.

In the early 1950's the Doukhobor Consultative Committee requested information from Maloff. In these documents, Maloff goes beyond the objective request, to criticize Doukhobors for abandonment of early ideals, and Canadian officials and the public for wilful ignorance and toleration of injustice. He calls for a general re-affirmation of and dialogue on both Doukhobor and Canadian ideals.

Members of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors.
1954 An Open Letter - Appeal to the Society of Friends (Quakers). Krestova, p.p.

1954? Petition to the Government and People of Canada. Courtney, B.C., Angus Printers.

Two very lengthy Svobodnik pamphlets summarizing Doukhobor history in Canada, and criticizing government policy - above all, the seizing of children and their restraint in an isolated residential school - accompanied by documents and letters of various date and substance. Conspicuous individuals are often named and criticized in uncompromising terms. Documents of this nature epitomize esoteric response to past and current events, and current attitudes and feelings; they also occasionally include valid evidence not available through official sources.

Perepelkin, John J., et al.

- 1959 Doukhobor Problem in Canada: a Prototype copy of the Hebrew People in Egypt. tr. and ed. J.E. Podvinikoff. Krestova, B.C., Fraternal Council of the Union of Christian Communities and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors.

A Svobodnik pamphlet rectifying and analyzing recent events in the locale in terms of the title concept. The account is characteristically partial and rhetorical, yet offers valid complaints. Documents of this sort rarely assumed any responsibilities owed by Svobodniki outside Doukhobor society.

Piontkovsky, Roman, ed.

- MS Doukhobor Legends. Private communication: material collected in Saskatchewan, 1970.

- MS Doukhobor Healing Spells. Private communication; material collected in Saskatchewan, 1970.

This material is published, with permission, in this study. Its value cannot be questioned, and it is to be hoped that Piontkovsky will be able to continue research in these and related areas.

Popoff, Eli A.

- 1954 Rasskazy is Istorii Dukhobortsev. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.. Second ed., 1966.

- 1964 Historical Exposition on Doukhobor Beliefs. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.

Two historical studies, the latter abridged and recast from the former, and including a number of appended psalms, documents, speeches, etc.. A highly favourable esoteric account of Doukhobor history and belief from the viewpoint of an influential rationalistic member of the U.S.C.C.; an essential guide to current attitudes.

Reibin, Simeon F.

- 1952 Trud i Mirnafa Zhizn': istoriia dukhobortsev bez maski. Toil and Peaceful Life: history of the Doukhobors unmasked. San Francisco, Delo.

A highly partisan account of Doukhobor life and leaders in Canada by the former secretary of Peter Chistiakov Verigin, expelled from the U.S.C.C. for financial irregularities. A mixture of accurate statement and emotional self-vindication. U.S.C.C. and Svobodnik authors characterize Reibin as a liar.

Sorokin, Stephen S.

- 1950 Tri Dnya i Tri Nochu b Zagrobnoy Zhizni. By "Pantes Kiroson"
(anagrammatic pseud.). Crescent Valley, B.C., p.p.

Published in the year of Sorokin's acclamation as leader of the largest Svobodnik body: a partial and remarkable account of the author's early life and of the visions that led him to take up a role of leader among Canadian Doukhobors. Highly valued by Svobodniki, who apparently apply allegorical interpretation to much of the text; extremely rare.

- 1957? Doukhobor Affairs Inside Out. Union of Christian Communities and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors, p.p.

Third in a line of correspondence with a retired R.C.M.P. deputy-Commissioner. Sorokin views West Kootenay history as a strong Doukhobor/Police and Government opposition, mediated by double agents.

Suffield Peace Manifestation Committee

- 1964 Hymns, Suffield Peace Manifestation. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.

A collection of Russian and English hymns, some mutually translated, used by Doukhobors, Ouakers, and University of Alberta pacifists during a demonstration against a CBW installation located in South-Central Alberta.

Sukhorev, Vasili A.

- 1944 Istoriia Dukhobortsev. North Kildonan, Man., p.p.

A highly regarded history of Doukhobors supplemented by texts of many essential documents; essential and reliable, though now somewhat dated.

Verigin, Laura, and Zoe H. Gulley.

- 1957 Practical Cook Book/Selected Doukhobor and Ouaker Recipes.
Rossland, B.C., [The Rossland] Miner Printing Co.

Many traditional recipes, with variants, as well as acquired recipes, all vegetarian. Essential for Foodways research.

Verigin, John I.

1963 A Doukhobor History. Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.

Short account of Doukhobor history based on an address by the Honorary Chairman of the U.S.C.C.

Verigin(Orekoff-Verigin), Michael "Archangel", associates, etc.

MSs [Documents] seized during police raids, Hilliers, B.C., and recorded in translation, Jan. 24, 1950. B.C. Archives.

A heterogeneous collection of materials - letters, organizational papers, addresses, manifestoes, legendary materials, description of paintings, etc.. Much of these materials are of great value for research, but are unsuitable for open publication.

Verigin, Petr V. [Gospodnie]

1901 Pis'ma Dukhoborcheskago rukovoditelja Petra V Verigina. ed. V. Bonch-Bruevich. Christchurch, Hants., Tchertkoff p.p.

Rare collection of letters sent by Peter Gospodnie Verigin from Siberian exile. Of the greatest historical importance, as these are largely the instigation of the revitalization of the 1890's, the Burning of Arms, and the early formulation of the C.C.U.B..

Youth Sunday School Committee of the U.S.C.C.

1968 Stikhi i Psalmy.... Grand Forks, U.S.C.C.

Major contemporary printed collection of Hymns and Psalms according to current usage.

Ziborov, Nikolai S.

1899 O Sozhzenii oruzhija dukhoborami// "Auto-da-fé des Armes." Purleigh, Maldon, Essex, Tchertkoff p.p. (Slobodnago Slova, # 28).

Early and graphic account of the Burning of Arms, often cited in Doukhobor documents.

II. GOVERNMENT POLICY: CONTENT AND ANALYSIS.

1962 "Bombs for Repentance", Canada Month, Montreal. II/#9. p. 12.

Legal analysis of governmental ineptness in pressing obsolete charge of "conspir_{acy} to intimidate the Government of Canada" against certain Svobodniki.

British Columbia. Royal Commission of matters relating to the sect of Doukhobors in the Province of British Columbia, 1912.

1913 Report. Commissioner, William Blakemore. Victoria, B.C., King's Printer.

The major early Canadian account on Doukhobor society in Canada. Blakemore was an observant and tolerant but conservative and uncritical investigator. There is much invaluable reporting of early B.C. Doukhobor Folklife, though the maps claimed in the report to exist are now no longer to be found. Blakemore's positive recommendations include that of a government agency for Doukhobor relations, a proposal also made by the Research Committee of 1952, yet never carried out. His negative recommendation is that Doukhobor status of Conscientious Objection be annulled; fortunately, this recommendation (constitutionally, not under Provincial jurisdiction) was also ignored.

British Columbia. Commission to inquire into the allotment of the Doukhobor lands in the Province of British Columbia. Chairman, Arthur E. Lord. 1955-1965

Interim Reports Nos. 1 - 5, 1955-1959. Vancouver, n.data. Annual.

Final Report, 1965. Vancouver, n. data.

Mimeographed white papers. Instrumentality and account of the eventual resale of Doukhobor lands to individual Doukhobors.

British Columbia. Department of the Attorney-General.

1957 Press Release, Aug. 22.

Acceptance of Commissioner Lord's land resale recommendations.

British Columbia. Department of Industrial Development, Trade, and Commerce.

1970 The Central Kootenay Region: an Economic Survey. Victoria, [Queen's Printer??].

Useful and current overview of demography in region of heaviest Doukhobor settlement in B.C.

British Columbia. Laws, Statutes, etc.

- 1914 An Act to make provision for the welfare and protection of women and children living under communal conditions. Victoria, Statutes of the Province of B.C., Ch. 11/4 Geo 5.

Community Regulation Act.

- 1919 An Act to amend the "Provincial Elections Act." Victoria, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, Ch. 25/9 Geo. 5.

Provincial Elections Amendment Act; Section 2 disenfranchises the Doukhobors

- 1939 An Act to empower the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to acquire certain lands. Victoria, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, Ch. 12/3 Geo. 6.

Doukhobor Lands Acquisition Act.

- 1953 An Act to amend the "Marriage Act." Victoria, Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, Ch. 15/2 Eliz. 2.

Marriage Act Amendment Act; recognizes the Doukhobor rite of marriage and legitimizes the offspring thereof.

Canada. Department of Justice.

- 1964 "Postnikoff versus Popoff," Dominion Law Reports, 2nd. Series/ /46/pt. 6. (17 Dec. 1964).

Notes Federal legislation, 9 June 1964, yielding Federal validation to Doukhobor marriage rites.

Canada. Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

- MS Doukhobor Identification Album. Cut-off date of copy seen, c. 1962. Photostat, compiled largely under Nelson Detachment.

A survey compiled for the use of Police officers in the region. The Album consists of photographs and typescript captions, and covers Doukhobor history; activities of all sects of Doukhobors and of the C.C.U.B. economy; with special emphasis on Svobodnik meetings, demonstrations, and, not unnaturally considering its function, burnings, bombs, and bombings. It is understandable but regrettable that much of the annotation is fairly ethno-centric and occasionally erroneous; police references should be particularly objective if they are to serve their purpose justly. Contains several photographs of meetings, etc., not elsewhere available and of great comparative value. Restricted.

Little, H.W.

1960 Geological Survey of Canada: Nelson(West Half). Ottawa, Queen's Printer.

Physiographic description of region of heaviest Doukhobor settlement in B.C.

Reid, Ewart P.

1932 Doukhobors in Canada. M.A.Thesis(Law?), Montreal, McGill University.

Not Available (A discussion of Dominion and Provincial shunting of responsibilities in Doukhobor affairs).

1944? Rex versus Alfred J. Cleeton. Supreme Court of B.C., Oyer and Terminer.

Arson charge against a Nelson Canadian Legion member who set fire, 17/3/44, to Brilliant #1 School; followed by conviction. Such a charge is typical of a few cases in the past years, in which West Kootenay Anglo-canadians have sought to incriminate Doukhobors. Such cases rarely receive extended reporting in local media.

Schmeiser, D.A.

1964 Civil Liberties in Canada. Toronto, Oxford University Press. pp. 3-4, 87-88.

Brief legal discussion of Svobodnik violence, and of government sequestration of children, as civil-rights issues.

United Church of Canada, Kootenay Presbytery.

1963 A Brief Containing Suggestions for the Solution of the Freedomite Problem.

A narrowly ethnocentric statement of no particular intelligence or perceptiveness, acknowledging the existence of "true Doukhobor culture" and its value, but offering it no safeguards and commending the acculturating and assimilative aspects of schooling, a "non-negotiable" issue.

III. STUDIES IN RELIGION, esp. RUSSIAN RELIGION.

Bolshakoff, Serge

1950 Russian Nonconformity. Philadelphia, Westminster Press.

Gives a good initial history of the Raskol, and an enlightening account of the breadth and extremity of raskolnik doctrine and practice. Doukhobor materials are quite obsolete and incomplete, hence misleading.

Charles, R.H., ed.

1966 The Book of Enoch. Sondon, S.P.C.K.

A pre-Christian apocalyptic writing, apparently a major formulation of the style of that genre. It exists in a number of early translations, and contains motifs which are found in the Slavonic apocalyptic literature.

Coneybeare, Frederick C.

1920 Russian Dissenters. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. (Harvard Theological Studies # 10). pp. 267-287.

Cites doctrine from Tchertkoff publications and from a number of Russian sources, all listed in detail. Essentially a theological discussion. Argues correspondences and possible differences from Bogomil sources. Obsolete but important.

Gehring, Johannes

1898 Die Sekten der Russischen Kirche. Leipzig, Fr. Richter. pp. 56-65, 174-202

Heavily annotated material mostly assembled from earlier sources and presented as contemporary.

Grass, Karl K.

1966 Die Russischen Sekten. Leipzig, Sentral-Antiquariat der D.D.R.. Vols. II.

Since Grass is extremely thorough, and betrays, in an entry in the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, his familiarity with Doukhobors and Molokans, and since he mentions neither sect in either volume; one must assume forthcoming material. Grass' work is obviously thorough and significant, but his literary style discourages research.

Heard, Albert F.

1887 The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. New York, Harper.
pp. 271-281.

Heard considers Doukhobors to be influenced by Bogomil heresies imported by Bulgarian colonies near Kiev in the 13th. century, and to be more or less independent of the Raskol. Relies upon von Haxhausen but rarely acknowledges the obligation, and cites no other sources.

James, Montague Rhodes, ed. and tr.

1953 The Apocryphal New Testament. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Includes comparative texts of apocalyptic materials influencing or comprising quasi-canonical Slavonic texts.

Mehl, Roger

1970 The Sociology of Protestantism. Philadelphia, Westminster Press.

See esp. Ch. X, Sociology of the Sect, pp. 221-256. Mehl mainly concerns himself with North-West European Protestantism and with scholarship originating in that area; little of his discussion is applicable to Russian sectarianism, though he generalizes liberally.

Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow

1815 The present state of the Greek Church in Russia, or, a Summary of Christian Divinity. tr. and ed. by Robert Pinkerton. New York, Collins and Co. Appendix, pp. 248-263.

The material here is excerpted as from "a manuscript account... composed by a gentleman...revised [by] a Russian nobleman who, in 1803, was the civil governor of [the Black Sea region of Doukhobor settlement]." Consequently, it is not possible to know whether the material was inserted by Platon or by Pinkerton. A detailed but awkwardly subjective account of early meetings, organization, and doctrine, with translations of two psalms. Among earliest material available.

Stark, Werner

1967 Sectarian Religion (Sociology of Religion, Vol. II). London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Essential discussion of social and sectarian theory, but much material on Doukhobors is hampered by reliance on subjective reports as if they were reliable ethnography.

Turner, Victor W.

1969 The Ritual Process. Chicago, Aldine Press.

Introduction to methods of symbolic ethnography derived from the author's study of (African) Ndembu ritual and society.

Wakefield, Walter L. and Austin P. Evans

1969 Heresies of the High Middle Ages. New York, Columbia University Press.

Heavily edited and annotated translations of selected texts, provides comparative material on which was based this study's argument against Bogomil, etc., origins for Doukhobor religions doctrine.

Ware, Tomothy

1963 The Orthodox Church, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books.

A sympathetic account of Orthodox history, doctrine, and ritual, serving to provide the reader with conventional attitudes as well as with direct data.

IV. GENERAL STUDIES TO 1914.

Allen, William

1846-'7 The Life of William Allen, with selections from his correspondence. London, Gilpin. Vol. II, pp. 61-63.

Allen and Grellet (q.v.) were, respectively, British and American Quakers who undertook missionary journeys in Eastern Europe (1819). Theirs are the first direct English-language accounts of Doukhobors. Allen and Grellet disagree profoundly upon some points of doctrinal interpretation, a disagreement that has been wholly ignored by those who subsequently cite them. This disagreement may reflect a deep linguistic problem of definition and function of religious terms and usages.

Bradley, Arthur G.

1905 Canada in the Twentieth Century. London, Constable. pp. 297-303.

A remarkably tongue-in-cheek account by a pseudo-bigot, of the Doukhobor settlements in Saskatchewan c. 1903. Bradley takes a strongly ethnocentric position and attacks it with sarcasm, producing an unscholarly but sane and sprightly impression of those aspects of Doukhobor life most clear to an observer.

Copping, Arthur E.

1911 Canada Today and Tomorrow. London, Cassell, pp. 99-108.

A supercilious and superficial account by a British journalist of his visit to a Doukhobor settlement in Saskatchewan. Copping gives no evidence of understanding, but unconsciously is able to instigate a portrayal of Doukhobor reaction to busybodies.

Grellet, Stephen

1864 Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet. ed. Benjamin Seebohm. Philadelphia, Longstreth.

See under Allen, Above.

von Haxthausen, August

1847. Studien über die innern Zustände, des volksleben & insbesondere die ländlicher Einrichtungen Russlands. Nannover,?. Vol. I of II, pp. 288-301, 376-419.

Von Haxthausen visited Southwestern Russia in the 1830's, and reported fairly detailed accounts of peoples and economies of the areas visited. His visits to Doukhobors settlements were

guided and explained by the noted Mennonite leader Kornies, not a very sympathetic guide, and much material reported would appear to have its origin in sectarian strife and jealousy. When the village of Kapoustin is described, there is much more comment than reporting. Translations into German of doctrinal statements and a hymn are given, but are of little use: the doctrine has acquired German syntax, and the Hymn, German verse and metre. A psalm text is applied from Kornies.

- 1856 The Russian Empire, its people, institutions, and resources.
tr. Rovert Farie. London, Chapman. pp. 246-301.

An abridged translation of the above. Much subsequent and rather uncritical scholarship - including that of most encyclopaedists - draws upon von Haxthausen's work, usually without acknowledgement, as it is the first detailed account by a European scholar. It is unquestionably valuable for some details, but must be seen as the sincere, careful, but incomplete work of a trained traveller who did not happen to see through the aims of his guide.

Kravchinskii, Sergei Mikhailovitch.

- 1882 Russian Peasantry, their agrarian condition, social life, and religion. by Stepniak(pseud.). London, Sonnenschein. Vol II, pp. 505-549.

Detailed though unannotated account of Doukhobor attitudes and doctrines, again suggesting origins in "...the East, or...the old Christian heresies...." Detailed notes on the development of Molokans from teachings of a Doukhobor dissenter.

Lynch, H.F.B.

- 1901 Armenia/Travels and Studies. London, Longmans,Green. pp. 96-117.

Anecdotal but careful description of Doukhobor settlement are of Gorelovka, by English traveller there shortly after death of Lukeria Kalmakova (c. 1886), noting prosperity and organization of village.

Pinkerton, Robert

- 1933 Russia; or, Miscellaneous observation on the past and present state of that country...compiled from notes made on the spot....
London, Seeley. pp. 165-185.

Colporteur's travel notes, accounts of minor conversations, and observations. pp. 176-185 comprise a translated text of a

"Discourse between Archimandrite Innokentie of Nevskoy seminary, and three imprisoned Doukhobors", an exceedingly important early document in which Doukhobors are reported to use scriptural citations and theological terms, dated 1792. This text sometimes appears in later studies, usually somewhat condensed. Pinkerton's notes on kinship titles and degree of communal ownership are of interest.

V. GENERAL STUDIES AFTER 1914.

Cottingham, Mollie E.

1947 History of the West Kootenay District in British Columbia.
M.A.(Sociol) Dissertation. Vancouver, U.B.C. pp.263-318.

Inaccurate assesment of Doukhobor agricultural achievment.

Dawson, Carl A.

1936 Group Settlement; ethnic communities in Western Canada. (Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. VII). Toronto, Macmillan, pp.1-91.

A detailed economic study, with excellent data on Saskatchewan settlement period, some on B.C. settlements. Some ethnographic material and good maps: an essential text.

Finot, Jean

1920 Modern Saints and Seers. London, Rider and Son. pp. 13, 18-23, 28-31, 36-43, 50-55.

An appallingly anecdotal, misleading, and bad book that so muddles old libels as to create new ones of its own (e.g., p. 38 the utterly unfounded and ridiculous statement:"...it was their custom to put to death all children diseased in mind or body...").

Gruchy, Lydia E.

1928 The Doukhobors in Canada. Toronto, United Church of Canada.

Superficial and proselytizing discussion enriched with magnificent Folklife photographs, possibly by Edith Watson.

Hawkes, John

1924 Story of Saskatchewan and its People. Chicago and Regina, Sask., S.J. Clarke. Vol II, pp. 724-729.

Objective and balanced memoirs of a retired government official inclined to go beneath overt implication of an act or statement to its basis. Two unique short anecdotes of early interactions.

Hennecy, Ammon

1970 "Helen Demoskoff", One-Man Revolution in America. Salt Lake City, Utah, p.p.. pp.198-239.

Partial autobiography by a Svobodnik woman, with lengthy comment

by Henneey, consisting of brief historical overview of good quality, and account of Svobodnik experience, not overly impartial, but tolerant and insightful.

MacDonald, Norman

1966 Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903. Toronto, Macmillan. pp. 228-234.

Doukhobor immigration described from contemporary accounts by government officials; aim of discussion is to account for evolution of Federal policy.

MacLean, John.

[1927] McDougall of Alberta, a Life of Rev. John MacDougall, D.D., Pathfinder of Empire and prophet of the plains. Toronto, Ryerson. pp. 235-240.

Considering the time and energy expended by the Methodist MacDougall as a Federal agent among the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan, MacLean glosses inexcusably over both the details of interaction, and MacDonald's reprehensible expediting of the 1905-'07 Land Reversion procedure.

Mavor, James

[1923] My windows on the street of the world. London and Toronto, Dent. Vol II, pp. 1-37.

A detailed account of Mavor's involvement in Doukhobor affairs, originating in his friendship with the Christian Anarchist Kropotkin. Mavor was to be an influential speaker against injustice on several occasions involving Doukhobors.

Smith, William G.

1920 Study in Canadian Immigration. Toronto, Ryerson. pp. 217-225.

Inadequate history, followed by comments on Doukhobor antipathy to formal schooling, an attitude resented by Smith, who argues (not without reason) that it produces a social disability in children.

1922 Building the Nation: a study of some problems concerning the Churches' relation to the Immigrants. Toronto, Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement. pp. 72-73, 118-121.

Apparently based on much later thought than the above. Smith has come to a more balanced attitude, and believes that some aspects of Doukhobor social organization could be adopted to their benefit by other rural Canadians.

Taylor, Thomas G.

1942 British Columbia: a Study in Topographical Control. Reprint from Geographical Review, Vol XXXII. New York, American Geographical Society of New York.

A short cultural-geographical study of the influence of topography upon land use and preferred settlement patterns, with a two-page note (pp. 398-399) on Doukhobor orchards. Taylor's comments are instructive when compared with the views of those who seek simplistic explanations for the collapse of the C.C.U.B.

Teeling, William B.

[1932] England's French Dominion. London, Hutchinson. pp. 142-162.

The title gives away incredibly naive journalism that does not distinguish between direct observation and gleanings from hearsay. Some items do display internal consistency, including reports of irrational Anglo-canadian bigotry.

Walhouse, Freda

1961 Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the cultural Geography of Vancouver. M.A.(Sociology?)Dissertation, Vancouver, U.B.C..

Includes a summary description of Doukhobors in Vancouver, mostly after 1940 (before which migration was insignificant).

Woodcock, George

1952 Ravens and Prophets/ an account of Journeys in British Columbia, Alberta, and Southern Alaska. London, Wingate. pp. 100-119, 207-221.

Series of perceptive essays on Woodcock's initial contacts with B.C. Doukhobors. Discussion is insightful; speakers are quoted directly. Meetings with Peter Maloff; and with members of New Jerusalem colony of Michael "Archangel" Verigin, at Hilliers, B.C.. Not offered as scholarly, yet method makes material adequate.

VI. SPECIFIC STUDIES.

Bockemuhl, H.W.

- 1968 The Doukhobor Impact on the B.C. Landscape: An Historical-Geo-
-Graphic Study. M.A.(Geography) Dissertation, State College of
Western Washington.

Excellent and detailed study of economic and agricultural activ-
-ity of C.C.U.B.; emphasis is upon land-use in Ootischenia. In-
-cludes reproductions of historic photographs supplemented by
researcher's own photographic record. Detailed maps.

Bodianskii, Alexander M.

- 1907 Dukhobortsy, sbornik razkazov, pisem, dokumentov, i statei
po religioznom voprosu. Kharkov, Typ. Pechatniki.

Pamphlet of(stories, letters and articles about the Doukhobors
by a Russian Anarchist who was closely connected with them).

Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir

- 1918 Dukhobortsi v Kanadskikh preifakh. Petrograd, Biblioteka
oshchestvovye dieny, 14.

- 1954 Zhivotnaia Kniga Dukhobortsev. Reprint of 1910(?) edition.
Winnipeg, Regehr's Printing.

(1918). Discussion of early communes on the Canadian Prairies.
(1910). Major collection, heavily but incompletely annotated,
of psalms collected in both Russia and Canada, by an early re-
-searcher(and major colleague of Lenin).
Also vid. supra, I, under Petr.Verigin, 1901.

Chertkov, Vladimir

- 1897 Christian Martyrdom in Russia. London, p.p.

Account of Burning of Arms and subsequent persecutions of Doukho-
-bors, hastily prepared by a prominent Tolstoyan to publicize and
gain support for Doukhobors in their suffering.

Commeree, David L.

- 1964 Migration of the Sons of Freedom to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia: the Movement to the Gates of Mountain Prison, Agassiz, B.C., 1962-1963. M.S.W. Dissertation, Vancouver, U.B.C.

Generally inadequate historical discussion (and research?) to account for data presented. Interviews in area and Mountain Prison Village illuminating to a degree as regards community interactions.

Consultative Committee on Doukhobors.

1950-1953

Minutes and Reports. Local Collection, Selkirk College,

Typescript. The Consultative Committee was a quasi-governmental body set up to mediate temporarily between the B.C. Provincial Government and Doukhobor organization. Its documents, when accessible, provide insight into attitudes and rhetoric of the period.

Crummey, R.D.

- 1965 The Old Believers in a New Era. Unpublished address to Canadian Association of Slavonicists. Doukhobor Collection, U.B.C. Library.

Good brief discussion of Staroveri history; essential for understanding of early Doukhobor experience.

Doukhobor Research Committee.

- 1952 Report. ed. by Harry Hawthorne. Vancouver, U.B.C..

Mimeographed. The report submitted to the Provincial Government. Identical with Hawthorne 1955, infra, but preface expanded and appendices abridged; significant for date.

Elkinton, Joseph

- 1903 Doukhobors, their History in Russia, their migration to Canada. Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach.

Son's account of his Father's visit to Saskatchewan colonies in 1902. Elkinton was the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting member most responsible for that body's support of Doukhobor migration to Canada. The account, sensitive, generally objective, and sometimes overly sympathetic, is the best early history to be had. Includes three important maps of early settlement areas, and magnificent photographs by the author (or his son??).

Fitzgibbon, May

- 1899 The Canadian Doukhobor Settlements. "by Lally Bernard"(pseud.).
Toronto, William Briggs.

A pamphlet edited from a series of letters written by a young Canadian Quakeress who visited the Saskatchewan villages in the fall of the first year of Canadian domicile. Very valuable early reporting, with much useful Folklife data.

Foerster, Irene J.

- 1964 Public Policy in health and welfare in the migration of the Sons of Freedom to the Lower Mainland of British Columbia.
M.S.W. Dissertation. Vancouver, U.B.C.

Details, usually substantiated from public agency records, of style and implementation of Welfare policy at Hope, Vancouver, and Agassiz. The records make dry reading, but testify to unjust and probably illegal practices employed against Doukhobors, and inconsistent and unethical administration of Social Assistance. Substantiates Svobodnik accounts of Persecution and government irresponsibility.

Frantz, Charles

- 1958 The Doukhobor Political System. Social Structure and Social organization in a Sectarian Society. Ph.D. Thesis. Chicago, University of Chicago.

Not available. (Presents a schematic diagram showing the hereditary lineage of Doukhobor leaders, presumed dates of their reigns, and the subdivision which appeared through factional disputes, etc.....).

Harshenin, Alex P.

- 1960 Analysis of the Doukhobor Dialect. M.A.(Social Sciences) Dissertation, Vancouver, U.B.C..

Rigorous, detailed phonological study describing Doukhobor Russian as a distinct, variable dialect.

Hawthorne, Harry, et. al.

- 1955 Doukhobors of British Columbia. Vancouver, Dent and U.B.C..

Major contemporary sociological study. Hawthorne headed the Research Committee, a body somewhat more independent of the

Provincial Government than the Consultative Committee. This Committee concentrated on aspects of recent history, detailed economic history, social behaviour, and political aspects of community structure, not all of the same excellence. A major study, essential to serious research. Includes few but excellent Folklife photographs.

Holt, Simma

1964 Terror in the Name of God. Toronto, MacLelland and Stewart.

A bigoted and sensationalist critique of the Svobodniki. Holt presents some reliable factual material, but reports partially, interprets all material according to private preconceptions, repeatedly and deliberately confuses Svobodniki and other general Doukhobor groups, continually skates on the thin edge of slander, indulges in pre-pubescent namecalling, and draws what can only be called totalitarian conclusions. More than any other phenomenon of recent years, this book has hindered rapport between all Doukhobors and field researchers, and has distorted and degraded popular conceptions in the minds of Anglo-canadians.

Laliberté, G. Raymond

1962 Origines idéologiques des Doukhobors du Canada. Thèse(M..A), Montréal, Université de Montréal.

An overly humanistic discussion, linking the development of Rousseau's and Tolstoy's thought, and proposing the practice of Peter Gospodnie Verigin as an ultimate realization of Rousseau's ideals translated into social action. Such a study must be considered less an analysis of Doukhobor society than an example of the impact of the Doukhobors upon Western thought; certainly the Doukhobor ideals to which Verigin adjusted his concepts - however he acquired them - antedate Rousseau.

Lenz, Theophil

1829 Commentationes de Duchoborzis. Dorpat, Severin.

A short, massively annotated article, chiefly describing Doukhobor doctrine from the viewpoint of a European theologian conservative enough to publish in Church Latin. Sources are presumably within the Russian Orthodox Church. Lenz takes a generally scornful and intolerant position.

Maude, Aylmer

1904 A Peculiar People: the Doukhobors. New York, Funk and Wagnalls.

Detailed account by Tolstoy's London agent, brother of his translator, and influential member of the London Yearly Meeting, of the movement and first few years of the Doukhobors in Canada. Detailed analysis of attitudes and brief but balanced early history. Maude shared Tolstoy's original romantic view of the Doukhobors; his ultimate realization of their human failings causes his writings to be tinged with more than enough disillusionment, a subjective intrusion upon his reporting. Most important early history after Elkinton, supra.

Mundy, William B.

1964 Sons of Freedom at Hope: a study of the interaction of a settled community and a migrant community. M.S.W. Dissertation, Vancouver, U.B.C.

Survey, based upon interview and clipping files, of a typical interaction at the Village of Hope. The unusual justice of the Village Chairman, Scherle, with the cooperation of the editor of the local weekly, mediated continually and successfully between citizens and Svobodniki. The study is less deep and objective than it might be, but pinpoints major aspects of an uncommonly sane confrontation.

Novitskii, Orest M.

1832 O Dukhobortsakh. Kiev, pri Kievopecherskoi Lavr.

1882 Dukhobortsy: ikh instoriia i vierouchenie. Kiev, Universitet-skaya Tip.. (2nd ed. of above).

The earliest and most-cited account of Doukhobor doctrine and society. In the 1800's Doukhobors prized Novitskii's account though he is criticized presently for inescapable Orthodox biases. Elkinton mentions an English translation by Abramov (1903, p. 10), but this is presumably a manuscript now lost. Novitskii's second edition, though expanded, is considered less objective than his first.

Peacock, Kenneth

1966 Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada. Ottawa, National Museum.

1970 The Songs of the Doukhobors. Ottawa, National Museum of Man.

(1966) A large pamphlet following a survey project, this publication contains a brief analysis of Doukhobor song style, and some ten song transcriptions and translations.

(1970) A book containing 'representative' Doukhobor songs (though at least one song type, Russian Hymns translated into English, is neglected completely). Derived from Peacock's summer field-work of 1963 and 1964; it is unfortunate that a larger body of material has been impossible to present at this time. Peacock's classification system, while redundant (varying from isolation by content to isolation by date) is derived from interview data, and hence represents esoteric standards. The usefulness of the collection is immeasurably increased by its incorporation, on flexible LP recording inserts, of all the material reported therein, a form of publication rendering any lesser presentation of Folksong materials obsolete.

Rhoades, Jonathan

1900 A Day with the Doukhobors. Philadelphia, [?].

A pamphlet published by a Quaker visitor to the Saskatchewan settlements. Brief traveller's account of one day's visit, but detail is so precisely and voluminously observed that the value of the report far exceeds its modest size.

Robinson, Malcolm E.

1948 Russian Doukhobors in the West Kootenay, British Columbia. M.A.(?) Dissertation, New York, Syracuse University.

Not available. An attempt (to assess the type and scope of the Doukhobor settlements and their economy....).

Ross, Phyllis M. [Gregory]

1925 Sociological Survey of the Doukhobors. B.A.(Sociology) Dissertation, Vancouver. U.B.C.

A confused and imperceptive attempt, often drawing upon sources left unacknowledged, to outline a Doukhobor ethnography. Often pompous and highly ethnocentric, but contains a few useful details on Doukhobor Folklife, and local Anglo-canadian prejudices and beliefs.

Seebaran, Roopchand Baradhram

1965 Migration of the Sons of Freedom into the Lower Mainland of British Columbia; the Vancouver Experience(1963). M.S.W. Dissertation, Vancouver, U.B.C..

A survey carried out chiefly by interview, supplemented by questionnaire. Some good material on local reactions and response.

Snesarev, Vladimir [Harry Trevor]

1931 Doukhobors in British Columbia. [B.Sc. Agriculture Dissertation?] Vancouver, U.B.C..

A short history followed by pointed analysis of C.C.U.B. business and agricultural policy. Voluminous appendices include C.C.U.B. Balance Sheets, 1928-1930, and Kootenay-Columbia Preserving Factory Stock Sheets, 1929. Snesarev, who apparently left the Community, repudiated his attachment, and took an anglicized name, writes with a good deal of bitterness, impairing his objectivity. Though his economic conclusions are perceptive, his accounts of Doukhobor society are too biased to be useful as primary material.

Stoochnoff, John Ph.

1961 Doukhobors as they are. Toronto, p.p.(Ryerson).

Sketchy outline of Doukhobor history and doctrine prepared by a Doukhobor for Anglo-canadian readers. Some supporting documents and historic photographs, poorly annotated; and important letters relating to establishment of death date of Peter Yastrebov Verigin.

Tarasoff, Koozma

1963 In Search of Brotherhood/a History of the Doukhobors. Vancouver, p.p.. Vols III.

Mimeographed. A massive history, concentrating upon the Canadian period. The history is not of full scholarly rigour, but presents a great deal of formerly unavailable material in an easily accessible manner, with full citations, and is essential for any deep study.

1969 Pictorial History of the Doukhobors. Saskatoon, Sask., Prairie Books/Western Producer.

Brief, highly sympathetic historical essays, followed by a very large and well annotated collection of photographs collected from Doukhobor and some journalistic sources. While some photographs are of low quality, the totality of presentation results in a document of value far beyond its aims, particularly to the Historian and Folk scholar. Some scholars have taken Tarasoff's work more lightly than --considering its usefulness as a primary source -- seems reasonable.

Woodcock, George, and Ivan Avakumovic

1968 The Doukhobors. Toronto, Oxford University Press.

The best recent Doukhobor history, indispensable for any re-search. Although the work is basically humanistic in method, there is little fault for a social scientist to find in it beyond the requirements of professional jealousy. Direct reporting of sources and informants; few photographs, but those chosen set the mood of the entire study.

Wright, James F.C.

1940 Slava Bohu: the story of the Doukhobors. New York, Farrar and Rinehart.

A detailed history of the Doukhobors, chiefly from the time of Lukeria Kalmakoff to date, and concentrating upon the two Peters Verigin. Little serious analysis, and much anecdotal material. In spite of Wright's disclaimer (p.v), he unquestionably has re-written and edited the greater part of his interviews to suit his style and attitudes. Thus his work becomes an irritating body of materials, none of which are adequately cited or directly reliable, but whose volume, detail, and internal coherence identify them as basically valid, as well as vivid, in-depth communication. His data are broad and varied enough to disqualify his own simplistic interpretations. In spite of this book's exasperating lack of citation of source, etc., it is highly useful for the formation of an understanding of Doukhobor experience in the 1920's and 1930's.

Zubek, John, and Patricia A. Solberg

1952 Doukhobors at War. Toronto, Ryerson.

An interesting brief history interlarded with profuse anecdotal material. Unfortunately, Wright's method is followed, and both anecdotes, and what appears to be a whole chapter of folklore materials of some promise (pp. 168-191), are heavily rewritten and given artificial settings, rendering the book useless as a primary source. Zubek and Solberg present a sensitive and essentially sound profile of Doukhobor society, perceiving clearly fundamental problems generated by pressure and resistance to acculturation, but neglect scholarly requirements that should not be sacrificed to popular appeal.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS AND REFERENCE.

Cornish, John
1959 Olga. Toronto, Macmillan.

An incredible caricature of Doukhobor and English settlers in the Castlegar area of the West Kootenay. Presumably planned as a satire, but without coherent reference to a coherent reality, Cornish's effort is evil and execrable, excellent only as a horrid example of uncritical ethnocentrism.

Graham, Stephen
1922 Tramping with a Poet in the Rockies. London, Macmillan, pp. 239-246.

Graham and Vachel Lindsay visited a Doukhobor district in Saskatchewan during a walkabout in 1921. Short account of conversations, and an unexpectedly perceptive and balanced two-page condensation of Doukhobor history.

Horvath, Maria
1968, 1970

A Doukhobor Bibliography.

Part I, Books and Periodical Articles. Supplement 1970.

Part II, Government Publications. Vancouver, U.B.C. Library.

Indispensible basic resource for any research. Mrs. Horvath's Bibliography is fully annotated, gives Location references, and includes short critical notes on item content. My indebtedness and gratitude should be obvious.

Joseph, James
1959 "The Doukhobors, Canada's Violent Pacifists." Coronet, Vol. IV (Feb. 5, 1959). Chicago. pp. 36-40.

The Doukhobors are cleverly identified as members of an International Communist Conspiracy seeking to overthrow North American Democracy. Unreal.

O'Neall, Hazel
1962 Doukhobor Daze. Sidney, B.C., Gray's Publishing Co.

Teacher's reminiscences of early (1940's) experiences in Doukhobor schools in Brilliant-Ootischenie area. Popular tone; Doukhobor individuals are presented by means of gross, not always unsympathetic, but usually imperceptive caricature. A splendid

example of the attitudes formed by intelligent but willfully ignorant Anglo-canadians.

Pfizmaier, August

1884 "Die Gottesmenschen[Khlysti] und Skopzen in Russland." Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Ph.D. Dissertation, Vienna. pp. 143-238.

Lengthy monograph, with detailed introduction and collection of Russian texts with German translations of songs, mostly religious, of Khlysti, Skoptsi, Doukhobors, and Molokans, the latter two groups weakly represented.

Rutherford, G.M.

1940 "The New School Teacher." Shoulder Strap, Vol. I (Winter). pp. 35-42

B.C. Provincial Police magazine story: fictionalized and propagandistic melodrama involving a pretty schoolteacher, diabolical Doukhobors, and a noble (and handsome) Provincial Policeman. Wish-fulfillment trash with real people as the butt of the antagonism expressed therein.

Sheriff, Peggy

1959 Doukhobors, a select Bibliography. London, University of London.

Mimeographed. First major Doukhobor bibliography, though now superseded by Horvath 1968; carefully selected range of texts indispensable for any research, with critical annotations. An excellent work.

Taylor, Gaie

1955 Anastasia's Daughter. Toronto, Ryerson.

Attempt to enliven a long-dead literary cliché by means of a novel context. Taylor's attempt fails, because she lacks both the honesty and information to model the Doukhobor context accurately, and the craft to write entertainingly or significantly. Written for an indiscriminating market.

Tolstoy, Leo

1961 The Teaching of Jesus. Canora, Sask., Doukhobor Society of Canada.

Also published in Russian by this and other sources. Tolstoy's

retelling of the Gospel narrative, from the Birth of Christ through the Passion, for young children; includes study questions for oral response. Used in many Doukhobor communities as a basic Sunday School text.

Vereschagin, Vasily V.

1900 Dukhobortsi i Molokane Vzakavkazy. Shiiti v karaburnkh.
Moscow, Kushneriev.

Account of Doukhobor (pp. 4-21) and Molokan (22-40) individuals and village scenes painted by Vereschagin, a natural realist. Only available in Xerox facsimile of welnigh non-existent tone register. Reproductions from the paintings would give a detailed record of costume and house styles, of especial importance as representative of the inadequately documented period shortly before emigration to Canada; influence of Tartar elements might be perceptible.

Wakeyama, Tamio

1969 Signs of Life. Toronto, Coach House.

Includes some seven or so photographs (from an unpublished series of c. 12) of Doukhobors, mostly in the Brilliant area, and of Worship events. Finest photographic materials so far published.

Woodcock, George

1963 "Encounter with an Archangel." Tamarack Review, # 26(Winter).
Toronto. pp. 29-39.

Anecdotal account of Woodcock's 1949 visit to the New Jerusalem communal settlement at Hilliers, B.C., on Vancouver Is.. Vividly impressionistic account of site, accounts of several conversations, and short critique of values expressed therein.

B. Periodical Materials.PI.. OBSERVATIONS AND INTERACTIONS: TO 1914.

- 1901 New Order. Vols IV/#5(pp. 49-50); V/#19(pp. 114-115), 22 (pp. 160-161); VII/#41(pp.81-88). London.

New Order was a publication of the Brotherhood Church, Croydon, a London body of Christian Socialists. The items in Vols. IV and V are signed by the Quaker H.F. Archer, a member of the London Yearly Meeting and associate of Maude; the first reports on a relief trip to Doukhobor communities in Russia, the latter two on the progress of the settlements in Saskatchewan. The last item, that in Vol. VII, includes a Doukhobor manifesto of moderate length, the early "Address to all Nations," an account of objections to government registration, Maude's critical letter and a reply thereto, and copies of official correspondence and replies. An early example of discourse through media used by active Doukhobors as a technique for dialogue.

Dawson, Coningsby W.

- 1907 "Stray Religions in the far North-West. I. Doukhobors." Living Age, Feb 2, 1907, New York. pp. 266-268.

Perceptive comment on style and origin of Anglo-canadian prejudice.

Dilke, Ashton W.

- 1874 "The Caucasus." Fortnightly Review, Vol XVI. New York.pp.463-464.

Incidental comment by a traveller, citing mistrust of outsiders by "Russian dissenters, Subotniki and Dukhoborts..."

- 1903 "Nobleman weds a Doukhobor Bride." Northwest Magazine, Vol. XXI/# 3. Minneapolis, Minn. pp. 71 - 72.

Very highly coloured account of marriage of a travelling English aristocrat to a girl first seen in a group pulling a plow; his joining and assimilation into a Community Village.

Ridington, J.

- 1903 "Crusade of the Doukhobors: Story of a modern pilgrimage."
Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly. Vol. LV/# 4. New York. pp.337-349
 -349.

Detailed and objective account of 1902 trek, by correspondent who spent four days with Svobodnik marchers. Minimal back-ground material; Ridington attempts, not to interpret the march but only to report it fairly. Excellent photographs, but in Xerox facsimile and unsuitable for reproduction.

Smith, Katherine L.

- 1907 "The Doukhobors of Canada...." Craftsman, Vol XII(April 1907).
 New York. pp. 64-79

Uncritical and glowing account of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, with 8 pages (65-73) of Folklife photographs of unique excellence, probably by Edith Watson (Cannot be reproduced from poor-quality Xerox facsimile).

P II. OBSERVATIONS AND INTERACTIONS: AFTER 1914.

Bach, Marcus

1953 "The Douks are at it again." Christian Century, Vol.LXX(Dec. 6, 1953). Chicago. pp. 1452-1454.

Confused account of Svobodnik actions, conversation - badly reported - and singing. Bach makes little effort to understand what he sees and hears..

Elkinton, J.P.

1927 "The Doukhobors in Canada up to date." The Friend, Vol. CI: Sept. 29(pp. 163-165), Oct. 6(pp. 171-172). Philadelphia.

Account by the younger Elkinton of his visits in the Castle-gar area; the death of Peter Gospodnie Verigin; visit to the Brilliant Molenye. Style of discussion is religious in interest; notes increasing influence of "the materialism of our age."

Henderson, David

1930 "The Doukhobors." The Friend, Vol. CIV(Aug 21). Philadelphia. pp. 87-89.

Account by a Quaker missionary of status and role of Religious leader of Doukhobors; brief but accurate discussion.

Hindus, Maurice G.

1926 "As in the days of Adam...." Century, Vol. CXI(Dec.). New York. pp. 208-216.

New York Russian's account of his visit in Thrums, B.C.. Some Folklife data. Very sympathetic but usually balanced presentation, but neglects more controversial acts of Svobodniki. Persecution legend noted (pp. 214-215).

Ross, Alexander

1963 "Why some Doukhobors are backsliding...." Maclean's Magazine, (Yellow 'Reports'), Vol. LXXVI(Aug. 10). Toronto. pp.1-2..

Short, dense notes and analysis on style of acculturation of Svobodniki in Vancouver during migration to Agassiz, citing schools and peer-group values as main integrating factor.

Rawlings, E.H.

1954 "Doukhobors." Contemporary Review, Vol. CLXXXV. London.
pp. 298-302.

Popular, badly researched, and misleading historical data; Rawlings fails to distinguish between acts and identities of various Doukhobor subjects. Mentions 'vigilante movements' against Doukhobors but gives no details. Mostly lies.

Tarasoff, Koozma

1958 "Report on the press of British Columbia...." Inquirer, Vol. V [Special], ##5-8. Saskatoon, Sask. pp. 1-17.

Content analysis of some 801 items published in a large number of B.C. newspapers in 1958, presenting examples of prejudicial presentation of news. Canadian Press Style Book used as critical standard. Evidence is given of innuendo, use of derogatory term ('Douk'), and careless reference (implying group for individual offense). A careful and useful survey of a Media-level bias that has shown little alteration to the present.

Watson, Edith S.

1920-1921

"_____". Canadian Magazine, Vols. LVI(pp. 129-136), LVII (p..215). Toronto.

Eight untitled but captioned Folklife photographs. As noted before, articles from other sources have occasionally been illustrated by photographs attributed or attributable to Edith Watson. The quality of her work is exceptional, and data on it is long overdue.

P III. GENERAL AND SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS: TO 1914.

Kharlamov, I.

1884 "Dukhobortsi Istoricheskii ocherk." Russkaia Mysl', Vol. V/
/## 11, 12. Moscow, Sophia, Berlin. pp. 138-161, 83-114.

(Study of early history and leaders of sect till period when
doctrines took more or less permanent form.).

Kravchinskii, Sergei M.

1901 "Les Doukhobors," par Ivan Strannik(pseud.). Revue de Paris,
Vol X. Paris. pp. 865-898.

A careful and balanced historical essay, drawing largely from
Bonch-Bruevich' Russian publications, and including an unident-
-ifiable psalm-text given in French only; also some material
from earlier sources on Origin legends(Three Holy Children).

P IV. GENERAL AND SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS: AFTER 1914.

Brock, Peter

1964-1965

"Vasya Pozdnyakov's Doukhobor Narrative." Slavonic and East European Review, Vol XLIII/#100(pp.152-176), #101(pp.400-414).
Menasha, Wisc.

Very important publication and discussion of a MS translation from the Elkinton Papers, in the Peace Collection of Swarthmore College, Penna.. Account reports Doukhobor history from c.1850-1903, by an early Independent Doukhobor who eventually settled in California (and is cited in Maloff, 1948 & MS).

Curran, J.B.

1929

"Doukhobors: interesting people...." Intermountain Motorist,
Aug. 1929. Spokane, Wash. pp.5-7.

Generally poor, popular notes on West Kootenay communities, but does distinguish between sub-sects and hints at level of some Folk technology; could have been much worse.

Dunn, Ethel and Stephen F.

1964

"Religion as an instrument of culture change...." Slavic Review,
Vol. XXIII. Seattle, Wash. pp. 459-478

Careful and important overview of relations, from c. 1900 to c. 1929, between Russian (Soviet) government and communal sects. Concludes that an irreducible body of Soviet citizens remains irreconcilable to a regime whose ideology of "technology alone will not satisfy." Relevant to status of Russian Doukhobors, and to sources of friction in Canada.

Frantz, Charles

1961

"Historical Continuities...Doukhobor Ideology and Political Organization." Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. V. Toronto. pp.31-35.
pp. 31-35.

Discussion of history and techniques of Doukhobor political structure, not in great detail, with conclusion that factionalism represents fundamentally unbalancing forces destructive to internal organization. A possible conclusion from a baldly Western political viewpoint, but ignores fact that Doukhobors, while factional, have maintained social organization for at least two centuries, during which time they have carried out politically effective acts. Franz occasionally seems to run close



to the assumption that a Russian concept means precisely the same as the English word used to translate it.

Godwin, George

1930 "The Doukhobors." Chambers' Journal, Ser. 7, Vol. XX(April). London.

A short essay on current circumstances, somewhat out-of-date. Scanty historical note that does mention Kropotkin's involvement with Doukhobors. Distinguishes between "fanatics" and more "normal" Doukhobors, but does not understand factions.

Harshenin, Alex

1961 "Phonemes of the Doukhobor Dialect." Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. V. Toronto. pp. 62-67.

An abbreviated and condensed presentation of Harshenin's M.A. Dissertation.

1964, 1967

"English Loanwords in the Doukhobor Dialect, I & II". Ibid., Vols VI(pp. 38-43), and VII(pp. 216-230).

Detailed phonetic discussion, with 200-word glossary, of words Russicized by Doukhobors

Hawthorne, Harry

1956 "A Test of Simmel on the Secret Society: The Doukhobors of British Columbia." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXII (July). Chicago. pp. 1-7.

Limits (outer circle can weaken, not defend, inner circle) and extensions (transmission of secret aspects of culture may generate disassociation from reality; continuation of secrecy after need is past may cause individual and social disorganization) to theoretical statements of Georg Simmel(Sociology of G. Simmel, tr. K.H. Wolff, Free Press, Glencoe, n.d.).

1920 "Houses with Flowering Roofs." Touchstone, Vol. VII(April). New York. pp. 26-29, 72.

Romantic account of houses in Saskatchewan settlements, noting that sod roofs are deliberately planted with flowers. Several notable Folklife, esp. Architecture, photographs - by Edith Watson??

Johnson, F. Henry

1964 "Doukhobors of B.C.: The History of a Sectarian Problem in Education." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXX(Winter). Kingston, Ont. pp. 528-541.

Questions permissible degree of privilege held by minorities. Offers slander re death of Peter Gospodnie Verigin; gives account of "miraculous changes" wrought upon Svobodnik children during sequestration from parents that does not jibe with other accounts.

Larkin, J.J.

1924 "Riddle of the Doukhobors." Maclean's Magazine, Vol. XXXVIII (Jan. 15). Toronto. pp. 19,39.

Journalistic account of current problems provoked by conflict with Public Schools Act requirements. Aware of Doukhobor viewpoint and its rationale, and - almost uniquely - concludes that Russian experience dominates Doukhobor attitudes to governmental authority: an insightful article.

Novokshonoff, Vera, et al., with John J. Verigin

1961,1964

"Doukhobors in the Boundary" Report of the Boundary Historical Society; Third Annual(1961), pp. 28-44, Fourth Annual(1964,sic), pp. 27-31.

Short but valuable data on Folklife, and Settlement and economic history; applicable especially to Grand Forks and minor settlements West some 40 miles to Midway, B.C.

Peacock, Kenneth

1966 "The Music of the Doukhobors." Alphabet, Vol. VIII(Nov.-Dec.). London, Ont. pp. 35-44.

Peacock's initial publication of Doukhobor song classification, with transcription and translation of one hymn text.

Thorsteinson, Elina

1918 "The Doukhobors in Canada." Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. IV(1917-1918). Abilene, Kansas. pp. 3-40.

First thirty pages are brief but adequate historical sketch. Remainder is an excellent digest of earliest Doukhobor folklife from contemporary accounts. Not all the data are reliable, and some material is obviously obtained from much earlier sources.

Wright, J.F.C.

1939 "Doukhobors." Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. XIX(Nov.).
Ottawa. pp.301-306.

Flawed but moderately objective historical notes; factions are again confused. Two excellent photographs (Edith Watson?): of women spinning, and of baking oven.

Zubek, John P.

1952 "Doukhobors: a genetic study on Attitudes." Journal of Social Psychiatry, Vol. XXXVI(Nov.). Worcester, Mass. pp. 223-239.

Ethnologically insensitive survey evaluating Anglo-canadian attitudes, with attempt to relate "antisocial behaviour to historic fact." Historic research into motivations is meagre and uncritical, with no effort to relate experience to behaviour. Relation between questionnaire used and stereotypes derived is not explained.



MAP INDEX

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LEGEND INDEX

No classification for Doukhobor legends exists at present. This index simply gives quick access to legendary materials cited in this study.

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GLOSSARY

Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir. Major early psalm collector. The numbers used in his 1910 collection to identify psalms.

C.C.U.B. Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. Communal organization set up by Doukhobors in Russia in late 1890's and operating in Saskatchewan and British Columbia till 1938.

Chistiakov, ЧИСТЯКОВ. "Purger". Attributive name of Peter Petrovitch Verigin, second spiritual leader of Canadian Doukhobors.

D.S.C. Doukhobor Society of Canada. National organization of Independent Doukhobors, a major subsect.

Declaration. Major manifesto of the U.S.C.C..

Gospodnie, ГОСПОДНИЕ. "Lordly". Attributive name of Peter Vasilievitch Verigin, spiritual leader of Doukhobors during later years in Russia and first two decades in Canada.

Independent. Doukhobors who do not accept the concept or direction of a Spiritual Leader.

Living Book, ЖИВОТНАЯ КНИГА. The entire body of Doukhobor oral religious lore, and especially the Psalms.

Matky, МАТКЫ. "Queen Bees." Formerly, two trustees of each Communal Village, as organized in British Columbia.

Molenye, МОЛЕНИЕ. "Prayer". Fundamental Doukhobor worship service. Molenye Dom, МОЛЕНИЕ ДОМ, "Prayer House": the Community Hall in which this service is customarily held.

Platok, ПЛАТОК. Usually, a yard-square kerchief of delicately-embroidered crepe traditionally worn by Doukhobor women.

Poklon, ПОКЛОН. A bow, or, a greeting, and so used, interchangeable, by many older Doukhobors.

Protocol. Major structural document of Named Doukhobors, 1928, a revitalization movement spearheaded by Peter Chistiakov, and still a basic organizational and administrative guide to members of the U.S.C.C.

Sobranie, СОБРАНИЕ. Any meeting of Doukhobors, and especially that which follows the Molenye.



Society of Named Doukhobors. A revitalization movement designed to approach Doukhobor unity; modified in 1934 to become the U.S.C.C.

Sotnya, СОТНЯ. "Hundred." The rank-and-file of a Community Village; actual number averaged 75.

Stradanie, СТРАДАНИЕ. "Suffering." Fundamental concept of an experience that is ultimately redemptive for the sufferer and those about him.

Svobodnik, СВОБОДНИК. Member or attribute of a major Doukhobor sub-sect characterized by conservative, zealot ideology.

U.S.C.C. Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ. Religious organization of largest Doukhobor subsect, and social and economic successor to C.C.U.B..

Yastrebov, ЯСТРЕБОВ. "Hawk". Attributive name of Peter Petrovitch Verigin, son of Peter Chistiakov; never left Russia, and died there in confinement during W.W.II.



I. INTRODUCTION

I. Problem and Thesis.

When I was rather younger than I am now, still in High School, I heard a Doukhobor choir sing, among other things, a psalm, Hear Us, O God (not in this collection). My interest began with that, as did a certain value for persons and things outside the pale of my own culture's experience; this was, in part, to lure me into the discipline of Folklore and Folklife. If a reason beyond intellectual causes and queries is sought for this study, it must lie in a supporting emotion: I desired this contact, this understanding.

I first entered the field some years ago as an amateur, not knowing where to begin or how to proceed beyond unbalanced and narrow collecting. Other duties and necessities have intervened, but so has the opportunity to get formal training. When I returned to this field, it was with the express aim of detailing the effect of cultural interaction on the content, style, and function of Doukhobor music. To achieve this aim, I proposed to make an inclusive and analytic collection of Doukhobor songs, and to relate elements produced by analysis to elements of social structure. I was aware of a very few previous Doukhobor studies, as also of a major song collection and of a reference collection.



There is nothing unusual (or reprehensible) in changing one's aim when first-hand data start to become available. For the study as planned, I needed reliable in-depth ethnography, a minimum at least of source material on the Russian experience of the Doukhobors, and, above all, a dated collection, preferably recorded, of songs with which to make field comparisons. Unfortunately, none of these happened to exist; in order even to approach my aim, I would have to fill in some of the gaps. No ethnography beyond short-term travellers' reports, mostly biased, existed, save for a necessarily limited quasi-governmental study (Hawthorne 1955). Russian source material scarcely existed on this continent (and I was discouraged from seeking it in its home); nor had it interested any previous researchers to the point of preparing translations. The Peacock collection of the National Museum of Man exists, at present, in a survey publication of 27 items (Peacock, 1970) and several boxes of tapes; these await the disposition of funds to support transcription of the remaining 450-odd items.

It was incumbent upon me, therefore, to find out precisely how I could speak about Doukhobor culture. Three needs seemed paramount: to accumulate a body of traditional material for evaluation to survey materials that would, presumably, be affected to some degree by cultural interaction; to describe these and to survey the attitudes held, by both Doukhobors and non-Doukhobors, towards them. It was necessary, in short, to undertake a partial ethnography of Doukhobors in Canada, and to dwell particularly on

aspects of cultural adjustment (whether nil, median, or extreme). By the time Fieldwork was under way, the thesis had become the following:

As a result of the interaction of Doukhobor and Canadian cultures, some Doukhobor traits have been modified more than others.

The labour in confirming this thesis does not lie in measuring modification, nor in identifying Canadian culture ('any external influence after 1899'): it lies in describing the nature of Doukhobor culture and Doukhobor traits, a matter which the majority of prior investigators had taken more or less for granted. It would be overweening to suppose that the research had brought forth a rigorous and infallible description; but I submit that the findings are essential to any further investigation.

As finally prepared, the study incorporates a discussion of Doukhobor song style; a major collection of psalm texts; analysis of the texts, of historic attitudes towards Doukhobor culture, and of Doukhobor religion; a survey of Material Culture; an analysis of community events; and a brief discussion on social structures.

II. The Field: Definition, Geography, and Demography.

The term Doukhobor has a wide range of applications among different individuals and preconceptions. For the purposes of this study, and with suitable qualifications noted elsewhere, I have taken it to mean the following:



Any member, by birth or behaviour, of a specific ethno-religious group, Russian in origin, and immigrant to Canada chiefly between 1899 - 1910.

Among some local Anglo-Canadians, the definition would be enlarged to include anyone speaking with a certain accent, or living in a certain locale; among some Doukhobors, assignment of the name would be bestowed upon a few individuals of obvious piety, of excellent character, and holding certain ideals - and upon no others would the name be placed (Field notes, 13/4/71). The definition used here includes the majority of tradition-bearers as well as those who have abandoned the tradition to the limits of their conscious ability.

The majority of Canadian Doukhobors live in the West Kootenay region of British Columbia; a large minority remain in the area of initial settlement, the north-central region of Saskatchewan, and a small minority is distributed elsewhere, mostly in Vancouver, British Columbia. The research area selected was, therefore, the West Kootenay. (Fig. I/1).

This region consists of two major North-South valleys, the Purcell and Selkirk trenches (named for their eastern mountain barriers) and one East-West valley, the Kootenay, in the southern third of the region. Grand Forks, a major settlement area, lies just outside the West Kootenay region, in the western foothills of the Monashee range (the western barrier of the Selkirk trench). The Purcell trench is largely drained by the Duncan River, Kootenay River, and

Kootenay Lake; the Selkirk trench, by the Columbia River and the Arrow Lake; the Kootenay valley, by the West Arm of Kootenay Lake, the Kootenay River, and the Columbia River.

The mountain ranges of the area are, in the words of the Geological Survey of Canada (Little, 1960, pp. xiii, 9):

...generally severely folded and faulted sedimentary and volcanic rocks representing most systems from the Windermere (Late Cambrian) to Cretaceous. Within all these are emplaced plutonic rocks, mainly acidic, of two distinct ages. The more abundant are the Cretaceous(?) granitic bodies....The younger ...are of Tertiary age, more alkaline in composition, and mainly of magmatic origin.

Evidence of both continental and alpine glaciation is abundant ...the former is not seen at elevations much higher than 7,000 feet.

The effect of glaciation has not only been to exaggerate valley width. but also to generate what, following river erosion, were to become wide, flat benches elevated above the present river levels. These are especially conspicuous in the Castlegar-Kinnaird area. The geologic formulation of existing soils has important effects upon agricultural planning for the area.

Figures I/2,3 are topographic maps of the immediate areas of settlement, and of Field research. Comparison of these with Figure I/1 will give their relationships. Figure I/4 provides an approximate distribution of population, based on the 1961 Federal Census.

Three major ethnic groups are represented in the region. The majority is Anglo-Canadian, a stock of largely English and Scots ancestry. Two periods of immigration are significant: initial entry of miners roughly a century ago, and a steady trickle since, increasing significantly in the years following World War I. Doukhobors

represent the next most significant group; the majority arrived c. 1907, while migration to the Vancouver area was significant after 1940. An enclave of Italians is located in Trail, mostly workers in the mining and metallurgical industry. Some Portuguese are present in Castlegar, and a few Chinese are scattered through the area; the latter have been present since the early mining period.

The population of the West Kootenay district and of Grand Forks was, according to the 1961 Census, 70,707 and 5,168 respectively, for a total of 75,875. The Doukhobor population of the areas cited was 12,332. To this must be added an unnamed fraction of the 10,000 persons of Russian ethnic origin living in Vancouver: 3,000 is a reasonable estimate. This results in a British Columbia population of some 15,332. Allowing for at least 6,000 in Saskatchewan, the total Canadian Doukhobor population at the present time is probably in the vicinity of some 22,500. No reliable estimates on the population of Doukhobors sub-sects is available, beyond that of a paid-up membership of some 3 - 4 thousand in the U.S.C.C..

The majority of Doukhobors work in the Lumber industry or related trades, such as construction, carpentry, and the operation of building-supply and hardware trades. Many families and individuals operate farms of an acre or so, which produce high-quality subsistence vegetables and dairy products, often with a small surplus (beyond preserves) for market sale. Professions and service trades are also represented, and a few craftsmen support themselves, while a number of others supplement their income by their craft. A currently mildly-depressed economy,

or personal reasons, keep a minority on Welfare; on the other hand, many older persons who would otherwise require support are maintained in their children's homes, a traditional responsibility.

The main centres of Doukhobor settlement are as follows. These may be found on the maps; their traditional Russian names, still used on a number of occasions, are included (Maloff, MS, pp. 136 - 137) (see Fig. 1/5) :

Brilliant		
Ooteschenie	УТЕШЕНИЕ	'Consolation'
Champion Creek	БЛАГОДАТНИЕ	'Paradise/Plenty'
Pass Creek	ЛУГОВИЕ	'Meadows'
Shoreacres, Glade, etc.	ПЛОРОДОРОДНОЕ	'Fertile'
Krestova	КРЕСТОВОЕ	'Cross'
Grand Forks:	ХРИСТОВОЕ ДОЛИНА	'Christ's Valley'
	ФРУКТОВОЕ	'Fruits'
	УБЕЖИЩЕ	'Haven'

To these original settlement areas have been added:

Thrums
 Slocan Valley centres between Bonnington and Slocan:
 Crescent Valley
 South Slocan
 Slocan Park
 Passmore
 Winlaw & Appledale
 Perrys Siding
 Gilpin, east of Grand Forks.

A Svobodniki village is maintained near Agassiz, B.C., some 60 miles east of Vancouver; and for almost ten years a millenarian colony, the New Jerusalem, was located at Hilliers, B.C., about 4 miles west of Parksville on Vancouver Island. Original settlement figures for the West Kootenay region are as follows (Maloff MS, p. 137) :

Brilliant	300
Ooteschenie	2,000 plus
Blagodatnie	200
Lugovoe	300

Plorodorodnoe	800
Krestova	450
Grand Forks	1,500

The original acreage occupied was c. 14,000 acres, of which most was uncleared, the exception being a small area of Ooteshenie.

A Note on the Maps:

All maps, with the exception of Fig. I/4, are based upon aerial photographs made in the mid - 1950's, and were rechecked for cultural data c. 1959 - 1960. Thus some historic areas are not shown as they are at present, nor as they were at the time of initial settlement.

Centres are indicated by arrows on Fig. I/5, with the exception of the Slocan Valley. This latter region is populated thinly and fairly evenly throughout the area between Crescent Valley and Perrys Siding, which are indicated on the map by double arrows. The same style of settlement is characteristic of the area between Thrums and Shoreacres; examination of Fig. I/2 will clarify settlement patterns here. The same is largely true of the area between central Grand Forks, and Gilpin, some 11 miles east thereof. Note also distribution of buildings in the area immediately west of Grand Forks city centre.

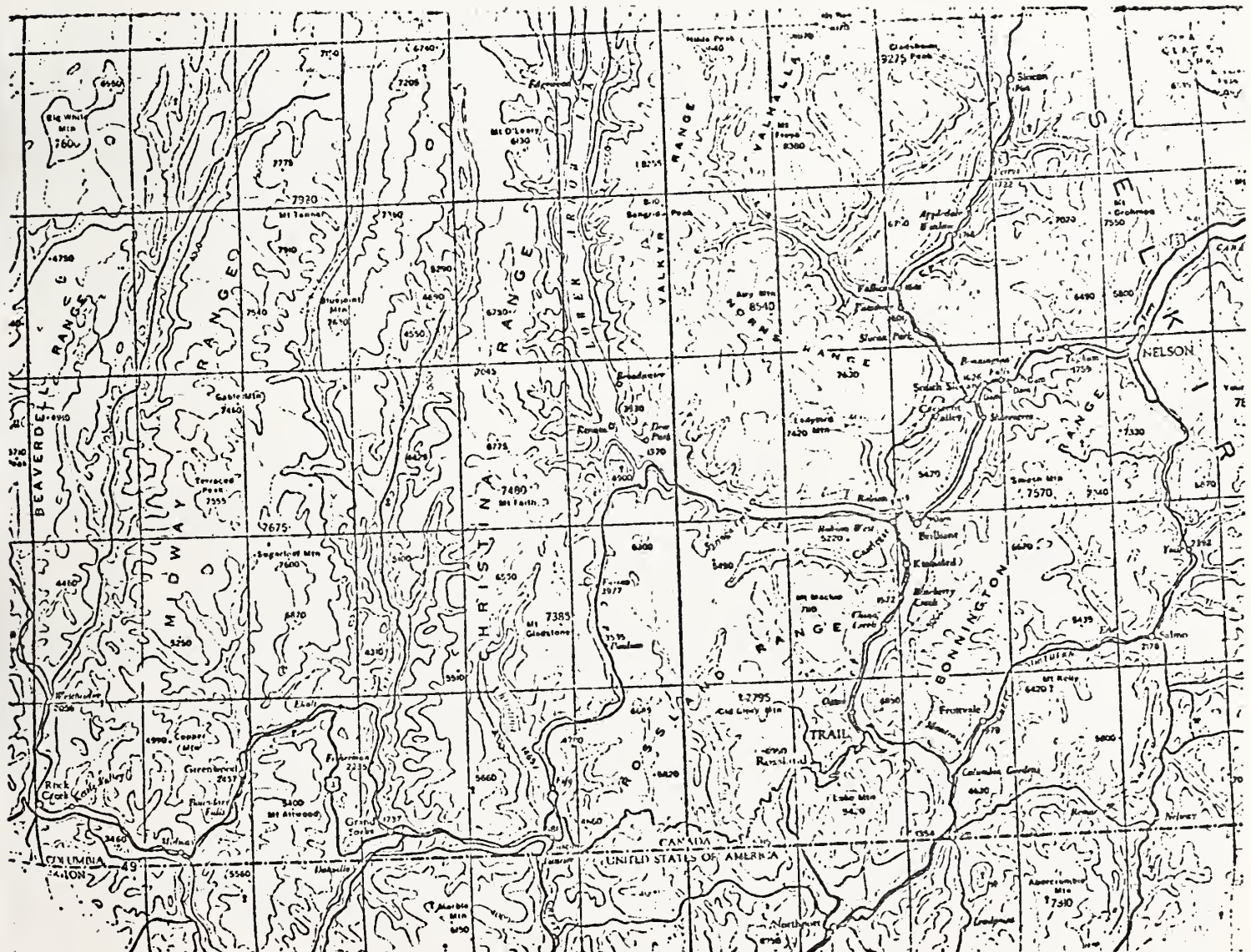


Fig. I/1. West Kootenay District and eastern Boundary District. Canada
 Dept. of Mines & Technical Surveys, National Topographic
 Series. Okanagan Kootenay NW / 48 / 120. Sheet 82 SW.
 c. 1/100,000.

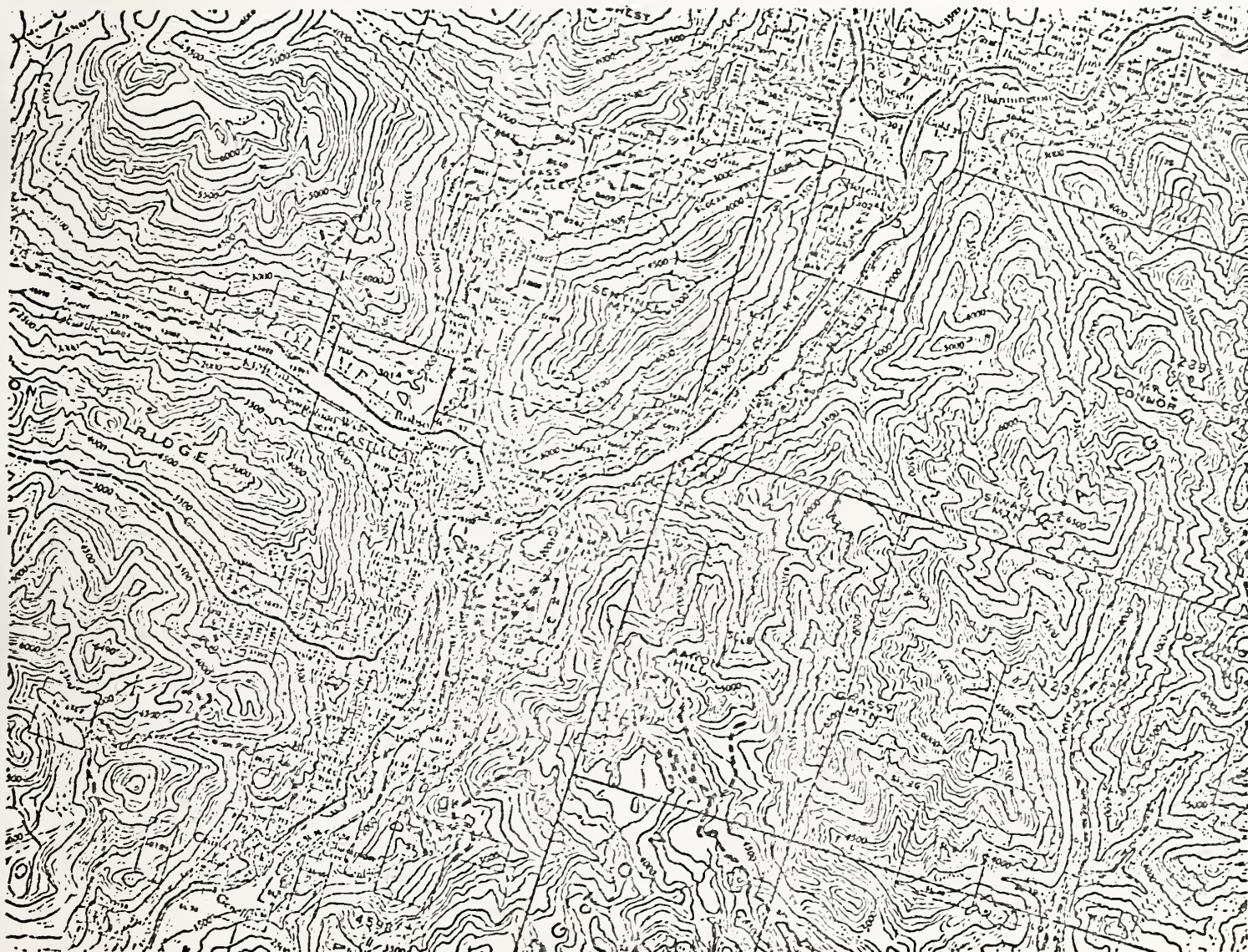


Fig. 1'2. Columbia district. British Columbia Dept. of Lands & For-
-ests. National Topographic System. Trail / Sheet 82 F/SW/
1/50,000.

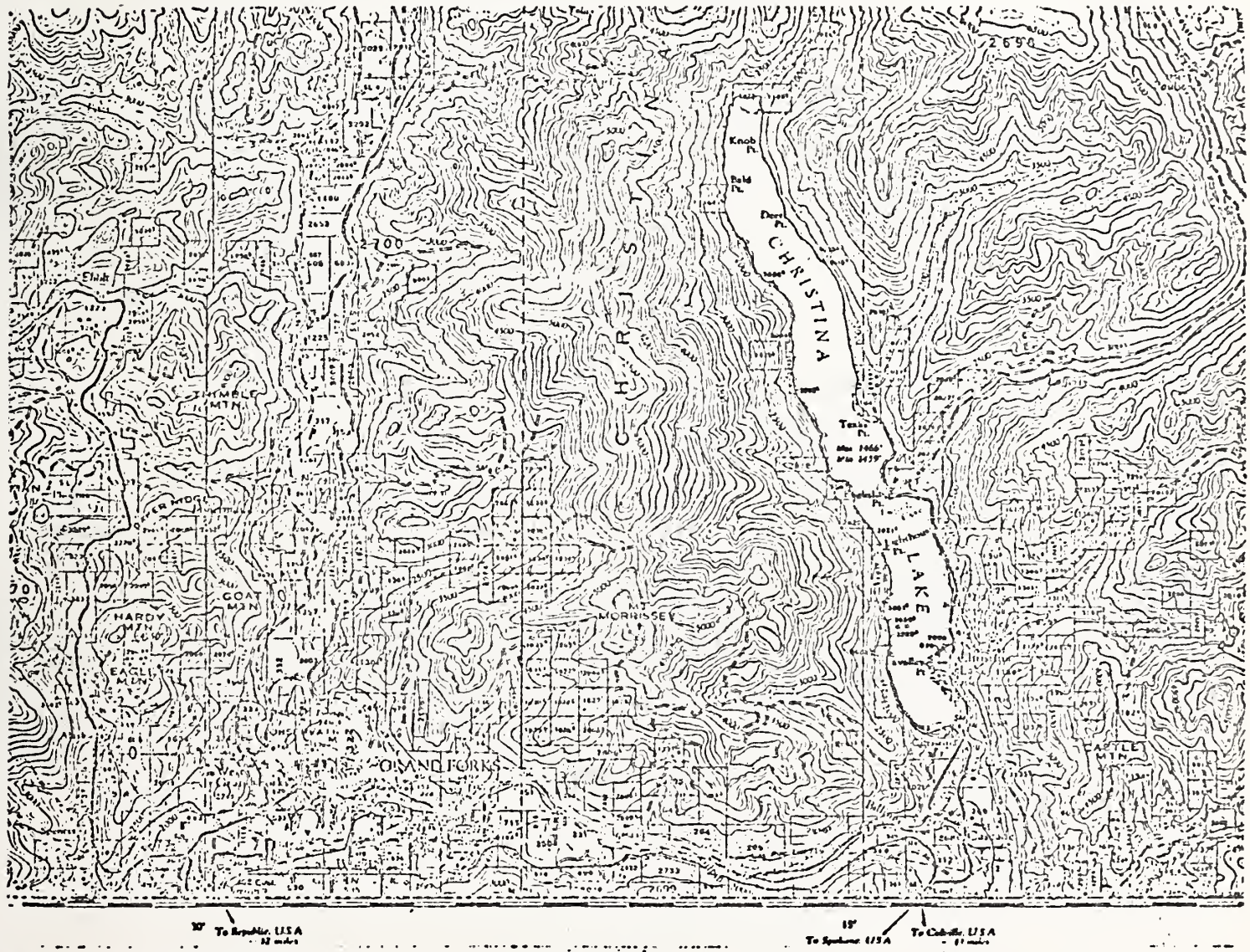


Fig. 1/3. Grand Forks district. British Columbia Dept. of Lands & Forests. National Topographic System. Grand Forks / Sheet 82 E/SE. 1/50,000.

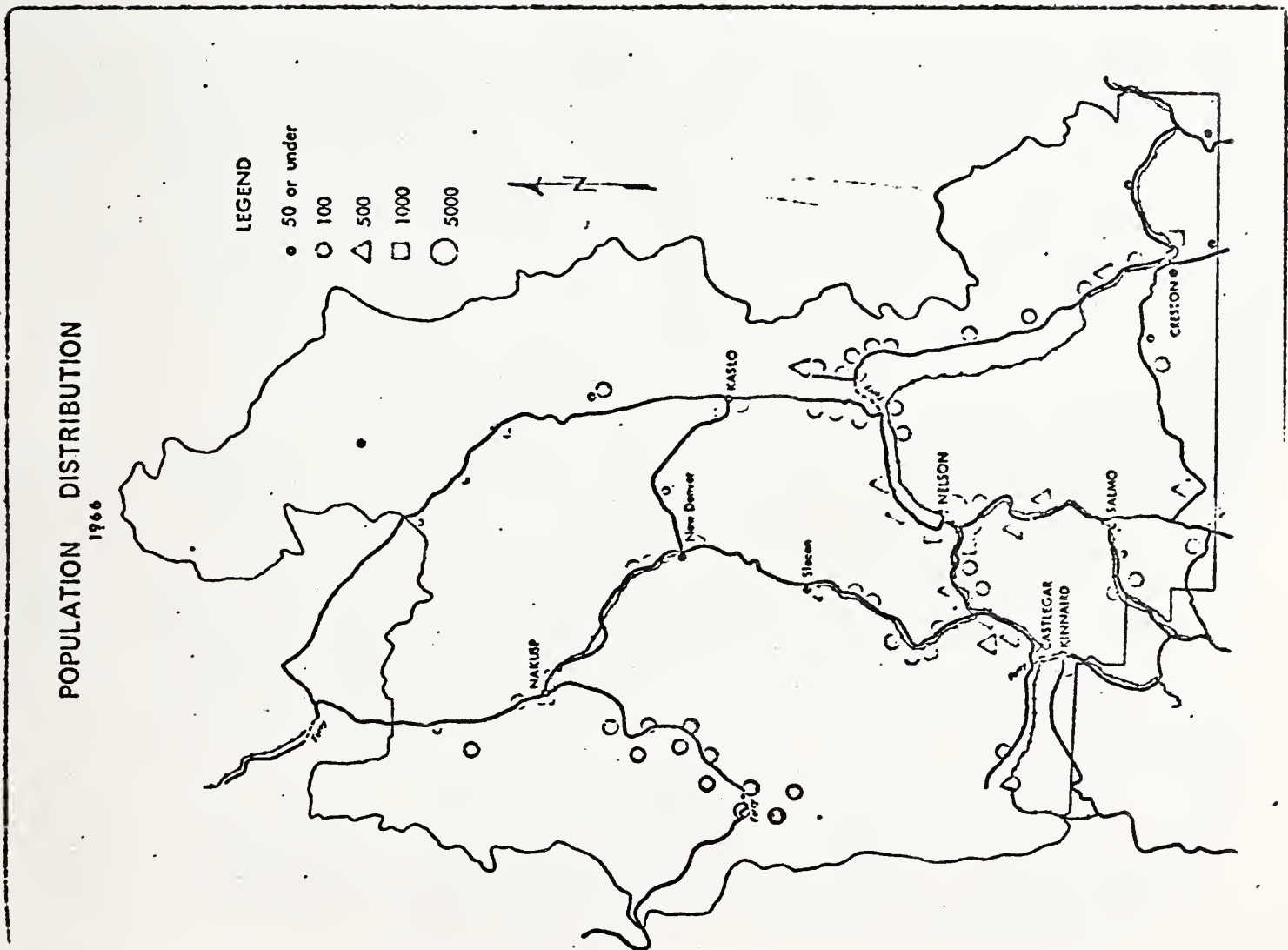


Fig. 1/4. Map 2, Central Kootenay Region Economic Survey. (Government of British Columbia, 1970). c. 1/75,000

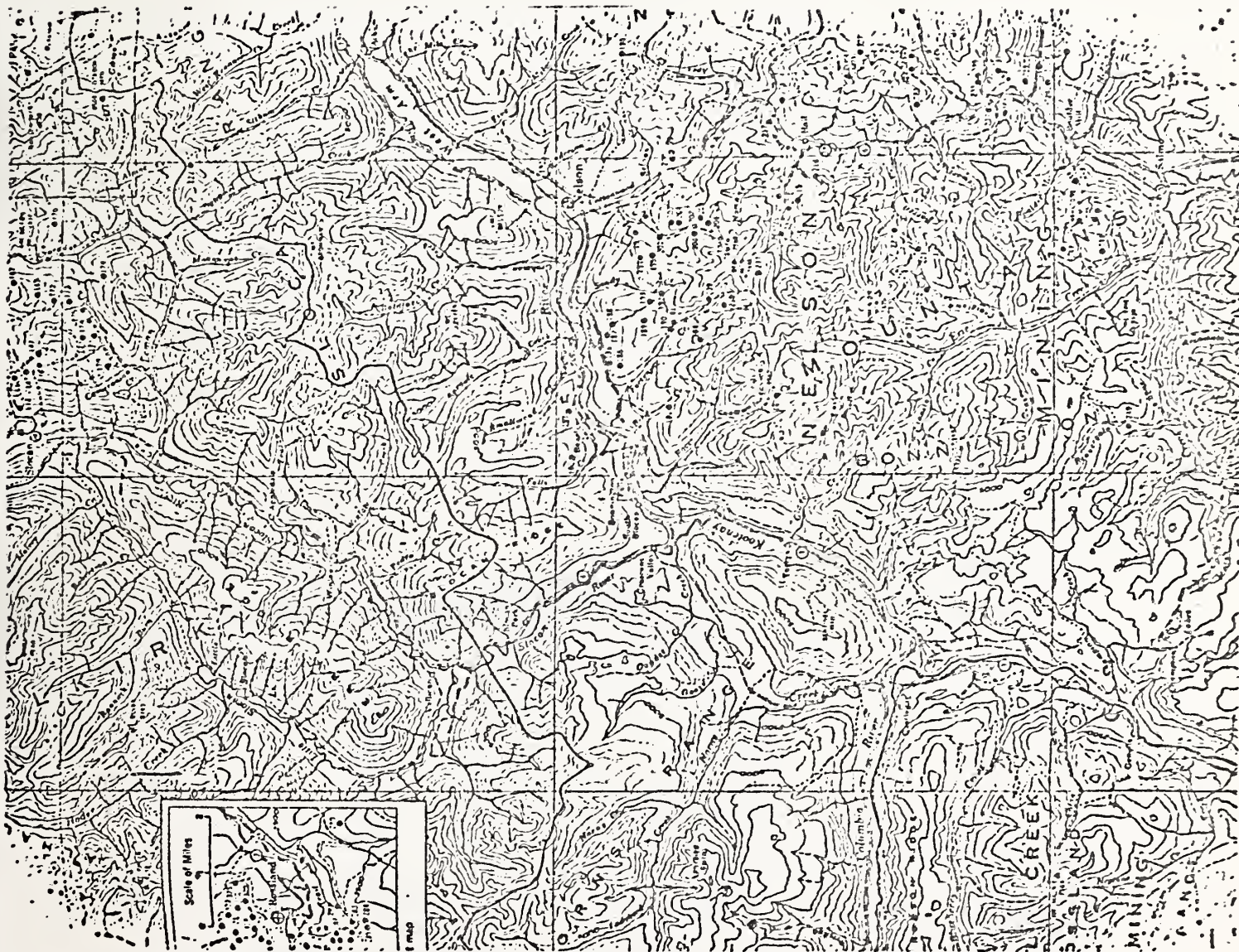


Fig. 1/5. Canada Dept. of Mines & Technical Surveys. Geological Survey of Canada. Map 1091 A / Nelson (West Half). 1960. c. 1/75,000

III. Fieldwork: Methodology and Problems.

Before entry into the field was made, the realm of research was planned to consist of three independent continua:

- _____ Oral and Formal History.
- _____ Individual Psalms & content elements.
- _____ Community & Individual performance contexts.

This plan proved to be based upon two erroneous minor assumptions: that adequate comparative data would be available; and that the researcher was equipped, scholastically and financially, to carry out adequate research. On the other hand, the plan remained an adequate guide to direction and scope of research: it remained necessary to establish a view of history, to assemble and analyze a collection of psalms, and to examine major performance contexts. The relationships between the song, religious belief, and culture of Doukhobor communities made inclusion of _____ essential to an adequate understanding of _____ such a basis that Fieldwork was begun.

Fieldwork was a _____ intensive period of study of the University of _____'s Doukhobor Collection, a Special Collection of _____ inclusive quality. Notes were taken on all relevant materials, and a number of significant items were Xerox'd for extended study. Library study was also carried out during the Fieldwork period; this centred about the Provincial Library and Archives in Victoria, and the small but important Local Collection of Selkirk College Library in Castlegar.

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Fieldwork was preceded by a short but intensive period of study of the University of British Columbia Library's Doukhobor Collection, a Special Collection of excellent and inclusive quality. Notes were taken on all relevant materials, and a number of significant items were Xerox'd for extended study. Library study was also carried out during the Fieldwork period; this centred about the Provincial Library and Archives in Victoria, and the small but important Local Collection of Selkirk College Library in Castlegar.

Several earlier informant contacts were followed up, and the first nine months of Fieldwork included a number of extended interviews. Where possible, these were taped, but as a rule taping was not acceptable and any prolonged attempt to tape would have destroyed the effectiveness of the interview. The early Fieldwork period also included slow driving in the area, coordinated with map study and initial site photography.

Early work and correspondence turned up two valuable sources of Psalm translations: the resources and problems of the raw texts acquired thereby are discussed in the section immediately preceding the texts. Study of these was carried on simultaneously with participant observation of religious and other gatherings, and of general behaviour. In addition, a number of contacts initiated on a formal basis were followed up with both formal and informal visits: nearly all informants became friends, and business and pleasure lost much of their exclusiveness. Conversations were provoked with acquaintances to test out their opinions.

By late spring 1971, research was extended to examination of buildings, and photography. In mid-summer, research was considerably aided by a semi-official collaboration with Kenneth Peacock of the National Museum of Man, which that year began to acquire Doukhobor artifacts on an organized basis. Since the duties involved acquiring and researching artifacts, a number of new contacts were discovered; moreover, objects could be photographed before shipment to Ottawa.

During the whole time, there was no long-term, clear plan for Fieldwork. In retrospect, this seems to have been the best arrangement. Library research implied some directions in which Fieldwork

should go; early Fieldwork indicated either dead ends or areas for further study. As a rule, all plausible information was considered; some unlikely data and informants were to prove to be of great value. Again, when a short term of study or a major participation/observation session was over, time was taken for the consideration of the event in the light of previous data and the event's own implications. Often such consideration led to new problems for study, or new possibilities for coordination of data. By late summer, remaining research was seen as a matter of wrap-up, rather than of major additional discovery. Some areas had been under-researched or overlooked, but it was concluded that the expense of time would be far in excess of usefulness of new data to be discovered. Such areas are by no means discarded, but must simply await further study.

It had proved impossible to acquire a significant understanding of Russian during the period of intensive fieldwork. The energy expended on fieldwork left no reserve for intensive language study; no lesser study would suffice (it was attempted); and arrangements for immersion by residence would have required excessive expenditure, some of it financial. Training in Russian was begun during the second fall of fieldwork and continues as I write; it made it possible to prepare a more useful set of psalm translations, and made some other materials, such as Burial Marker Inscriptions, accessible. An earlier understanding of the language would have been most beneficial, but would also have been almost impossible to acquire: Standard Russian is very distinct from the Doukhor dialect, and the psalms themselves are for the most part in a var-

-iant of Old Church Slavonic. To have had only an academic reading knowledge of Russian might well have been a serious handicap during initial study of Doukhobor texts. Speaking knowledge is, of course, a different matter for learning; at present I have no significant proficiency. Fortunately, nearly all Doukhobors are bi-lingual, and an interpreter is never far off. It should also be noted that the original plan presumed a great range of translated materials to be available: such has proved very much not to be the case, though it was a plausible supposition where and when it was made. Fieldwork is useful for exploding inaccurate suppositions: there are few better methods.

In summary, then, Fieldwork was planned for short-term periods; it consisted of participant-observation, interviews, passive observation, the preparation of translations, and direct study and recording of artifacts. Notes, tape-recordings, and photography were used as observation media.

Three major problems arose during fieldwork: Communications, Stress, and Money. The language problem proved to be of minor importance; the major problem in communication was the record of previous researchers. Of all these, none, perhaps, has had a more deleterious effect on subsequent research than Simma Holt, whose Terror in the Name of God (1964) is discussed in the chapter on Historic Attitudes (V). Thus one informant was to say (Field notes, 22/10/70):

We trust people and speak to them; then they go away and twist what we say and pile dirt on our heads.

The Fieldworker thus has not only to apologize for himself, but to cope

with a prior history of research that has, for the more part, done little better than to retail bigotry scarcely on the safe side of actionable slander. Honest misunderstandings and a proportion of bias can be explained by later researchers; but it is possible to develop a really bitter resentment of those whose deliberate malice and sanctimonious execrations have come as close as possible to destroying the possibility for meaningful research after they have passed. It is not easy to understand the motivations of those who seek to rear walls of hatred and misunderstanding between groups of people: it is very hard indeed to convince their victims that the next researcher is following only the form, and not the substance, of the previous stranger.

The stress problems were unavoidable. One form arose from the necessarily schizoid nature of fieldwork: to be functioning adequately, the participant-observer must maintain a dual role while working. If, for example, he is at a meeting, he must neither remain independent of the interaction (that is to cut off communication), nor become wholly immersed in it (that is to lose his objective reference). Nor may he resolve the problem by oscillating from one role to the other: that is just as much time wasted as if he had played either role alone. Instead, he must continually be striving to behave in every respect like those whose company he shares (as the speaker of a language behaves like a fellow speaker); yet he must be continually bringing all his formal training to bear upon his experience, lest it be submerged in the values of the group to the exclusion of learning. The point of this ob-

jectivity is not to limit communication, in the end; it is to expedite communication of a sort that is unessential to members of the inter-action group, for whom it is already internalized. The communication that is sought lies at a deeper level than that of ordinary language, though ordinary language carries much of it. The maintenance of such a dual role is unnatural and taxing, threatening the participant-observer with the risk of losing both identities. Its rewards, in terms of understanding, are correspondingly high. In practise, the usual manifestations of stress from this source were exhaustion and doubt, both of which were usually countered with rest and study of data. The other sources of stress were trying but unavoidable: financial problems, the illness on two occasions of the researcher's wife, and the death of both his parents in the same year: 3TA XM3HB.

The financial problem was of such direct importance to fieldwork that it must be outlined precisely. It was very simple: some 18 months of fieldwork, more than a year of it intensive, was undertaken with neither private means nor any form of grant. Costs were met by more or less acceptable means: the researcher's wife worked full time, life-insurance was cashed-in, a student loan taken, meals were lean, no reserve for emergencies was available. The detriments of this situation were of varying evil: some included postponed membership in learned societies, lack of book purchase or access to relevant and current academic writing, and lack of recreation funds (applying the latter term to use of a home of adequate size and expenditure of c. \$15.00 per month on craft materials, fabrics, music, etc.). These, however, were of minor importance indeed, compared to lack of suitable

rest time for the researcher's wife; inability to obtain additional research aids, such as keysort cards, tapes, some essential recording accessories (e.g., windscreen), photographic film (still and ciné), paper, and processing, especially; and, perhaps most detrimental of all, inability to travel adequately, both within the field and to research resources outside it. The lack of research aids is, unfortunately, obvious, especially in the photographic sections; the lack of travel resources was to some degree countered through correspondence.

The financial problem was also unavoidable. Some aspects of it were imposed by external conditions; others, by the requirements that became evident as research progressed, and which could not have been foreseen. As a rule, the problem was countered if not solved through deliberate (and painful) limitation of study, and through limitation of expenditure on non-essentials such as food, clothing, and shelter. Means of recreation were improvised, and the chief burden, in the end, was the knowledge that relevant research could not be pursued. If any conclusion arises from this experience, it is that no student should plan research of this sort unless, at the very least, some financial reserve, if not income, is easily available. Good work can still be done, but there is simply no need for work to be as limited as lack of funding will make it. In the present case, a stipend of some \$75.00 per month would have covered most additional costs except journeying to Saskatchewan and Ottawa; the latter could have been combined for an approximate total cost (time, accommodation, and travel) of some \$700 - 800 in all.

In retrospect, the Thesis as it finally took shape was not badly proportioned to the resources with which it was developed. Study, correspondence, and the Field together supply quite sufficient data. The problem was broadly based, but it was possible to approach it in some depth in several areas. A more simple situation might have been easier to discuss; it would also have been that much less enjoyable. For, all real and imagined complaints, doubts, and lacks notwithstanding, work of this sort brings forth joy. It should not be otherwise.

IV. Preface to the Psalms.

It has been the lot of Folklore studies to have a character, not undeserved, akin to that of a circumspect botanist whose lifelong study of trees consists of the dutiful collection of dead leaves, carefully classified as to colour, number of points, size, and dorsal or ventral presentation when found on the ground. On rare and commendable occasions, the botanist was cunning enough to observe and grasp pale leaves as they fluttered down through the October air; but it never occurred to him that in July he might find identical leaves under quite another nature. If only he had then raised his head, he could have seen them there - in infinite multitude, shimmering in the sun, and part of the subtle life of the tree rather than rich but perished mould. To be sure, the study of the living leaf presents greater problems than that of the dead: but, after all, his purpose was to learn about trees, not humus.

If the analogy may bear a little further strain, I suppose that some of the oral and material artifacts of a culture may be likened to leaves on a tree. For one thing, the leaves are more conspicuous than the complex unity of twig and branch and trunk that they conceal; and in winter it is clear that the unity is something other than the artifacts. But in many ways these artifacts are the show, commerce, display, read-out, that continually and precisely reports on fundamental processes occurring in other parts of the tree - the culture.

The most conspicuous oral artifacts of the Canadian Doukhobors are three classes of song: Psalms, Hymns, and Folksongs (ПЕСНИ), the latter ascribed a secular character. These classes are simple and overly crude, but represent real and veritable divisions perceived and used by the people. Hymns indeed are the green leaves of Doukhobor culture. They can be subdivided into numerous classes, by content, by style, and by chronology. They include archaic memories from the earliest Doukhobor past, transformed borrowings from North American popular music, and a wide and continually varying range between. They are found in a wide range of performance situations, and are perpetuated through diverse media. If any one genre of lore gives broad access to the totality, especially the current totality, of Doukhobor culture, it is that of the Hymns.

But perhaps, with yet further strain, the analogy can serve a further distinction. To the casual observer, the bulk of a tree's form is defined by the distribution and qualities of the leaves, as they are supported by the unity of limbs. But he need not approach it very closely, to learn that it derives a firm support and other

benefits from an almost wholly invisible root structure - a structure whose form is very like that of the branches. These roots are for the most part underground; they do not call for the world's attention as leaves might be fancied to do. Their support to the tree - the culture - is special, unobtrusive, and rigid.

To roots, then, the psalms of the Doukhobors might be compared; the psalms are for the most part ancient, inconspicuous, rigid. But though the roots are in the ground like last year's leaves, they are not dead but living. Their purpose is not to turn and shift and catch the moving light, the moving wind, but, save by a slow growth, to be unchanged; not to come and go with the seasons, even with the winds, but to preserve a relationship, a primordial pattern for reference, a pattern like that of the unity of limbs and twigs.

So with the Psalms. They are not sung by a majority of the Doukhobors; they are not sung with expertise, save by a small, elderly, and perhaps dwindling minority. They are examined by few and analyzed in detail by fewer; and those who use them most fully seem least concerned with them intellectually, though the psalms are intellectual documents also. Their language is obscure, severe, and obsolete; their music is uniquely inaccessible. Their performance and use is a small and often private part of the life of the Doukhobors - quantitatively.

Nevertheless this investigation begins with and grows from a selection of Psalms: because they are the intellectual resource of Doukhobor theory; because they are the embodiment but not the expression of whatever it is that Doukhobors stated and still state; because

the remaining Doukhobor artifacts - historical, oral, and material -
- are less essential to an understanding of the culture, and only
Doukhobor lives tell more. This investigation may not succeed in com-
-pleting an understanding of that culture: but it must present mater-
-ials that may no longer be dismissed; and hopefully, it will also
present some concepts and tools with which others may work more fruit-
-fully.

II. Types and Use of Doukhobor Psalms.

I. General Descriptions.

The core genre of Doukhobor worship and hymnody is that of the Psalms. The genre is defined in the culture by its occasion of use: psalms are used as the most formal sung element of public worship; as prayer, public and private; and as healing prayers and in other Folk-medical applications. Many but not all have musical texts distinguished by a moderately structured polyphony and exceedingly complex, even baffling, melisma.

The broadest origins of the texts are generally obscure. Many are paraphrases or confluences of scripture texts (e.g., 71; Dream). Some appear to have been adopted from folk or popular devotions perhaps not far removed from an identifiable or putative author (e.f., 141; In the Garden of Gethsemane), while others have been recently appropriated from the speech or writings of Doukhobor leaders (e.g., Christ is One; Grant, O Lord), and at least two are Community principles or regulations (e.g., 144; Basic Rules): A certain body, the Cataphetical psalms (cf. 1, 6) are doctrinal vehicles probably developed during the early 1700's by one individual followed by a school. But most give little hint of date of origin or original type of composition. They are a devotional and doctrinal literature or a craft and power that often pass over the hindrances of other times, ways, and tongues, con-

-veying to us the strength that their makers and singers found and built in them. Until any better evidence is produced, the origins of these texts must be assumed to lie at the heart of the Doukhobor experience as it was moulded since the Raskol of early Seventeenth Century Russia.

The texts I have called Healing Psalms exist in more or less an underground manner, and for the most part have their origin in the unofficial religious expression of rural folk, applying spiritual instruction and techniques to mundane health. Pre-Christian elements are retained in some of these texts, and some are charms of wholly magical character; but field experience shows such texts to be best understood as one border of a continuum across which the whole population of psalms is scattered at distances that would vary according to the position and identity of the evaluator.

The psycholinguistic structure of the psalms is subject to considerable variation. Generally, the psalms may be assumed to fall between the ordinary-language homily (e.g., most of 384) and texts highly structured lexically, metrically, syntactically, and semantically (e.g., 359; Maiden Mother of God). A large number of psalms do, however, display a grossly dyadic structure: one speaker, usually either a suffering or grateful believer or group of believers, utters a complaint, plea, or praise, to which another speaker, usually the Lord, replies with encouragement and a promise. The believer usually speaks of present trouble and circumstances; the Lord usually speaks of help, reward, or judgement in the not-distant future. Cf. psalms 61, 79, 87, 143, &c.; and especially 130 and 150, as a few examples of this structure.

<u>PSALM</u>		
Believer	Lord	(speaker)
World	Afterword	(place)
Trouble	Resolution	(event)
Now	Soon	(time)
Suffering	Joy	(affect)

The psalm is the speech event mediating between these cognitive elements. A similar structure can be posited for some social phenomena.

Not all the occasions in which psalms may be used are explicit to the fieldworker; certainly the use of Healing psalms and private devotional psalms depends upon both accident and the play within the individual of his cultural heritage and binding mores, his will, and his deep experience, causes which cannot and need not be scrutinized by present techniques. But psalms are used in the major community events of worship and entertainment, the Molenye and the festival; and they are also essential to weddings and funerals. In the smaller community of village and family, they serve either as healing devices or as mediation between the individual and his God.

II. Performance Types.

Four kinds of use of psalm texts have been observed. The typology arising therefrom does not distinguish firmly between individual texts, a characteristic already familiar in, for example, the North American Fundamentalist practise of using hymn texts and devotional poetry interchangeably. The kinds of use are:

1. traditional sung
2. traditional spoken
3. other spoken
4. healing.

Type 1 is characteristic of public performance in a large community setting, a Sobranie, whether broadly based (as, a festival), or narrowly based (as, a wedding). Apparently no ascription of the text occurs to the mind of the participant. Solo performances of this type are unthinkable: Fred Oogloff says (Field notes, 26/1/71):

It wouldn't be reasonable to have just one [voice]. there's got to be a...[I supplied the term Harmony], Yes, Harmony is very important for psalm-singing. The only time one might hear only one person singing, would be when someone was learning a psalm...the teacher would sing a part to show the tune or the meaning....It should be at least 3 to 4 or 5 or 6 people.

Indeed, private performance by a group seems always to have been limited to the requirements of learning and practice of psalms.

Type 2 is characteristic of public performance, especially in Molenye, and of private devotion. Some psalms are only sung; some are only spoken; and some may be used in either mode; there is, moreover, the practice of reciting a psalm after it has been sung. The conventions that govern these discriminations are neither explicit, nor much

remarked upon by Doukhobors; further, texts alleged in one region to be only spoken or sung may be performed in the other mode in another region. When spoken, a psalm has much the quality of any traditional prayer: it may be associated with a festival, a season, or with some occurrence of a type (e.g., persecution, disaster, deliverance, etc.) with which it is traditionally associated. The speaker knows or discovers traditionally acceptable associations between the psalm and his present circumstances in his community, and by that individual act of discrimination inserts the traditional text into an open liturgical slot. The process uses the resource of a quasi-liturgical text with the technique of extempore prayer, a process comparable to a mid-point between the styles of established and fundamentalist Western churches.

Type 3 is used of those texts that are consciously ascribed in tradition to a known - usually recent - source. These are often of a more or less official nature (e.g., 144, 384, Father of All, Christ is One, &c.) and most are ascribed to Peter Lordly Verigin, or to his close followers. At least one text, Christ is One, demonstrates the movement into tradition of a text selected by the folk: the others are accepted by the folk from their leaders. Such texts are enhanced by their use of traditional concepts, motifs, and style, and have little internally to hinder their movement into tradition. Nor is tradition averse to such growth, it is rather the technique of Russian religion, at least as Ware (1963, pp. 203 - 207) sees it:

Tradition...is a life, a personal encounter with Christ in the Holy Spirit. Tradition is not only kept by the Church, it lives in the Church, it is the life of the Holy Spirit, in the church....Tradition, while inwardly changeless (for God does not change), is constantly assuming new forms, which supplement the old without superseding them (p. 206).

Type 4 is used of the body of texts used in healing contexts; these are never performed publicly. They may, on the contrary, be used by the single individual for his benefit; by one person for the benefit of one other person, also present and usually a (younger) member of his family; by one person for the benefit of a neighbour or other appellant; and by one person to another for the purpose of instruction in the use of such texts. Intellectual and other rationalist Doukhobors are reputed to hold such texts in high disrepute, but many of the texts seem widely known; quite conservative Doukhobors may have a large repertoire of the texts. I have at present no criteria for distinguishing the widely known texts, though length (as a function of retention from Childhood) is one apparent factor.

In the texts presented here, the Healing psalms are segregated from the rest. Where possible, I have identified those texts that are only sung or spoken; Bonch-Bruevich does not bother with this distinction, and most Doukhobor sources take it for granted.

III. Psalms in Use.

Sung and spoken psalms are to be heard at Sobranie, community assemblies. Under this inclusive term fall Molenye and sobranve, Weddings, Funerals and Commemorations, and Festivals, all of which are dealt with in more

detail further on (Ch. VIII). The last-named include a variety of events, more-or-less formal, more-or-less secular; but even the most secular occasion is liable to begin with the singing of the Lord's Prayer.

In Molenye, one individual, who may or may not be the first to speak in worship, but who is usually the most proficient singer, will commonly sing the lead phrases, setting pitch and melody. Errors in tune or text will be corrected unobtrusively but firmly by any members of the assembly who are more familiar with the text in question; such correction occurs and is accepted as a matter of course (Field notes, several dates). A somewhat similar technique is observed in Sunday School, which is essentially Molenye scaled down with shorter texts suited for children's use; at Glade (Field notes, 28/2/71), although the service was controlled by the adults present, children initiated the actual saying or singing of psalms and hymns. They are expected to sing independantly, though older people present support their singing, and correct it where necessary. As a present rule, three psalms are sung in Molenye; the number spoken is flexible, usually depending both on the total number present and the number of persons standing in the front line of each group, though sometimes not all of these took part; I have never heard more than ten psalms spoken in the first part of Molenye, though. In some regions, the psalms sung are selected from the psalms spoken, but this does not seem to be a firm rule, nor do I have any historical data on the question, as the regions are not easily accessible. A wide range of psalms - that is, one that includes

psalms usually associated with Weddings and Funerals - is suitable for Molenye, and apparently some individuals occasionally use psalms associated with private devotion in Molenye; at any rate, no psalm seems specifically excluded, although some (such as the bedtime prayers, for example - e.g., c. 300 - 307, etc.) seem improbable in this context. Other psalms - notably those associated with Christmas and Easter (e.g., 340 - 352) - probably occur exceedingly rarely outside those seasons. Marian psalms (e.g., Maiden Mother of God) of a mystical nature are deplored by some Doukhobors as an inexplicable survival from Russian Orthodoxy (Field notes, 25 / 11/ 70); others interpret the figure of Mary as a model of every mother who bears a (Christian) child, inasmuch as God indwells every man.

The above remarks are generally true of Wedding and Funeral and Commemoration psalm-singing, with the stricture that certain psalms are traditionally associated with these events. The 'fundamental' psalm Be Devout (138) in particular is associated with weddings and was heard at a wedding (Field notes, 6/6/71): it is appropriate, of course, to commend to a family just established the principles of the society in which it is established. Several psalms are cited as appropriate to funerals, of which a very popular example is We Will Gather Ourselves, Brothers (79). Since funerals are lengthy affairs, in conservative areas still taking a good 26-odd hours, a wide range of psalms and hymns is used.

Festivals may be very sacred occasions, as the November, February, and August Commemorations of the three Peter Verigins, Lordly, Purger, and Hawk; they may be essentially sacred occasions, such as the summer

Youth, Children's, and Declaration Day assemblies; or they may be essentially secular, as the winter Talent Nights and related events. To the former, psalm-singing is integral. It is a major part of the summer-time festivals, though it is excluded from that part of the Youth festival in which secular entertainment - skits and folksongs [ПЕЧЫ] - is presented. Hymn-singing occurs in these performances, though, as in the more secular Talent Nights, but the only commonly sung prayer is the Lord's Prayer, which is classified (when sung) as a psalm by Doukhobors.

The term applied to the recitation of psalms is the same as that used in Standard Russian for the recitation of poetry, [ЧИТАТЬ], read, and it is commonly so translated by Doukhobors. Without going into fruitless etymological discussion, it should be noted that the term is consonant with the name and concept of the psalms as a 'Living Book'. Reciting style is unremarkable, falling - depending on the individual's mood and attitude, as well as on the occasion - between the boundaries of hastily gabbled rote utterance and a fairly unemotional, even delivery in which semantic rather than other rhythms are observed. Some Healing psalms - likely those whose meaning has been lost - are said to be uttered in a rocking, singsong manner, but so far I have only come across one such (Against Warts - I).

The music of psalms is sui generis. Choral structure - in common with most Doukhobor song - is of an archaic type also found in the Sacred Harp tradition of the American Southeast, possibly sharing common

origins in the post-Byzantine hymnody of Eastern Europe of the early Middle Ages. Four voices may be distinguished: an upper male voice and a lower female voice carry the melody, either in unison or parallel octave. A lower male voice and an upper female voice are heard in approximate but occasionally varied four-to-five interval organon above and below the central voices. A large assembly may often boast four or five female high voices, and perhaps two male low voices, who sing a descant or contrabass line of extreme harmonic freedom; the high voice is termed Outer Voice [УТВОД]. While the fundamental harmony is simple, several factors serve to complicate matters a good deal.

For one thing, melisma is extreme. Melodies have no particular regard for the syntactic structure of their song text, and are highly extended. A verse of a typical psalm tune may run anywhere between one and one-half and six minutes, at a rate of up to two or three pitch-changes per second, and cover perhaps six words. Without more sophisticated modes of transcription than are presently available to me, I am not prepared to guess whether psalm melodies are elaborated forms of simple melodies; this assumption, fairly obvious in some contexts, may be doubted for a number of reasons, among which are existence of inset phrase doublets. Moreover, not all singers are expert: Peter and Fred Oogloff say (Field notes, 24/2/71):

[Peter]: I practise two, three hours most days, it still takes months to learn a psalm.

[Fred]: In our choir, a choir like ours, usually only two, maybe six people really know a psalm well: the rest, they know well enough to follow along. A hard job.

[Peter]: Once we two, we were the only ones in a choir who had the psalm in our minds [memorized],...we were scared and tired. Sweat was dripping off me. That's hard work - like dragging a heavy load uphill.

[Fred: of an earlier Molenye we had attended]: The first psalm was best, only the good singers knew it. The second psalm, some there were from distant [about thirty miles] places, they know it a little different and sing it their way. There gets to be a different beat.

In hearing inexpert singers practise (Field notes, 5/1/71), one may hear the more competent voices singing with little harmony, though the unfamiliar singers will fall into unacceptable harmonies or into discords. As practice continues, errors become fewer and harmony stronger and more assured. In actual performance, less competent voices generally hold to fairly strict parallel harmony, but not infrequently, through erroneous anticipation, lose their parallel line for a contrapuntal one. Such a 'found' line may often go astray, but it is not unusual for it to be successful, since the singer has long experience in oral counterpoint. Such 'found' harmonies have also been noted to result from the exigencies of short or incorrect breathing. Also, a competent singer's attempt to conform to a variant tune can introduce changes common to neither his own variant nor that presently being sung. When an old lady at Brilliant said to me (Early research, Easter 1962):

[About two dozen people were present]. There are twenty different parts to this psalm.

- she was probably very accurate, though those parts might not necessarily have been admitted by some of the singers to have differed from others, nor would they have been consistently diverse through the whole psalm.

The choirs that sing these psalms - as well as a large repertoire of hymns and songs - are strictly oral in tradition. Their history goes back at least two centuries, though before that time song was a major means for the preservation and transmission of Doukhobor culture. Still the major communities of Doukhobors in the West Kootenay support both their own community choirs, and other choirs organized on an even less formal basis. Choirs may be composed of Elders, Men, Women, Young People, Children, and (mixed) Adults, and enthusiastic singers from various districts. In addition, particularly with respect to secular song performance, duets, trios, and larger small groups, often temporary, are common; children and young adults may also sing solo. Thus an enthusiastic singer has access to more than one group, and may take part in several. Probably at least five percent of all Doukhobors have some extended choral experience, and that of strong traditionalists may be high indeed.

In private use, many of the formal distinctions between spoken and Healing psalms lose their precision. A psalm of what is conventionally recognized to be the highest spiritual content may be recited mechanically, its sole virtue for the speaker having been in the fact that the correct words were repeated in the correct time and place, magically reaffirming the continuity of his existence. Contrarily, a charm of an 'unprogressive' sort, or a very plain little prayer, may be spoken with a conscious struggle to see the psalm as mediating between a situation of present strain and the perceived presence of an eternal God. An informant in Glade said (Field notes, 3/7/71; Tape

d-14):

A person should say them with faith....You could say[a Healing psalm against fear], our people - lots of them [say[you could just read the Lord's Prayer, just pray to God and read this Lord's Prayer, it helps just as well. As long as you ask God for help, that's the main part. Because it's not we that help, it's God that helps, and we ask Him and He gives. That's how it works out....

God is always with you...[He says]'Just follow Me and you'll be saved, don't be scared of anything.' I was just saying it to myself here not long ago....

I like something and I try to [memorize] it. Because maybe one day I won't be able to see to read, or to hear, anymore - but I'll still have it....When I am sad or feel sick and alone... or when I am by myself in the field, working in the garden - I read them over and discuss them with myself. Then all the trouble goes and it is like being in heaven with the angels....strength comes....

The psalm Christ is One was originally taken down, either from memory or from someone else's manuscript, from an address heard from Peter Lordly Verigin in the early 1920's. Mrs. Ozeroff of Glade was strongly impressed by the text, memorized it, and used it in Molenye on several occasions, whereupon other Doukhobors found it acceptable. From this point it passed into tradition. Mrs. Ozeroff holds the text in MS form (along with many others); these she has assembled as aids to memory, reviewing them on rare occasions. From time to time other Doukhobors loan or copy MS texts for the use of acquaintances. It will be noted that it is thus possible for texts to pass between private and public use. To become public, a selected text must be acceptable both in the community tradition discussed above, and in the feeling of the present moment.

The use of Healing psalms is perhaps best illustrated by the testimony of a Doukhobor. Peter Maloff tells of an extremely upsetting

experience of his childhood: he was taking a cow to be serviced, and she was mobbed at a drinking slough by forty steers, while Peter was badly knocked about and terrified. He continues (Maloff, MS, pp. 329-330; 333-335):

The incident of the forty steers was not so easily forgotten or passed over. After that I began to sleep very poorly, jumping up and screaming at nights.

When grandmother found out she came over and said: "We'll have to heal Peter or we'll lose him. I'll take him into the village to a healer, babushka Strelieff. She'll pour the "fright"(cure) on his head and he'll get well soon enough."

All the way there Grandmother was assuring me that all this happened because of our renunciation of the true faith, because of our withdrawal from the community. When we came to babushka Strelieff's she already had a patient. From behind the door we could hear how something was sputtering and falling into the water. It would give off a strange sound. I asked my grandmother: "What is that? Are you sure they wouldn't burn me with some kind of an iron?"

"No, my child, don't be afraid," said babushka. "Babushka Strelieff knows everything. She'll just pour the "fright" over your head. She'll hold a bowl of water over your head and will drop some molten lead and will see what will form; if a dragon, then it's from a spell, and if something else, then she will know what kind of a prayer to read and what to fortify the water against. That's what it is all about, my child."

Soon the patient left. He was quite an aged man. I thought: "How could he have been scared by anything?" The healer waved her hand in the direction of the patient, and as though divining my perplexity, volunteered: "Ghosts were torturing him. Every night they come to him and won't let him sleep."

We entered the healer's room. Babushka Strelieff was very old and talked very slowly. She patted my head and assured me: "Don't be afraid, Peter. I'll heal you and you'll be well again."

She put some lead on the stove, then took a dipper of cold water and held it over my head whispering something all the while. As soon as the lead began to sizzle on the pan she poured it into the dipper over my head. Then she charmed the water, and as an added protection she grafted me; that is, she placed me against the lintel of the door, bored a hole in it and pounded a stick into the hold saying: "That is where we have driven your illness."

...

However fantastic it may seem, I remember that this healing actually reacted on me very favourable and the illness gradually began to leave me.

Not all the texts given here can have anything like this degree of ritual, though the instructions for Against Fear Brought by the Evil Eye should be compared with the above. Most are to be said thrice in dawn or evening twilight, by a speaker who may place his hand on the head of the kneeling patient. In most cases, the patient is either assumed to be a child, or to play the role of a child. The occasions of use include accidents around the house or farm, and illness; apprehended witchcraft or similar evil; or emotional disturbance arising from unspecified causes. I do not presently have much information regarding witchcraft: Maloff (MS) gives a brief reference to the early part of the century; and I have heard two anecdotal reports in the past year in contexts inappropriate for investigation.

IV. Methodology: Selection, Arrangement, and Translation.

In preparing the text collection, the prime needs to be met were: the acquisition of a body of material sufficiently large to be representative, including texts that were mostly in living tradition. The prior work of three of the translators ensures that the vast majority of their materials are current.

The basic source for Russian texts must be the collection assembled in the early part of this century by the populist Bonch-Bruевич, who collected by correspondence and the field visits of others (and himself?) in the Caucasus in the latter two decades of the 1800's. and by his own field work in Canada in 1899 and by correspondence there-

-after. His texts were, as a rule, taken from the dictation of elderly people, and preserve dialect variants, textual errors, and esoteric diction. It is remarkable that earlier researchers have commented so sparsely and fleetingly upon this work.

Russian texts require translations if they are to be of much use to English readers, of course. Search for existing translations turned up three major sources: Eli Popoff of Grand Forks, who had prepared some fifty-odd texts, most of them for the National Museum of Man (with whose permission they are cited); a pamphlet prepared by the Doukhobor Society of Canada, containing some nine usable texts; and the personal translations of Mercedes Cheveldayoff of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan, who kindly loaned all her worksheets. Correspondence also secured contact with Roman Piontkovsky of London, Ontario, who with great kindness supplied texts, translations, and permission to use the majority of the Healing psalms here presented. A minority of the texts were secured by me in the course of fieldwork directed at specific materials available nowhere else. These were translated, with one or two other texts, either by or under the supervision of Mrs. Anna Gattinger and Miss Lucy Kazakoff of Selkirk College, Castlegar. Mr. N. Kalmakoff of Canora, Sask., graciously gave permission for use of the texts produced by the Doukhobor Society of Canada.

The great indebtedness of myself, and that of those who find these translations of use, to all these people is obvious. Without their help and expense of time, this work would have been impossible in its present form, and they must be acknowledged as, in some degree, being co-authors

of the present texts. I thank them sincerely; and I emphasize that the qualifications regarding texts made below must in no way whatsoever be considered as lessening that debt, which is to be shared by any who find these translations of value.

In the preparation of English texts, three needs are borne in mind: the texts should be true to Doukhobor understanding; they should be clear to the English reader; they should be close in form to the Russian originals. I have attempted to meet these needs through judicious compromise between them.

Mr. Popoff's translations are not always precisely literal, but often contain explanatory glosses or alternate readings embedded in the text; their deviation, however, is only within the limits of the frame-of-reference of a contemporary U.S.C.C. Doukhobor. Thus the guidance of his interpretations is more representative of the psalms as a majority of B.C. Doukhobors understand them, than a literal standard Russian translation might be. Mr. Popoff also inclines to a heavily latinate lexicon that is not characteristic of the Russian text's diction.

Mrs. Cheveldayoff has moved outside orthodox Doukhobor belief to a more western-protestant style of religious belief and practice. In a number of cases, this position has overtly influenced her vocabulary and phraseology; in others, it is the rationale of certain deletions. Furthermore, her translations were received in several states: interlinear, interlinear with glosses, and free. In spite of some unevenness, her translations often rise to the quality of the

original.

Both of these translators usually translate scriptural inserts by quotation from, or imitation of, the Authorized Version. Though parallels might be claimed for the generally archaic language of the psalms and for the more inflected verb and pronoun forms, it seemed that the conceptual familiarity and lexical obsolescence of the A.V. style would be more hindrance than aid to comprehension of the style of the psalms.

The raw translations were thus supplied by the informants, but were not, for these reasons, suitable for direct use. The idiosyncrasies of the translators' versions were of interest and were informative, but not in respect to those aspects of the tradition that are not subject to personal interpretation. Thus it was necessary for me to prepare translations, those that appear here. These are the result of complete re-examination of the Russian originals, as guided by the raw translations, by the implications of material researched earlier and concurrently, and discussions with various other informants. Guidance was essential, as my own Russian is scarcely adequate, and concepts recur that are unfamiliar to Western thought: in this respect, the translators have also the role of informants. To this re-examination of the texts, I have been able to add the critical tools of a fairly standardized vocabulary; avoidance of irrelevant connotations as far as possible; and a reasonably close syntactic correspondence between text and translation.

In preparing the translations, then, I was first guided for the most part by parallel research and by the content of Mr. Popoff's translations. Translations were kept as close as possible to Russian word order,

and based upon a fundamentally Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, except where Russian words showed Romance etymology. In choosing from an occasional variety of possible English synonyms, I have tried to be guided by those phrasings and shades of meaning that characterize Doukhobor publications in English. I follow the punctuation of the Russian texts and their capitalization.

Corrupt words and phrases occur, especially in Bonch-Bruevich' texts. These present any editor with three domains of error: the use of archaic or dialect terms; the error of the reciter; and the error of the collector. To these must also be added the problem of words whose special meaning may be known only to the Doukhobors of the period, a meaning to be found in no dictionary. Furthermore, the Healing psalms contain words of no known or putative language. I have more fear that corrupt phrases may have been rationalized-out between collector, translator, and typescript, than that enough survive to present major analytic problems.

Two modes of text modification have been used: alternate readings are footnoted; and brackets, [thus], enclose any of the three following classes of inclusions: words supplied because they are implied directly by the Russian text (e.g., particles); essential glosses; and words translated by myself because the preparer of the raw translation omitted them.

In almost every case where the verb to be is characteristically omitted in the Russian text, being indicated by a dash (—) thus, I have refrained from adding it in the English translation; in some cases, it is supplied, but bracketed. For the sake of space, the formal open-

-ing and closing, 'Lord, bless [us]' and 'Glory to our God!' are omitted. These are attached to every psalm when written (or printed), and are said with almost every spoken psalm. In the exceptions, all of which are Healing psalms, one or other formula may be missing; in this case, the formula which does appear is included in the translation. Each of the translators interprets ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ and БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА independently: thus, Mrs. Cheveldayoff: God bless me, Glory to God; Piontkovsky: The Lord extend his blessings!, Glory be to our God!; Popoff: Lord, Give Forth Thy Blessing, Praise be to God.

When the translations were prepared, some system of organization became necessary. For convenience, I have followed the system of Bonch-Bruevich, since this, however arbitrary, precludes the need for a complex cross-index to the major Russian text source. Texts not found in Bonch-Bruevich - but not therefore more recent - follow, in Russian alphabetical order by first word, a system derived from the characteristic Doukhobor practice of identifying a psalm by its opening words. The Healing psalms follow in a section of their own, also in Russian alphabetical order. In view of the lack of evidence for the choice of psalms in public performance, and of the vague distinction between sung and spoken psalms, no more complex arrangement seems practical at this time. The classification is apparently derived from that of Bonch-Bruevich informants, and has been heard informally on one or two occasions, though its consistency has not been examined.

PSALM CLASSIFICATION.

45.

(Outline translated from Bonch-Bruevich, 1954, p.3, and inclusive of alternate readings. Numbers as assigned by Bonch-Bruevich to each text.)

I.	Questions and Answers	['Cataphetical']	1 - 61
II.	Dogmatic Psalms		62 - 92
III.	Psalms of the Next Life and of Future Judgement		93 - 131
IV.	Accusing Psalms		132 - 137
V.	Didactic Psalms		138 - 240
VI.	Suppliant Psalms		241 - 310
VII.	Psalms of Thanksgiving		311 - 316
VIII.	Psalms of Praise		317 - 339
IX.	Psalms on Events from the Gospels		340 - 353
X.	Miscellaneous Psalms		354 - 360
XI.	Dream of the Most-Holy Virgin		361 - 373
XII.	Stories, Exhortations [sermons?], Festivals, Funerals, <u>et al.</u>		374 - 385
XIII.	Verses	[Hymns]	386 - 420
XIV.	Salutations	[Ritual Greetings]	421 - 429

III. 134 DOUKHOBOR PSALMS.

Note: This index falls into three segments:

- A. Psalms in Bonch-Bruevich. (Bonch-Bruevich numbers)
- B. Psalms not in Bonch-Bruevich. (Russian alphabetical)
- C. Healing Psalms. (Russian alphabetical)

Psalms are identified, as well as by the Bonch-Bruevich number, by a Doukhobor practice: that is, by the first few words of the text, or by the title if such exists. Healing psalms are identified by their purpose, after the example of several manuscript versions. Variants are not identified in the index, but follow initial versions in the rare cases in which it has been useful to cite them.

Each text includes a headnote. This identifies the preparer of the raw translation; source(s) of the Russian text; recordings, especially if made by Peacock and held by the National Museum of Man; and the composer, if known. Notes follow, from Bonch-Bruevich (if no notes appear, a negative citation is given), Popoff, and the editor's study.

Russian texts are presented in Upper Case Cyrillic; where the original text indicates a capitalization, the appropriate character is underscored, thus: ГОСПОДИ. Where variant readings occur, they are cited in footnotes to the translations; it has not been practical to present complete Russian variant texts.

Translations include alternate readings, which are footnotes. Words implied directly by the Russian text, indispensable glosses, and words or phrases omitted by the preparer of the raw translation, are inserted within brackets, [thus].

- A.
- 1 What type of people are you?
- 6 What sort of person are you?
- 61 God is a holy spirit
- 64 What God [is] great, as [is] our God?
- 71 Who is it? As a likeness of John, a new Moses
- 74 I believe in one God the Father
- 75 We believe the everlasting Gospel
- 76 We have Communion with Christ
- 78 Our heavenly homeland
- 79 We will gather ourselves, brothers

83 Truly we are christians
84 Is not your body a temple of my Spirit?
87 Take care of me, Lord
88 Thus says the Lord: the heavens - my throne
91 The singing of psalms
99 The last day will come
113 Our Lord walks without touching the earth
123 God shall arise
130 Father, you our heavenly king
138 Be devout
139 For your sake, Lord, I loved the narrow gate.
140 Whoso esteems the seal of the Lord
141 Christ is calling the sinful soul to himself
143 We begin to weep tearfully
144 From the Common Views of the C.C.U.B.
146 The Lord speaks out through the mouth of His son
147 The first heaven - Meekness
150 From the beginning [of time] and to this day
156 Our Father, King of the Israelites
159 I pray to You, my king, Lord my God
161 We had lived on the green earth
166 Young men arose from holy throngs
172 Creator, my Creator
176 Mother, my birthgiver
181 It is not one guest that follows after me
182 The Lord made the young person, the little fellow
183 Today, my soul, turn to the Lord
184 Seeing many people
187 Orthodox christians, remember well
191 Seek the Lord
196 Christ speaks to his disciples
197 The sun shines on all, by justice
202 Great are the deeds of God the Creator
205 Maintain yourself under the safeguard of the Lord
213 Our guests so dear
219 Pray to me, I will hear you
226 Thus says the Lord, the holy God of the Israelites
241 Lord, do not deny me your heavenly blessing
242 Calm me, Lord, quieter than the waters
243 Our friends, great brothers, trustworthy companions
244 Lord, Lord my Creator, now comes my end
245 Heavenly Father, you are all-powerful
247 Sovereign of my life, Lord

251 Hear, Lord, my prayers
252 God, in Your name, save me
254 I raise my voice to the Lord
256 Hear, Lord, the prayers of your servants
257 I ask, Lord, heavenly king
258 You our bread-winner, Lord
259 Hear, O God, our voice
262 Shout news, earth, [of] great joy
264 Our God - O, we are Yours
266 Lord, my God, my salvation
267 We ourselves do not know
268 Revive me, Lord, with your truth
271 Be an example with a faithful word
276 A man will appear in despair
277 Behold, king of eternal glory
281 Lord, [You are] my Saviour and light
286 How long, Lord, will you forget me?
294 Lord, Blessed [One], in You
299 Lord, I thank You with all my heart
300 My angel, guardian
301 I, a servant of God
303 Peaceful night
304 You are my God
305 Lying down to sleep
306 Angel my guardian
307 Angel of God
311 Glory to You, Lord
313 Our blessed home
316 How may they not love you?
320 The trumpets speak with thunder
321 God is with us
324 Today a secret is revealed from heaven
328 You, Lord, are my hope and my desire
329 Our Father, [is] God eternal
330 God of Gods
334 To whom shall I go from You, my Lord?
340 Our Saviour was born
341 A new year hurries [on]
342 High above, the star rose
343 On the day of Christ's birth
344 Pure Maiden Mary blessed by all generations!
345 To the waters of Jordan, Lord, you came
349 Judas was a worker of evil
352 Today Christ [is] newly risen
359 She walked, she walked - the Holy Virgin
361 Dream of the Most-Holy Bearer-of-God.
384 A Talk.

B.

In the Garden of Gethsemane
Questions concerning Citizenship.

We thank You, Christ
 Maiden Bearer-of-God
 I raise my voice to the Lord
 A Doukhobor is one whom Christ has chosen
 We "Cossacks" sing a new song
Father of All.

Lord's Prayer of Our Father.

Righteous souls [are] in the hand of God
Basic Rules for Young Children.

With prayer I call to you, Lord.

Grant, O Lord, a kind heart

Christ is one of the holy angels

C.

Prayer to the Lord, When a Person Lies Down to Sleep.

Against Warts - I

Against Fear - I

To Invoke Forgiveness for a Child

Against the Evil Eye - I

For a Safe Journey

Against Fear or Crying

To Bring Sleep - I

Against Warts - II

Against Appendicitis

Against the Evil Eye - II

Against Sore Throat

Against Fear Brought by the Evil Eye

Against the Evil Eye - III

Help Me, Lord Jesus Christ Yourself (General Invocation)

Against Fear - II

To Bring Sleep - II

Against Witchcraft on the Way

Against Witchcraft

Psalm for Healing.

Psalm 1.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich with the aid of V. Sreznevski. Recorded by Peacock from recitation of Mrs. F. Belavyanoff, Kamsack, Sask., June 1964.

Popoff notes: "There are several question and answer psalms which denote answers given to outsiders regarding original Doukhobor beliefs. Some answers are the same in several different psalms, showing that they were copied from one original source - possibly an original leader. Some answers are different, retaining their own originality. Of the three original, dominant originators of many Doukhobor concepts - Pobirohin, Kapustin, and Kolesnikoff - the latter was the most tolerant towards the scriptural writings of the new testament. It is possible that many of the answers contained in this psalm, therefore, stem from the sayings of Sylvan Kolesnikoff, rather than from Pobirohin or Kapustin." It may be noted here that 'duplicate' answers from one psalm may have appealed to the reciters of other psalms, and may accordingly have been inserted where a need was felt for them. Bonch-Bruevich (p. 15) notes that such psalms as the following were known as 'defensive psalms' in Russia. They are cataphetical in structure, consisting wholly of sets of questions and answers. In the present psalm, there is no particular sequence between question and following question, and answers are quite straightforward. Nevertheless, the questions do follow a sort of open, Scholastic rationale, while the answers (e.g., 3, 5, 12, 20) occasionally rise from a transcendent, absolute rationale not subject to logical statement. Occasionally, too, questions are begged or avoided outright (e.g., 19, 24). The reference to the Virgin (6) is of interest, offering an honour more sympathetic and less dogmatic than that commonly known in the West. Also noteworthy, and not (by and large) characteristic of other texts in this collection, is the pro-Semitic clause of (14). The definition of the Trinity (5) should be noted; it is occasionally mentioned by Doukhobors (Field notes, 13/4/71), one interpretation commonly proposing that the Three Persons are to the Trinity what the three faculties named are to the whole man. The term Reason, as various psalms will make more clear, is not merely rationality, but a divinely given power to understand, express, and perform the will of God. The mystical definition of heaven (20), elsewhere appearing as an independent psalm (psalm 147), probably comes without explanation from an earlier source. The psalms mentioned in (29) appear thus: the first and second mentioned, Bonch-Bruevich records and 278 and 260 respectively; the Beatitudes lends most of its substance to 184; the 'additional' item, which may only mean the line itself as a short prayer, Bonch-Bruevich notes as heard on several occasions, but does not otherwise record. It also occurs as a response in 184.

1. ВОПРОС. ЧТО ВЫ ЗА ЛЮДУ, КАКОЙ ВЫ ВЕРЫ, КАКОГО ЗВАНЬЯ-ВАША СЕКТА?

ОТВЕТ. СЯ ПОКАЗАНИЯ НАША: МЫ ЛЮДИ, ИМЕНОВАННЫЕ ДУХОБОРЦАМИ;
СОСТОЯТ ДЕЛА НАШИ ПЕРБОЕ: МЫ ЗАКОНА БОЖЬЯГО, ВЕРЫ ИИСУСОВОЙ.
ЦАРЯ МЫ ПОЧИТАЕМ, ВЛАСТЯМ ПРАЗЕДЬМ ПОВИНУЕМЦЯ ПО БЛАЖЕНСТВУ,
ПО СМирЕНИЮ НАШЕМУ, РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ ДУШ НАШИХ.

2. В. ПРИЗНАЕТЕ-ЛИ ВЫ БОГА В БЫТИИ?

О. ВИДИМ И ПРИЗНАЕМ ЕДНОГО БОГА, ЦОТБОРИВШАГО, МЫ ВСЕ ЕМУ ЕДИНОМУ
ПОКЛАНАЕМСЯ.

3. В. ВЕРУЕТЕ-ЛИ ВЫ В ВОПЛОЩЕНИЕ СЫНА БОЖЬЯГО?

О. ВЕРУЕМ И ИСПОВЕДУЕМ, ЯКО ЕДИН ЕСТЬ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ, ИИСУС ХРИСТОС,
СЫН БОЖИЙ, БОГ ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕК.

4. В. ПОЗНАЕТЕ-ЛИ ВЫ БОГА ЕДИНОГО, ВСЕМОГЩЕГО?

О. ПОЗНАЕМ БОГА ЕДИНОГО, СОТВОРИВШЕГО ВСЕ, ЕМУ ЕДИНОМУ ПОКЛАН-
-ЯЕМСЯ.

5. В. В КАКОЙ СИЛЕ СУЩЕСТВО СОСТОИТ ПРЕСВЯТОХ ТРОИЦЫ, КАК ОНУЮ
УТВЕРЖДАЕТЕ?

О. ПРЕСВЯТАЯ ТРОИЦА - СУЩЕСТВО НЕПОСТИЖИМОЕ. В ЧЕЛОВЕКЕ УТ-
ВЕРЖДАЕТСЯ ОТЕЦ-БОГ - ПАМЯТЬ, СЫН-БОГ - РАЗУМ, ДУХ-БОГ -
- ВОЛЯ. БОГ - ТРОИЦА - ЕДИН.

6. В. ПРЕСВЯТАЮ ДЕВУ МАРИЮ, ОТ КОТОРОЙ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ ВЗЯЛ ПЛОТЬ
ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКУЮ, КАК ВЫ ЕЕ ПОЧИТАЕТЕ?

О. МЫ ЕЕ ПОЧИТАЕМ ЗА СВЯТУЮ, ПОДРАЖАЕМ ЖИТИЮ ЕЯ. ОНА ЖЕ ИСКОНН
ДЕВА, ДО ДНЕСЬ ЕСТЬ ДЕБА, ИЗ НЕЯ ЖЕ РОЖДАЕТСЯ И РОДИЛАСЯ
ИИСУС ХРИСТОС.

7. В. ИОННА КРЕСТИТЕЛЯ, КРЕЩАЮЩЕГО НАРОДЫ ЯЗЫЧЕНСКИЕ ВОДОЙ И
ПОКАЯНИЮ, КАК ПРИЕМЛЕТЕ?

О. ОН, ИОНАН КРЕСТИЛ ХАРОДЫ ЯЗЫЧЕНСКИЕ ВОДОЙ, ПРИЗЫВАЯ К
ПОКАЯНИЮ, А МЫ НЪНЕ КРЕСТИМСЯ ОТ ХРИСТА СВЯАМ ДУХОМ. СЛОВОМ
БОЖИМ, ВО ИМЯ ОТЦА И СВЯТОГО ДУХА.

8. В. КРЕЩЕНИЕ ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО, ИИСУСА ХРИСТА ОТ ИОННА, СО-
ШЕСТВИЕ ДУХА СВЯТОГО В ВИДЕ ГОЛУБЯ, КАК ПОНИМАЕТЕ?

О. КАК МЫ КРЕСТИМСЯ ОТ ХРИСТА, ТО И ПОЗХАЕМ, А КАК ХРИСТОС
КРЕСТИЛСЯ, ТОГО ИСКАТЬ НАМ ДЛЯ ЧЕГО.

9. В. ПОСТ ХРИСТОВ – Сорок суток – в каком смысле заключается?
- О. Он божеством силу свою во плоти людям явил.
10. В. вы какой пост содержите во плоти и духе?
- О. пост нам плотский ° чистота от головы и до ног; духом держим пост – кто вце дела божии спостит.
11. В. для чего христос апостолов от двенадцати до семидесяти собрал?
- О. он из них святую церков построил.
12. В. какое евангелие проповедывать всему миру послал иисус апостолов?
- О. сам иисус был и есть евангелие вечное, живое, и послал их словами проповедывать.
13. В. родлинно-ли христос на земле чудеса творил, мертвых вос-
-крешал, слепым зрак, глухим слух давал?
- О. верим, ибо сами были грехами мертвы, слепы и глухи; он нас оживил, грехи простил и дал хам заповедь свою, чтовы впредь хе согрешать и хе беззаконствовать.
14. В. за что жиды христа возненавидели, изгнали и на смерть его предали?
- О. они не простые люди зидовские, но архиереи, книжники и фарисеи, ради зависти его гнали и гонят.
15. В. подлинно ли христос плотию пострадал и распят был; для чего он сам на себя такую постыдную смерть воспринял?
- О. ведаем, что распят был, тем и ад разрушил, мертвых воскресил, а хам страдания образ показал.
16. В. как христос воскрес, какую плотию, почему его апостолы не узнали, а только по чудесам и не миру всему, а только верьм являлся?
- О. воскрес в силе божества, какую плотию, мы того не знаем и знать хам того и искать хе для чего а мы должны знать как свои души спасться а чего верьм явился, то и ныне с нами есть.

17. В. КТО ВОСПРИЕМНИК ХРИСТОВЫХ ДЕЛ, ИЛИ КТО НАМЕСТНИК ЕГО НА ЗЕМЛЕ?
- О. ТОТ ВОСПРИЕМНИК ХРИСТОВЫХ ДЕЛ, КТО ЧИСТ ТЕЛОМ И ДЕЛОМ, СМирЕН И КРОТОК, ДОБРЫМ ДЕЛАМ ПОКОРЕН, ОТ ХУДЫХ ДЕЛ УДАЛЕН.
18. В. КТО ВОСПРИЕМНИК АПОСТОЛЬСКИХ ЧИНОВНЫХ ДЕЛ?
- О. ТОТ ВОСПРИЕМНИК АПОСТОЛЬСКИХ ЧИНОВНЫХ ДЕЛ, КТО СЛОВО БОЖИЕ ИМЕЕТ В СЕБЕ И СТРАДАЕТ РАДИ ХРИСТА.
19. В. КАК ХРИСТОС ВОЗНЕССЯ НА НЕБЕСА?
- О. КАК ПИСАНИЕ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВУЕТ О ВОЗНЕСЕНИИ.
20. В. ЧТО ЗНАЧИТ НЕБО И (КАКАЯ) РАЗНИЦА НЕБЕС?
- О. НЕБЕЦА РАЗЛИЧАЮТСЯ ТАК: ПЕРВОЕ НЕБО - СМирЕНИЕ; ВТОРОЕ НЕБО - РАЗУМЕНИЕ; ТРЕТЬЕ НЕБО - ВОЗДЕРЖАНИЕ; ЧЕТВЕРТОЕ НЕБО - МИЛО-
-СЕРДИЕ; ПЯТОЕ НЕБО - БРАТОЛЮБИЕ; ШЕСТОЕ НЕБО - СВЕТ; СЕДЬМОЕ НЕБО - ЛЮБОВЬ. ГДЕ СОВЕТ, ТАМ И СВЕТ; ГДЕ ЛЮБОВЬ, ТАМ И БОГ.
21. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ АД, ГДЕ ОН, ЗЛЫЕ ДУХИ ГДЕ ЖИВУТ?
- О. АД ЕСТЬ НЕ ЗНАЮЩИЕ СВЕТА ЛЮДИ ЗЛЫЕ ДУХИ В НИХ ЖИВУТ:
22. В. ПОЧЕМУ ВЫ НЕ ХОДИТЕ В НАШУ ЦЕРКОВЬ ХРИСТИАНСКОГУЮ, В ВЕЛИКОРОССИЙСКУЮ, ОТ ЧЕГО ОНА ВАМ ПРОТИВНА?
- О. СОВЕСТЬ НАША НЕ ЖЕЛАЕТ. БОЖЕСТВА И СВЯТОСТИ В НЕЙ НЕ ЧАЕМ, СПАСЕНИЯ НЕ ЗАКЛЮЧАЕМ, ПОТОМУ ЧТО ОНА ЕСТЬ ТЛЕННАЯ, НЕ ВЕЧНАЯ:
23. В. ТАИНСТВО КРЕЩЕНИЯ, ОБЩЕЕ, НАРОДНОЕ, ХРИСТИАНСКОЕ КАК ПРИЕМАТЕ?
- О. КРЕЩЕНИЕ ВОДОЮ НЕ ПОЛЕЗНО ДУШЕ НАШЕЙ; ДЛЯ ДУШИ НАШЕЙ КРЕЩЕНИЕ, КОГДА КТО ВОСПРИЕМЛЕТ СЛОВО БОЖИЕ В СЕРДЦЕ КРЕСТИМСЯ ОТ ХРИСТА СВЯТЫМ ДУХОМ.
24. В. ТАИНСТВО ПРИЧАЩЕНИЯ ТЕЛА И КРОВИ ХРИСТОВОЙ ПОД ВИДОМ ХЛЕБА И ВИНА, КАК ОНОЕ РАЗУМЕЕТЕ ИЛИ КАКУЮ СИЛУ САМИ СОСТАВЛЯЕТЕ?
- О. МЫ ТАК РАЗУМЕЕМ, ЧТО ХЛЕБ С ПШЕНИЦЫ, А ВИНО С ВИНОГРАДА, И НЕ ПОЛЕЗНО ДУШЕ НАШЕЙ ВАШЕ ПРИЧАЩЕНИЕ; А МЫ ПРИЧАЩАЕМСЯ КО СВЯТЫМ ЕГО ТАЙНАМ БОЖЕСТВЕННЫМ, ЖИВОТВОРЯЩИМ, СТРАШНЫМ, БЕССМЕРТНЫМ СТРАСТЯМ ХРИСТОВЫМ ВО ОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ГРЕХОВ, КОТОРЫЕ ПРОХОДЯТ СКВОЗЬ КОСТИ МОЗГОВ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИХ, ДАЖЕ ДО РАЗДЕЛЕНИЯ ДУШИ И ДУХА РАЗУМА, Т.Е. НАШЕ ПРИЧАЩЕНИЕ ОТ ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО.

25. В. ЖЕНИТЬБА ЗАКОННАЯ ИМЕЕТ ЛИ У ВАС СИЛУ ИЛИ ВЫ ЕЕ ОТМТАЕТЕ?

О. МЫ ЖЕЛАЮЩИМ НЕ ВОСПРЕЩАЕМ, А ТОЛЬКО ТАК РАЗУМЕЕМ, ЧТО ЖЕНИВЫЙ ПЕЧЕТСЯ О ЖЕНЕ И О ДЕТЯХ СВОИХ, А НЕ ЖЕНИВЫЙ - О БОГЕ И О ДУШЕ СПАЩЕНИЯ:

26. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ДУША ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКАЯ И ЧЕМ ЧЕЛОВЕК ЧЕСТЕН И ЧЕМ БЕЗЧЕСТЕН ПЕРЕД БОГОМ?

О. ДУША ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКАЯ - ОБРАЗ БОЖИЙ, ЛИК НЕБЕСНЫЙ; ЧЕСТЕН ЧЕЛОВЕК ЧИСТОТОЙ, А БЕЗЧЕСТЕН - ГОРКОСТЬЮ И БЕЗУМСТВОМ.

27. В. КАКАЯ ЕСТЬ РАЗНИЦА МЕЖДУ ЧИСТОТОЙ ДУХА И ЧИСТОТОЙ ПЛОТИ?

О. МЫ ДУХОМ СВЯТЫМ ЧИСТЫ, МОЛИМСЯ И ПОСТИМСЯ, ТОЙ ЖЕ КОМ СИЛОЙ ОЧИЩАЕМСЯ.

28. В. КАК ВЫ СВЯТЫХ ОТЦОВ ОПРВЕРГАЕТЕ ИЛИ ПОЧИТАЕТЕ, В КАКОМ СМЫСЛЕ ПОКЛАДАЕТЕ?

О. МЫ ТАК РАЗУМЕЕМ, ЧТО ОНИ БЫЛИ ЧЕЛОВЕКИ, НО ОТ ЧЕЛОВЕКА НИЧТО ЖЕ, А ВСЯ СИЛА-ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ, СУТЬ ОТ БОГА.

29. В. КАКИЕ МОЛИТВЫ ЕМЕЕТЕ В СОБРАНИИ СВОЕМ?

О. ВО-ПЕРВЫХ ПСАЛОМ "ЖИВЫЕ В ПОМОЩЬ ВЫШНЕГО, В КРОВ БОГА НЕЕСНОГО..."; ВТОРОЕ: "УСЛЫШИ, ГОСПОДИ, ГЛАС МОЙ, ЕГДА МОЛИМСЯ ТЕБЕ..."; ТРЕТЬЕ: "ДЕВЯТЬ БРАЖЕНСТВ" ИЗ ЕВАНГЕЛИЯ, С ПРИБАВЛЕНИЕМ: "ПОМЯНИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ЕГДА ПРИДЕШИ В ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ...."

1. Question. What type of people are you, what is your faith, what is the name of your sect?

Answer. This is our testimony: we are people named Doukhobors; our works are as follows, firstly: we are of the law of God and the faith of Jesus. We have respect for the Tsar, we fulfill the demands of righteous rulers in reverence and in meekness, in order that our souls may be saved.

2. Q. Do you believe in God as a being?

1. authorities, Popoff.

A. We see and believe in the one God, the Creator-of-All, to him alone we all give obeisance.

3. Q. Do you believe in the incarnation of the Son of God?

A. We believe and profess, as there is one Lord God, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, God is within man.

4. Q. Do you perceive the one God, the Almighty?

A. We perceive the one God, the All-Creator, to him alone we give obeisance.

5. Q. In what category do you place the Holy Trinity, how do you interpret it?

A. We place the Holy Trinity in an unattainable category. In mortal man it is interpreted as: God the Father is our power of Memory; God the Son is our power of Reason; God the Spirit is our power of Will. God the Trinity is one.

6. Q. The holy maiden Mary, from whom the Lord God was given an earthly body, how do you regard her?

A. We regard her as holy, we strive to imitate her life. From the² beginning of time, to this time, she is a model of true maidenhood; of her was born and is born Jesus Christ.

7. Q. John the Baptist, who had baptized the heathen by immersion in water and with entreaties to repent, how do you regard [him]?

A. He, John, baptized the heathen by immersion in water and by entreaties to repent, but we today are baptized by the Holy Spirit, by the word of God, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

2. She exemplifies, Popoff.

8. Q. The baptism of our Lord God, Jesus Christ by John, the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, how do you interpret [that]?

A. The manner of our baptism from Christ is what we consider important, but how Christ received his baptism, we need not seek for that.

9. Q. The fast of Christ for forty days, in what manner do you interpret [that]?

A. With the aid of the spirit of God that dwelt within Him, He showed to the people the great power that His body had dwelling within it.

10. Q. What manner of fast do you keep for your body and for your soul?

A. Our fast for the body is cleanliness from head to foot; for our spirit, our fast is to keep all God's work intact.

11. Q. For what reason did Christ gather twelve apostles, and then later, seventy?

A. Of them He made His holy church.

12. Q. What new Gospel did Jesus direct His apostles to preach to the whole world?

A. Jesus himself was and is the New Gospel that is eternal and ever alive, and he told the apostles to preach by word of mouth.

13. Q. Did Christ really perform miracles on earth, bring dead people to life again, give sight to the blind, and make the deaf to hear?

A. We believe, because we ourselves were dead in sinfulness, we were blind and deaf. He brought us to life, forgave our sins, and gave us his commandment so that we should sin no more and break God's laws no more.

14. Q. For what did the Jews come to hate Christ, why did they persecute Him and cause Him to be crucified?

A. They were not simple Jewish people, but they were members of the priesthood, the scribes and the pharisees, who from envy hated Him, persecuted and still persecute Him.

15. Q. Did Christ really suffer in the flesh and was [he] crucified; Why did He accept for Himself such a wretched death?

A. We recognize that He had been crucified, and with this He shattered the shadow of hell, brought the dead to life, and gave to us an example of suffering.

16. Q. How did Christ arise, in what kind of body; why did His apostles not recognize Him, except by His miracles, and[why did] He appear, not to the whole world, but only to the faithful?

A. Christ arose [in the context of God's spiritual power], in what kind of body, we at present cannot have knowledge, nor do we deem it necessary to seek this knowledge. We must strive to know how to save our own souls; but that he appeared to the faithful, we believe He is always with us.

17. Q. Who is the heir of Christ's works, or who can claim to be His imitator in earth?

A. He is an imitator of Christ's works who is chaste in body and in his actions, who is meek and humble, who is wholly given to good

deeds and who is completely apart from evil-doing.

18. Q. Who is the heir of the apostles' works [of a higher category]?

A. He is the inheritor of the apostles' works [of a higher category] who has the word of God within himself and who suffers for the sake of Christ.

19. Q. How did Christ ascend into the heavens?

A. As it is witnessed in the writings [that tell] of it.

20. Q. What is the meaning of heaven and what are the different [categories of] heavens?

A. The [categories of] heavens are thus: the first heaven - Meek-
 -ness; the second heaven - Understanding; the third heaven -
 - Self-Control; the fourth heaven - Benevolence; the fifth
 heaven - Brotherhood; the sixth heaven - enlightenment; the
 seventh heaven - Love. Where there is council, there is en-
 lightenment; where there is Love, there is God.

21. Q. What is hell, where is it, where do evil spirits dwell?

A. Hell is within people who have not enlightenment; evil spirits within them.

22. Q. Why do you not go to our Christian church, to the great Russian church; why is it so abhorrent to you?

A. Our conscience does not allow it. We do not consider it to have any godliness or holiness; we do not consider it to have any saving powers because it is a corruptible [organization], there is nothing eternal about it.

3. Cf. psalm 147.

4. Realization, Popoff.

5. Fraternity, Popoff.

23. Q. The sacredness of baptism, of the common, christian people's [ceremony]- how do you accept [it]?

A. Baptism with water is of no use to our soul; baptism for our soul is when one accepts the message of God within himself; We are baptized through Christ with the Holy Spirit.

24. Q. The holy communion of the flesh and blood of Christ in the form of bread and wine, how do you understand [it] or what power do you see within it?

A. We understand thus: bread is made from wheat, and wine is made from grapes and is of no use to our soul; but we have our communion with His holy, sacred, godly, live-giving, fearful, eternal sufferings; the sufferings of Christ in the shedding of sin, which go right through the bones and reasoning powers of human beings; even to the extent of sharing his suffering of the soul and the spirit of power-to-reason, in our communion with our Lord God.

25. Q. Lawful marriage, does it have recognizance among you or do you disregard it?

A. We do not deny it for those who wish to marry, but we realize full well that a married man concerns himself about the welfare of his wife and his children, while an unmarried person concerns himself more with God and the salvation of his soul.

26. Q. What is the soul of a human being and in what way is a person honourable, and in what way dishonourable, in the eyes of God?

A. The soul of a human being is the reflection of God, the heavenly part of a person. A person is honoured by his chastity, and dishonoured by his pride and unreasonableness.

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27. Q. What difference is there between chastity of the spirit and chastity of the body?

A. We are chaste by the power of the Holy Spirit; we pray and we fast and with this power we are cleansed.

28. Q. What is your attitude towards saintly persons of the past, in what sense do you understand them?

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A. Our understanding is that they were only human beings, and from mortal human beings nothing really emanates - all power and wisdom is from God.

29. Q. What kind of prayers do you have at your meetings?

A. Firstly the psalm: "The Reborn must help the Almighty"; secondly: "Hear our Plea, O Lord, When we pray to Thee"; thirdly: "The Ten Beatitudes" of the New Testament, with the addition thereto of
8
"Remember us, Lord, when you come into your Kingdom."

6. The term also implies physical cleanness.

7. In what category do you place them, Popoff.

8. Cf. psalm 137, in which this phrase is used as a response.

Psalm 6.

Variant translated by Eli Popoff. Text recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from publication of M. Kameney in Missions Review, Dec. 1904. Recorded by Peacock from recitation of Mrs. F.T. Semonoff, Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff comments: "A fundamental Doukhobor psalm containing questions and answers on basic Doukhobor outlooks. Origin goes back to late 18th. or early 19th. century." This psalm presents a number of difficulties. Firstly, Bonch-Bruevich cites a number of variant readings (mostly Answers) from Kameney, here presented as translations only, following the first text. Some, such as (28) and (35) are the result of the deterioration common to any oral text, but variants such as (68) seem to reflect a deliberate and unexplained divergence in the expression of cryptic doctrine, while those such as (109) reflect a wide individual response to a crucial identity. (109/II), indeed, may preserve in decayed form an original response to the first naming of the sect. The second problem arises upon comparison of the translation supplied by Popoff with the text from Bonch-Bruevich, Popoff's text being a translation of that recorded by Peacock. I have not seen another text showing so great a divergence over so relatively short a period of time, and am obliged to suspect that, for psalms of this type, questions and answers may float freely. Only about one-fifth of Popoff's text is common to Bonch-Bruevich', and in a different sequence at that. It is notable that this proportion is sufficient, however, to render the two texts nominally identical. It has not been possible at this time to pursue this problem further, unfortunately.

The great problem, though, is the character of the questions and answers themselves. The text is distinguished by the clearly hostile position of the answerer. Few of the questions receive a direct answer, but must usually go through the receipt and decoding of a set of symbols, and occasionally (cf. 14 - 16) through what appears to be total misdirection. The psalm is, though, for these very reasons, a profound insight into the historical situation of the Doukhobors. The unremitting persecutions of the 17th. and 18th. centuries did not only impose secrecy of varying degrees upon worship, but also the unique encoding of song texts into the melismatic psalm style. Concepts themselves required secretive encoding, and both the concept and the code had to be preserved. It is not to be wondered at, that the concepts have on occasion been lost. Nor, considering oppression that flared in the 19th. century and what has sometimes been at best misunderstanding in the 20th., need the perpetuation of a cryptic style of thought and expression be found surprising or obsolescent.

The conditions that dictate the style of this psalm are expressed clearly in the context of the 'Conversation' cited in Pinkerton (1833, pp. 176 - 185), in which the "three of the sect called Duchobortsi, Michael Stschireff, Anikie and Timothy Suharieff, in May 1792" had to defend their status as persecuted sectarians against the not over-tol-

-erant inquiry of the "rector of the Nevskoy Seminary of St. Petersburg, Archimandrite Innokentie." Both questioner and respondent maintain hostile stances throughout, perhaps partly because both impute equal authority and virtue to their own outlooks. (see Appendix). Although this psalm supplied basic doctrine, it does not do so in an explicit manner, but rather in the manner in which doctrine may be made available to the outsider. Presumably the sectarian already knows most of the concepts, and need only be instructed in the method for selecting and encoding the concepts. Of course, the possession of a fixed code would also expedite the identification of fellow-sectarians encountered among a hostile company. It is already clear (Field notes, 25/11/70, 13/4/71) that the function of psalm singing-style was at once to conceal the verbal text, and to identify the singer as a Doukhobor to other Doukhobors.

The psalm's language is usually apocalyptic. It might be that such language is indeed suitable for the sort of encoding practiced here; but, as should appear from later texts, it is perhaps more probable that, in a Christian tradition, such language is appropriate to a sect whose values and present experience are millenarian. The tradition language of Last Times is suitable to one who is able to experience them in his Present.

The frequent references (Variant psalm, 69) to Chastity should not pass unobserved. The term used, ЧИСТЫЙ, has direct connotations of physical cleanliness (as which is is sometimes appropriately translated), a Doukhobor value expressed materially in the institution of the Bathhouse, and still perhaps retaining a spiritual force pre-Christian in origin.

The following texts appear here: the Russian text of Bonch-Bruevich; a translation thereof; translation only of the variant passages supplied from Bonch-Bruevich; and a direct transcript of Popoff's translation of the Semonoff recitation. This latter is only available in an English translation; accordingly, I have merely collated it to the reading, including only the clauses which do not appear therein. Where numerals alone appear, the first is that of the psalm verse, the second that of the corresponding verse from the previous reading, essentially identical with the Semonoff reading.

1. В. ЧТО ТЫ ЗА ЧЕЛОВЕК?
О. Я – ЧЕЛОВЕК БОЖИЙ.
2. В. ПОЧЕМУ ТЫ БОЖИЙ?
О. Я БОГУ МОЛЮСЯ И ПОЩУСЯ, ТОЙ ЖЕ СИЛОЙ ОЧИЩАЮСЯ.
3. В. ИЗ ЧЕГО ТЕБЯ БОГ СОТВОРИЛ?
О. ИЗ ТЕЛА И БЕССМЕРТНОЙ ДУШИ.
4. В. ДЛЯ ЧЕГО ТЕБЯ БОГ СОТВОРИЛ?
О. ДЛЯ ТОГО, ЧТОБЫ Я ПОЗНАЛ ПУТЬ ГОСПОДА СВОЕГО И ХОДИЛ БЫ ВО ДВОРЕ ЕГО.
5. В. ЧТО С ВАС БОГ ТРЕБУЕТ?
О. СНАЧАЛА – СОВЕРШЕНИЯ ПРАВЕДНЫХ ПЛОДОВ. КАК НАЧМИ, ТАК И СОВЕРШИ.
6. В. БЕЗ ЧЕГО ТЫ К БОГЫ НЕ ПРИДЕШЬ?
О. БЕЗ ЧИСТОЙ СОВЕСТИ.
7. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ У ТЕБЯ ДУША?
О. ЕСТЬ.
8. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ДУША?
О. ДУША ЕСТЬ ОБРАЗ БОЖИЙ, ЛИК НЕБЕСНЫЙ, ПОЕТ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ.
9. В. ЧЕМ ТЫ ДУШУ СВОЮ ПИТАЕШЬ?
О. ДУХОВНЫМ ВИНОГРАДОМ.
10. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ДУХОВНЫЙ ВИНОГРАД?
О. ДУХОВНЫЙ ВИНОГРАД ЕСТЬ СЛОВО БОЖИЕ.
11. В. В ЧЕМ ТВОЯ ДУША ЦАРСТВУЕТ?
О. В ПРАВДЕ, В ЛЮБВИ, В ИСТИННОМ СЛОВЕСЕ.
12. В. В ЧЕМ ТВОЯ ДУША ПРИСУТСТВУЕТ?
О. В ЧИСТОМ, СОВЕРШЕННОМ БОЖЬЕМ РАЗУМЕ.

13. В. ЧЕМ ТЫ ПЛОТЬ СВОЮ ПИТАЕШЬ?
- О. ЧИСТОЮ СОВЕСТЬЮ.
14. В. ИМЕЕШЬ ЛИ В СЕБЕ ТРЕХ ИИСЫСОВ?
- О. ИМЕЮ.
15. В. КОТОРЫХ?
- О. ПЕРВЫЙ ИИСУС НАВИНЯ ВТОРОЙ – РАВВИЯ ТРЕТИЙ – СИДЯКИН.
16. В. КОТОРЕМУ ТЫ ИИСУСУ ВЕРИШЬ?
- О. Я ВЕРЮ ИИСУСУ, КОТОРЫЙ НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ СИДИТ И ВСЕ НОБОЕ ТВОРИТ.
17. В. ХОДИТЕ ЛИ ВЫ НА СОБРАНИЯ?
- О. ХОДИМ.
18. В. С ЧЕМ ВЫ ХОДИТЕ НА НИХ?
- О. С НЕИЗПЕЧЕННОЮ БРИТВОЮ.
19. В. А ЧТО ЕСТЬ НЕИЗРЕЧЕННАЯ БРИТВА?
- О. ПАЗЫК НЕИЗПРЕЧЕННЫЙ, СЛОВО, ГЛАГОЛ БОЖИЙ.
20. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ У ВАС ЦЕРКОВ?
- О. ЕСТЬ.
21. В. ГДЕ ВАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ПОСТРОЕНА?
- О. НАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ПОСТРОЕНА НИ В ГОРАХ, НИ В БРЕВНАХ, НИ В КАМЕННЫХ СТЕНАХ, А НАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ПОСТРОЕНА В ДУШАХ И СЕРДЦАХ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИХ, ВЕРУЮЩИХ И ЛЮБЯЩИХ ЕГО, АЩЕ КТО ВЕРНО СЛУЖИТ ЕМУ.
22. В. МОНОГО ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ СТЕН?
- О. ЧЕТЫРЕ.
23. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПЕРВАЯ СТЕНА?
- О. ПЕРВАЯ СТЕНА – МЛАКЕНЦЫ, НАМЕСТНИКИ ХРИСТОВЫ.
24. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ВТОРАЯ СТЕНА?
- О. ВТОРАЯ СТЕНА – ЧИСТАЯ ДЕВА, НЕВЕСТА ЖЕНИХОВА.

25. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ТРЕТЬЯ СТЕНА?

О. ТРЕТЬЯ СТЕНА – СТАРЦЫ, ВОЗВЕСТИТЕЛИ ЦАРЕВЫ.

26. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЧЕТЕРТАЯ СТЕНА?

О. ЧЕТВЕРТАЯ СТЕНА – ЖЕНЫ И МИРОНОСИЦЫ. ОНИ ИСКОНИ ХОДИЛИ
ХРИСТА ИСКАЛИ.

27. В. МОНОГО ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ ВРАТ?

О. ТРОЕ.

28. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПЕРВАЯ И ДРУГИЕ ВРАТА?

О. ПЕРВЫЕ ВРАТА – ВХОЖДЕНИЯ ВТОРЫЕ – ИСХОЖДЕНИЯ ТРЕТЬЕ – ЗАПОВЕДЬ.

29. В. МОНОГО ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ ОКОН?

О. ТРОЕ. ПЕРВОЕ ОКНО – ОТКРОВЕНИЕ; ВТОРОЕ – ВДОХНОВЕНИЯ ТРЕТЬЕ –
– ВОЗДЕРЖАНИЕ.

30. В. ЧЕМ ВАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ПОКРЫТА?

О. БУРУНАМИ, БОЖЬИМИ РАБАМИ.

31. В. ЧЕМ ВАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ОБИТА?

О. ВОЛНАМИ, БОЖЬИМИ СЛОВАМИ.

32. В. ЧЕМ ВАША ЦЕРКОВЬ ЗАНАВЕШАНА?

О. ПЕЛЕНАМИ.

33. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПЕЛЕНА?

О. ПЕЛЕНА ЕСТЬ БОЖИЕ ПЕНИЕ.

34. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ ГЛАВА?

О. ЕСТЬ.

35. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ГЛАВА?

О. ГЛАВА ЕСТЬ ХРИСТОС, ГЛАГОЛ БОЖИЙ.

36. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЖЕРКВИ ЕЛЕЙ?

О. ЕСТЬ.

37. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЕЛЕЙ?

О. ЕЛЕЙ ЕСТЬ ДОБРОДЕТЕЛЬ.

38. В. А В ЧЕМ ЕЛЕЙ СОБЛЮДАЕТСЯ?

О. В КОЗЬЕМ РОГЕ.

39. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ КОЗИЙ РОГ?

О. КОЗИЙ РОГ - БОЖИЙ РОД.

40. В. ХОДИТЕ ЛИ ВЫ В ЦЕРКОВЬ?

О. ХОДИМ.

41. В. С ЧЕМ ТЫ ХОДИШЬ В ЦЕРКОВЬ?

О. С ЧИСТОЮ ДУШОЮ.

42. В. ЕЩЕ С ЧЕМ?

О. С СОСУДОМ.

43. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ СОСУД?

О. ЧИСТАЯ ПЛОТЬ И НЕПОРОЧНАЯ.

44. В. ЧЕГО РАДИ ВЫ В НЕЕ ХОДИТЕ?

О. ХОДУМ ДЛЯ ОЧИЩЕНИЯ ПЛОТИ И ДЛЯ ОПРАВДАНИЯ ДУШИ СВОЕЙ И ДЛЯ СМирЕНИЯ ВСЯКОЙ ГРОДОСТИ, ДЛЯ ТОГО, ЧТОВЫ СПЛЕСТИСЯ В ЛЮБВИ И В БЛАГОСТИЯ В ВОЗВЕЩЕНИИ РАЗУМА ПОЗНАТЬ ТАЙНОГО БОГА-ОТЦА И ХРИСТА, В НЕМ ЖЕ БО ЕСТЬ СУТЬ СОКРОВИЩА И РАЗУМ ЕГО СОКРОВЕН.

45. В. ВШЕДШИ В ЦЕРКОВЬ ЗА ЧТО ВОЗЬМЕШЬСЯ?

О. ЗА КАДИЛО.

46. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ КАДИЛО?

О. КАДИЛО ЕСТЬ ДОБРЫЕ ДЕЛА.

47. В. А ВШЕДШИ В ЦЕРКОВЬ НА КОГО ВОЗЗРИШЦСЯ?

О. ВЗИРАЮ НА ОПАШНИКА БРАТА ИВАНАЯ ИВАН ЕСТЬ В ЦЕМИ ЦЕРКВАХ, ОН И ЦЫТЬ ВО ВЦЕХ ИХ.

48. В. КОМУ ВЫ КЛАНЯЕТЕСЬ?

О. КЛАНЯЕМСЯ МЫ ОТЦЫ И СЫНУ И СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ, ТО ЕСТЬ СВЯТОЙ ТРОИЦЕ.

49. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ ПРЕСТОЛ?

О. ЕСТЬ.

50. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПРЕСТОЛ?

О. ПРЕСТОЛ ЕСТЬ ПРИСТАНИЩЕ ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТИАН.

51. В. НА ЧЕМ ВАШ ПРЕСТОЛ СТОИТ?

О. ХА ЧЕТЫРЕХ СТАРЖАХ ЖИВОТНЫХ.

52. В. НА КОТОРЫХ?

О. ПЕРВЫЙ СТАРЕЦ ЕСТЬ АСПИДЯ ВТОРОИ - САПФИР; ТРЕТИЙ - ХАЛКЕДОН;
ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ - СМАРАГД.

53. В. ЧТО НА ВАШЕМ ПРЕСТОЛО ЕСТЬ?

О. ЕСТЬ НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ СОСЫД, КРЕСТ Е ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ.

54. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ СОСУД?

О. СОСУД ЕСТЬ ЗАКОН БОЖИЙ.

55. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ КРЕСТ?

О. КРЕСТ ЕСТЬ СТРАДАНИЯ ЗА ХРИСТА.

56. В. А ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ?

О. ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ СКАЗАЛ: Я ЖЕ ЕСТЬ ВАМ ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ ВЕЧНОЕ, ВСЕМУ МИРУ.
СВЕТИЛНИК.

57. В. КТО У ВАС ПОДЛЕ ПРЕСТОЛА СТОИТ?

О. СВЯЩЕННИК.

58. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ СВЯЩЕННИК?

О. СВЯЩЕННИК НАШ ЕСТЬ ПАСТЫРЬ ПРАВЕДНЫЙ, ПРЕПОДОБНЫЙ, ЧИСТОСЕРДЕЧНЫЙ,
НЕСКВЕРНЫЙ, НЕЗЛОБНЫЙ, КОТОРЫЙ ОТЛОЧЕН ОТ ГРЕШНИКОВ, ЧТО НЕ СОДЕЛАЕТ
РЫКОЙ СВОЕЮ БЕЗЗАКОНИЯ, НИЖЕ ПОМЫСЛИТ НА ГОСПОДА ЛУКАВОЕ.

59. В. ЧТО У СВЯЩЕННИКА В РУКАХ?

О. БЛАГОСЛОВЕНИЕ И КАДИЛО.

60. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ БЛАГОСЛОВЕНИЕ?

О. БЛАГОСЛОВЕНИЕ ЕСТЬ УМОВ НАСТАВЛЕНИЕ.

61. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ КАДИЛО?
- О. КАДИЛО ЕСТЬ ВЕЛИКИЕ ДЕЛА.
62. В. А ЧТО ТАКОЕ В КАДИЛЕ?
- О. В КАДИЛЕ ЖАР И УГОЛЬ, ЖАР ЕСТЬ ЖЕЛАНИЕ, УГОЛЬ ЕСТЬ ГЛАГОЛ БОЖИЙ.
63. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ИКОНОСТАС ЦЕРКОВНЫЙ?
- О. СОБРАНИЕ ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТИАН. ИКОНОСТАС ЦЕРКОВНЫЙ - ОКРЕСТ ДУХОВНЫЙ;
А ГОСПОДЬ ОКРЕСТ ЛЮДЕЙ СВОИХ СОБРАЛ - ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТИАН, КОТОРЫХ
СОБРАНИЕ - БОЖЬЕ И ЧИСТАЯ ПЛОТЬ НЕПОРОЧНАЯ.
64. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ В ВАШЕЙ ЦЕРКВИ ЧАША?
- О. ЕСТЬ.
65. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЧАША?
- О. ЧАША ЕСТЬ ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ СОЗДАНИЯ; СЛОВО БОЖИЕ.
66. В. А ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПАСХА?
- О. ХРИСТОС БО НАШ ЕСТЬ ПАСХА, ЖЕРТВА ЖИВАЯ, АГНЕЦ БОЖИЙ.
67. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ПСАЛТЫРЬ?
- О. ПСАЛТЫРЬ ЕСТЬ ВЕДОМОСТЬ ИСТИННАЯ:
68. В. КОТОРОМУ ТЫ КРЕСТУ ВЕРУЕ'ЬСЯ ЧЕТЫРЕХКОНЕЧНОМУ ИЛИ ВОСЬМИКОНЕЧНОМУ?
- О. Я ВЕРУЮ КРЕСТЫ ЧЕТЫРЕХКОНЕЧНОМУ. ПЕРВЫЙ КОНЕЦ ЕСТЬ ВЕРА; ВТОРОЙ
КОНЕЦ - НАДЕЖДА; ТРЕТИЙ КОНЕЦ - ТРУДЫ; ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ КОНЕЦ - ПИТАНИЕ.
ВЕРУЮ И ХАДЕЮСЬ; ТРУЖУСЬ И ПИТАЮСЬ.
69. В. КАКОГО ТЫ РОДУ?
- О. Я РОДУ ИЗРАИЛЬСКОГО, ПУТЕШЕСТВЕННОГО.
70. В. КАКОЙ ТЫ ФАМИЛИИ?
- О. Я ФАМИЛИИ ТРЕХ ОТРОКОВ: ДАНИАИЛЯ, АЗАРИЯ И МИСАИЛА.
71. В. ОТКУДА ТЫ ПРИШЕЛ?
- О. ОТ СЕЙ ВЕРЫ - МОРЕЯ, СЫНЫ ЧАД БОЖИИХ.
72. В. ПОЧЕМУ ТЫ ШЕЛ?
- О. ПО ДОРОГЕ.

73. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ДОРОГА?
О. ДОРОГА ЕСТЬ ДАРОВАНИЕ ДУХА СВЯТОГО.
74. В. ЧТО У ДОРОГИ?
О. ЦВЕРТОК МЫСЛИ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКОЙ. АЩЕ НЕ ПОМЫСЛИШЬ, ТО И НЕ СВЕРНЕШЬ.
75. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ СВЕРНУТИЕ С ДОРОГИ?
О. ЛУКАВЫЯ МЫСЛИ.
76. В. ЧТО ВПЕРЕД ТЕБЯ ВЕДЕТ?
О. СТРАХ. СЛОВО БОЖИЕ.
77. В. НА ЧЕМ ДОРОГА ЛЕЖИТ?
О. НА ЖЕМЛЕ.
78. В. НА ЧЕМ ЖЕМЛЯ ОСНОВАНА?
О. В ПУЦЕ ГОСПОДНЕЙ ВЛАСТЬ ЗЕМЛИ.
79. В. ПОЧЕМУ ТЫ МНЕ ЗЕМЛЯК?
О. БЛАГОКОРЕННОЙ РАДОВАННОЙ СЕЙ ЗЕМЛИ:.
80. В. С ЧЕМ К НАМ ПРИШЕЛ?
О. С УПОВАНИЕМ, С ЖЕЛАНИЕМ.
81. В. ЧТО ПРИНЕС?
О. ПОКОРЕНИЕ, СМирЕНИЕ. ПОКОРИЛ СЕБЯ ПРЕД ГОСПОДОМ.
82. В. ЧЕГО ТЫ ОТ НАС ЖЕЛАЕШЬ?
О. ЧЕСТНЫХ БЕСЕД, ДОБРЫХ ДЕЛ.
83. В. ЕСТЬ ЛИ У ТЕБЯ ВИД?
О. ЕСТЬ.
84. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ БИД?
О. ВИД ЕСТЬ ВИДЕНИЕ, ВЕНЕЦ НАД ГОЛОВОЮ МОЕЙ, ПОДОБНЫЙ ДУГЕ.

85. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ДУГА?

О. ДУГА - БО ХАД НАМИ ДУХ БОЖИИ.

86. В. А ЧТО ЕСТЬ ВЕНЕЦ?

О. ВЕНЕЦ ЕСТЬ СЛАВА ВЕЧНАЯ:

87. В. ЧТО ТЫ КРЕЩЕН ИЛИ НЕТ?

О. КРЕЩЕН.

88. В. КТО ТЕБЯ КРЕСТИЛ?

О. СВЯЩЕННИК.

89. В. КОТОРЫЙ?

О. ПРАВЕДНЫЙ И ПРЕПОДОБНЫЙ.

90. В. ЧЕМ ТЫ КРЕЩЕН?

О. КРЕЩЕН СЛОВОМ БОЖИИМ.

91. В. ЧТО ЖЕ ТЫ ПРАВЕДНЫЙ ИЛИ НЕТ?

О. ЖЕЛАЮ ПРЕД БОГОМ ПРАВДУ СОТВОРИТЬ.

92. В. А ГДЕ ТЫ ПРАВДУ ВЗЯЛ?

О. В РОДЕ ПРАВЕДНОМ, В ЛЮДЯХ ИСТИННЫХ.

93. В. НА ЧЕМ ТЫ СТОИШЬ?

О. НА КАМНЕ КОРЕННОМ.

94. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ КАМЕНЬ?

О. КАМЕНЬ ЕСТЬ ХРИСТОС.

95. В. А ЧТО НА ТЕБЕ ЕСТЬ?

О. БЫСТЬ НА МНЕ РУКА ГОСПДНЯ.

96. В. ЧЕМ ТЫ ОДЕТ?

О. СВЕТОМ, ЯКО РИЗОЮ.

97. В. ЧЕМ ТЫ ПРЕПОЯСАН?

О. САФИРНЫМ ПОЯСОМ ЗОЛОТЫМ.

98. В. КУДА ТЫ ИДЕШЬ?

О. В ЕРУСАЛИМ - ГРАД.

99. В. МНОГО ЛИ В ЕРУСАЛИМЕ СТЕН?

О. ЧЕТЫРЕ.

100. В. МНОГО ЛИ В ЕРУСАЛИМЕ ВРАТ?

О. ДВНАДЕЦАТЬ ВРАТ.

101. В. КАКИЯ ИМ ИМЕНА НАПИСАНЫ?

О. ОТ СЕВЕРА - ТРОЕ ВОРОТ; ОТ ЮГА - ТРОЕ ВОРОТ; ОТ ЗАПАДА - ТРОЕ ВОРОТ И ОТ ВОСТОКА - ТРОЕ ВОРОТ.

102. В. МНОГО ЛИ ХА ТЕХ НА ВРАТАХ ЛЮДЕЙ СТОИТ?

О. ДВНАДЕЦАТЬ АНГЕЛОВ.

103. В. КАКИЯ ИМ ИМЕНА НАПИСАНЫ?

О. ОТ СЕВЕРА - АНАНИЯ, АЗАРИЯ И МИСАИЛ; ОТ ЮГА - АВРААМ, ИСААК И ИАКОВ; ОТ ВОСТОКА - ИОВ, НОЙ И ЛОТ; ОТ ЗАПАДА - МОИСЕЙ, ААРОН, И ДАВИД.

104. В. КТО НА ТЕ ВОРОТА ЗАМОК ПОЛОЖИЛ?

О. АПОСТОЛ ДАВЕЛ.

105. В. КОМУ КЛЮЧ ОТДАЛ?

О. АПОСТОЛУ ПЕТРУ.

106. В. ЧЕЙ КЛЮЧ?

О. ДАВИДОВ.

107. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ХРИСТИАНСКАЯ (ДУХОБОРЧЕСКАЯ) ВЕРА?

О. КРЕПОСТЬ ДОБРЫХ ДЕЛ.

108. В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЗАКОН БОЖИЙ?

О. ЧИСТАЯ СОВЕСТЬ НЕПОРОЧНАЯ; ЧЕГО СЕБЕ НЕ ХОЧУ, ТОГО БРАТУ НЕ ЖЕЛАЮ.

109.В. ЧЕМУ ХРИСТИАНИН (ДУХОБОРЕЦ) СЛУЖИТ?

О. ХРИСТИАНИН ДУХОМ БОГУ СЛУЖИТ. ХВАЛИТЦЯ О ХРИСТЕ ИИСУСЕ;
ОТ ДУХА БЕРЕТ, ДУХОМ УТВЕРЖАЕТСЯ И ДУХОМ БОДРСТВУЕТ, ОТ ДУХА
МЕЧ ПОЛУЧАЕТ, СИМ МЕЧЕМ И ВОЮЕТ.

110.В. НА КОГО МЕЧ ИЗБРАН?

О. НА ГОЛИАФА.

111.В. ЧТО ТЫ СУЕТНЫЙ ИЛИ ИЗБРАННИК?

О. Я ИЗБРАННИК.

112.В. ПОЧЕМУ ТЫ ИЗБРАННИК?

О. ИЗБРАННИК Я ПОТОМУ, ЧТО НЕ ВОШЕЛ В СОХМУ СУЕТНУЮ, ВОЗНЕНАВИДЕХ
СОЙМУ ЛУКАВУЮ; ОБЫДОХ ВСЕ СЕТИ ЛУКАВЫЕ; ВОСПРИНЯЛ НА СЕБЯ БРАК
СВЯТОЙ, ТАЙНЫЙ, БОЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ ОТ ЕДОМА [?] СВЯТОЙ ДУШИ ЕГО.

113.В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ СВЯТОЙ БРАК?

О. СВЯТОЙ БРАК ЕСТЬ ДЕЛО ВЕЗНОГО БЛАБЕНСТВА.

114.В. ЧТО ЕСТЬ ЗАКОН?

О. ЧИСТАЯ ПЛОТЬ И НЕПОРОЧНАЯ.

115.В. ГДЕ ВЫ БОГА ПОЗНАЕТЕ?

О. В БЫТИИ БОГ БЫЛ И БУДЕТ.

116.В. ГДЕ БОГ РОДИЛСЯ?

О. В ВИФЛЕЕМ-ГРАДЕ, В ДОМЕ СПОКОЙНОМ.

117.В. ГДЕ БОГ ВОСПИТАН?

О. В КАПЕРНАУМЕ.

118.В. ГДЕ БОГ БЫЛ, КОГДА НЕ БЫЛО НИ НЕБА, НИ ЗЕМЛЕ, НИ ЛУННОГО ТЕЧЕНИЯ,
ИН ЗВЕЗДНОГО УКРШЕНИЯ, ИН СОЛНЕЧНОГО СИЯНИЯ?

О. ТОГДА БОГ БЫЛ В ГОРЕ ВЕРЫ.

119.В. А ЧТО ЕСТЬ ГОРА ВЕРЫ?

О. КТО БОГ ВЕРЖЕТ, ТОТ И ЕСТЬ ГОРА ВЕРЫ.

120.В. А ТЕПЕРЬ ГДЕ БОГ ОПОЧИВАЕТ?

О В ПОСЛЕДНИХ СТРАНАХ.

121.В. ИСПОВЕДУЮСЬ-ЛИ ТЫ БОГУ НЕБЕСНОМУ ИЛИ НЕТ?

О. ИСПОВЕДУЮСЬ БОГУ ЕДИНОМУ, ЯКО БЛАГ ГОСПОДЬ ЯКО ВО ВЕК МИЛОСТЬ ЕГО, ПОХЕЖЕ ОН ОСТАВЛЯЕТ ВСЕ СОГРЕШЕНИЯ НАШИ.

122.В. ПРИЧАЩАЕШЬСЯ-ЛИ ТЫ ИЛИ НЕТ?

О. ПРИЧАЩАЮСЬ ЯКО СВЯТЫМ ЕГО ТАЙНАМ БОЖЕСТВЕННЫМ, ЖИВОТВОРЯЩИМ, СТРАШНЫМ, БЕЗСМЕРТНЫМ ХРИСТОВЫМ ВО ОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ГРЕХОВ.

123.В. ВОСПРИЕМЛЕШЬ-ЛИ ТЫ В СЕБЯ СВЯТЫЕ ТАЙНЫ?

О. ВОСПРИЕМЛЮ. СВЯТЫЕ ТАЙНЫ ЕСТЬ ПОЗНАТЬ ТАЙНОГО ИСТИННОГО БОГА-
ОТЦА И ХРИСТА В НЕМ СУТЬ СОКРОВИЩА И ПАЗУМ ЕГО СОКРОВЕН.

1. Q. What sort of person are you?
A. I [am] a person of God's.
2. Q. Why are you God's?
A. I pray to God and am fulfilled, purified by [His] power.
3. Q. From what did God create you?
A. From a body and ¹[an] undying spirit.
4. Q. For what did God create you?
A. For this, that I might know the Lord's own path and want to be in his court.
5. Q. What does God ask from you?
A. First - that I accomplish good deeds. What you begin, you finish.
6. Q. Without what can you not come to God?
A. Without a pure conscience.
7. Q. Do you have a spirit?
A. ²Indeed.
8. Q. What is the spirit?
A. The spirit is the image of God, a heavenly image, it sings and speaks.
9. Q. Upon what does your spirit feed?
A. Upon the spiritual vine.
- 10..Q. What is the spiritual vine?
A. The spiritual vine is the word of God.
11. Q. By what is your spirit ruled?
A. By justice, by love, by truthful words.

1. clay, Popoff.

2. lit., [There] is [a spirit belonging to me]; and similarly throughout.

12. Q. By what is your spirit aided?

3

A. By purity, [and] the accomplishment of God's reason.

13. Q. Upon what does your flesh feed?

A. A clean conscience.

14. Q. Do you have among you three Christs?

A. I have.

15. Q. Who [are they]?

4

A. The first Jesus - Navin; the second - Ravvin; the third - sidyakin.

16. Q. In which of these Christs do you believe?

A. I believe in the Christ, that sits on the throne and makes all
[things] new.

17. Q. Do you go to meeting?

A. We go.

18. Q. With what do you go there?

A. With the unspoken razor.

19. Q. And what is the unspoken razor?

A. The unspoken language, the message, the word of God.

20. Q. Do you have a church?

A. Indeed.

21. Q. Where is your church building?

A. Our church building [is] not in the mountains, nor among tree-trunks,
nor in lifeless walls, but our church building is in the spirits
and hearts of men, [in] the righteous and the lovers of Him, those
who truly serve Him.

3. With a strong connotation of physical cleanliness.

4. Rabbi? The whole answer is utterly obscure.

22. Q. How many walls has your church?

A. Four.

23. Q. What is the first wall?

A. The first wall - the infant, the deputy of Christ.

24. Q. What is the second wall?

A. The second wall- the pure maiden, the heavenly bride.

25. Q. What is the third wall?

5

A. The third wall - the old men, the forerunners of the king.

26. Q. What is the fourth wall?

A. The fourth wall - the women and the peacebringers. They went
6
early to search for Christ.

27. Q. How many gates has your church?

A. Three.

28. Q. What are the first, and the other, gates?

A. The first gate - entry; the second - departure; the third -
- commandment.

29. Q. How many windows are there in your church?

A. Three. The first window - revelation; the second - inspiration;
the third - abstinence.

30. Q. How is your church roofed over?

A. By the breakers, [that are] the servants of God.

31. Q. How is your church furnished?

A. By the waves, [that are] the words of God.

32. Q. How is your church curtained?

A. By a shroud.

5. lit., announcers, heralds.

6. The Easter visitors at Christ's tomb (Cf. Luke XXIV, 1-12).

33. Q. What is the shroud?

A. The shroud is [our] singing to God.

34. Q. Is there a head in your church?

A. Indeed.

35. Q. Who is the head?

A. The head is Christ, the word of God.

7

36. Q. Is there chrism in your church?

A. Indeed.

37. Q. What is the chrism?

A. The chrism is good deeds.

38. Q. And in what is the chrism bottled?

A. In the goat's horn.

39. Q. What is the goat's horn?

8

A. The goat's horn - God's kin.

40. Q. Do you go to church?

A. We go.

41. Q. With what do you go to church?

A. With a clean spirit.

42. Q. Again, with what?

9

A. With the vessel.

43. Q. What is the vessel?

A. Clean flesh and chastity.

7. Holy (blessed) oil.

8. The phonetic word-play of the Russian is untranslatable, and should be noted.

9. or, dish.

44. Q. By what path do you go thither?

A. I go from the cleaning of the flesh and from the justification of my spirit and from the humbling of every pride, from that, which weaves to love and to blessedness; to reason announcing to know in secret God the Father and Christ, to that which is to be the treasury and the secret of his mind.

45. Q. Being in church, about what do you think?

A. About the censer.

46. Q. What is the censer?

A. The censer is good deeds.

47. Q. And being in church, upon what do you gaze?

A. I look at the defender brother John; John is in seven churches,
10
and he is in all of them.

48. Q. To whom do you bow?

A. We bow to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, that is the Holy Trinity.

49. Q. Is there an altar in your church?

A. Indeed.

50. Q. What is the altar?

A. The altar is the shelter for righteous christians.

51. Q. Upon what does your altar stand?

A. Upon four ancient living creatures.

10. An obscure reference to Apocalypse , I -III, in which the Apostle John's message to seven asian churches is generally applied to various states of church morale and behaviour.

52. Q. Upon which?

A. The first ancient [creature] is slate; the second - sapphire ;
the third - chalcedony; the fourth - smaragdus.

53. Q. What is upon your altar?

A. Upon the altar there is a vessel, a cross, and a Gospel-book.

54. Q. What is the vessel?

A. The vessel is the law of God.

55. Q. What is the cross?

A. The cross is the suffering of Christ.

56. Q. And what is the Gospel-book?

A. The Lord declared: I am the eternal Gospel for you, the enlight-
ener of all the world.

57. Q. Who stands beside your altar?

A. The priest.

58. Q. Who is your priest?

A. Our priest is the shepherd of the faithful, of the saints, of
the pure-in-heart, of the undefiled, of those without evil, who
differ from sinners, eunuchs; who does nothing lawless with his
hands, nor thinks about the faces of God [?].

59. Q. What has the priest in his hands?

A. A blessing and a vessel.

60. Q. What is the blessing?

A. The blessing is a word(?) of teaching.

61. Q. What is the vessel?

A. The vessel is a great deed.

62. Q. What sort of thing is within the vessel?

A. Within the vessel are heat and a burning coal, the heat is
¹¹
 desire, the coal is the word of God.

63. Q. What is the church's iconostasis?

A. The gathering of true christians. The church iconostasis -
 - a spiritual cross; but the Lord took the cross of his people-
 - true christians, the gathering of others - God and the pure
 chaste flesh.

64. Q. Is there a cup in your church?

A. Indeed.

65. Q. What is the cup?

A. The cup is the wisdom of creation; the work of God.

66. Q. And what is the Passover?
¹²

A. Christ is for us a new Passover, a living sacrifice, the lamb
 of God.

67. Q. What is the Psalter?

A. The Psalter is the record of the righteous.
¹³

68. Q. How do you believe the cross [to be]: [having] four points or
 eight points?

A. I believe the cross has four points. The first end is truth;
 the second end - hope; the third end - toil; the fourth end -
 - nourishment. I believe and I hope; I labour and I eat.

11. A complex word-play runs through 61 and 62.

12. usually, Easter; but Passover seems the appropriate term (cf. I
 Cor. V, 8).

13. that is, the list of the righteous; the living books of the apocalypse.

69. Q. What is your kin?

A. My kin are the Israelites, the wanderers.

70. Q. What is your family-name?

A. My family-name is the three [holy] youths: Ananias, Azarias,
¹⁴
 and Misael.

71. Q. Whence did you come?

A. From this, I believe: - from the sea, a child of the son of God.

72. Q. How did you come?

A. By the road.

73. Q. What is the road?

A. The road is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

74. Q. What pertains to the road?

A. The turning is the thoughts of man. If you do not think about
 it, you will not go astray.

75. Q. What is the turning from the road?

¹⁵
 A. The thoughts of the cunning.

76. Q. What do you see before you[on the road]?

¹⁶
 A. Fear. The word of God.

77. Q. Where does the road lie?

A. In the world.

78. Q. Upon what is the world based?

A. The strength of the world is in the hand of God.

79. Q. How is it for you in this world?

A. The common inhabitants are the happy of this world[?].

14. or, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego (Cf. Daniel I,III; esp. III, 16 - 18).

15. or, of the devil.

16. or, risk; responsibility.

80. Q. Whence are we [all] come?

A. From hope, from desire.

81. Q. What brings us?

A. Subjugation, Humility. We humble ourselves before the Lord.

82. Q. What do you wish for from us?

A. Honest speech, kind deeds.

83. Q. Do you have a prospect?

A. Indeed.

84. Q. What is the prospect?

A. The prospect is a vision, a crown over my head, like an arch.

85. Q. What is the arch?

A. The arch[?] over us [is] the Spirit of God.

86. Q. And what is the crown?

A. The crown is eternal glory.

87. Q. Have you a baptism, or not?

A. [Yes,] a baptism.

88. Q. Who baptizes you?

A. The priest.

89. Q. Who is?

A. Justice and reverence.

90. Q. How do you baptize?

A. We baptize by the word of God.

91. Q. Do you have righteousness, or not?

A. I desire to do [what is] just before God.

17

17. or, I desire to create justice before God.

92. Q. And where did you get the truth?

A. In the family of the righteous, in the truthful people.

93. Q. Whereon do you stand?

A. Upon the cornerstone.

94. Q. What is the cornerstone?

A. The cornerstone is Christ.

95. Q. And what is upon you?

A. On me is the hand of the Lord.

96. Q. By what are you clad?

A. By light, for a chasuble.

97. Q. By what are you girdled?

A. By a sash of sapphire and gold.

98. Q. Whither do you go?

A. To Jerusalem-town.

99. Q. How many walls has Jerusalem?

A. Four.

100. Q. How many gates has Jerusalem?

A. Twelve gates.

101. Q. How are their names set down?

A. To the north - three gates; to the South - three gates; to the
West - three gates; and to the East - three gates.

102. Q. How many people stand in them, in the gates?

A. Twelve angels.

103. Q. How are their names written?

A. To the North - Ananias, Azarias, and Misael; to the South - Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; to the East - Job, Noah, and Lot; to the West - Moses, Aaron, and David.

104.Q. Who put the lock in these gates?

A. The apostle Paul.

105.Q. To whom is the key given?

A. The Apostle Peter.

106.Q. Whose is the Key?

A. David's.

18

107.Q. What is the christian (doukhobor) faith?

A. The strength of good deeds.

108.Q. What is the law of God?

A. A clean and chaste conscience; what I do not desire for myself, I will not wish upon my brother.

109.Q. What do christians (doukhobors) serve?

A. Christians serve the Spirit of God. They boast of Jesus Christ; they care for the Spirit, the Spirit strengthens [them] and the Spirit keeps [them] awake, from the Spirit they receive a sword, with the sword they fight.

110. Q. Against whom is the sword drawn?

A. Against Goliath.

111. Q. Who is your appointed one[?] or chosen one?

A. I am the chosen one.

112.Q. Why are you a chosen one?

A. I am the chosen one because [he] who did not share in the community business, [was] the devil, he conceived a hatred for the community; the devil opposed all this; he grasped at our holy marriage [feast], at the sacrament, at divine [things], from the home of the Holy Spirit.
19

113.Q. What is the holy marriage [feast]?

A. The holy marriage [feast] is the matter of eternal happiness.

114.Q. What is the law?

A. Clean and chaste flesh.

115.Q. Where do you come to know God?

A. God was and will be in existence.
20

116.Q. Where did God come?

A. Into Bethlehem-town, into a quiet house.

117.Q. Where was God brought up?

A. In Capernaum.

118.Q. Where was God, when he was not in heaven, nor on earth, nor in the streams of moonlight, nor in the adorning [light] of the stars, nor in the radiance of the sun?

A. God was then in the mountain of faith.

119.Q. And what is the mountain of faith?

A. Who trusts God, he is the mountain of faith.

120.Q. And now where does God rest himself?

A. In the furthest land.

19. The entire passage is obscure.

20. or, Jesus (frequent variant).

121.Q. Do you profess the God of heaven, or not?

A. I profess the one God, for the Lord [is] good, for his mercy
21
is eternal, according to which he takes away all our sins.

122.Q. Do you receive the eucharist, or not?

A. I receive as His holy divine sacrament, the life-giving, awesome,
never-dying Christ in the taking-away of sins.

123.Q. Do you take heart in your holy sacrament?

A. I[indeed]take heart. The holy sacrament is to know the secret
truths of God the Father and Christ, to be in their treasury,
even His innermost mind.

21. or, for ever. (cf. Psalm CXXXVI, 1).

Variant readings for the above:

5. Q. What does God ask from you?

A. First - that I might accomplish righteousness.

25. Q. What is the third wall?

A. The third wall - the old men, the heralds of the word of God.

26. Q. What are the first, and the other, gates?

A. The first gate - entry; the second - departure; the third - West.

35. Q. Who is the head of the church?

A. The head of the church is Christ, the word of God.

68. Q. How do you believe the cross [to be]: [having] four points or eight points?

A. I believe the cross has four points. The first end is a Prophet; the second end - an Apostle; the third end - an Angel; the fourth end - an Archangel. I believe and I hope.

71. Q. Whence do you come?

A. From the sea in the North, from the East his child.

93. Q. What is the [corner] stone?

A. The [corner] stone is our Christ.

98. Q. Whither do you go?

A. Into the holy city of Jerusalem.

109. (I).

Q. Are you a christian (doukhobor), or not?

A. I [am] a christian (doukhobor).

(II).

Q. Why [are] you a christian (doukhobor)?

A. We serve God through the spirit and boast of his Jesus Christ.

(III).

Q. Show us your own christian (doukhbor) way of life.

A. We [are] chosen by the Spirit, we care about the Spirit, we are awakened by the Spirit, we assemble for the Spirit, we are given a sword of the Spirit's, with which sword we fight.

110.Q. Against whom is the sword struck?

A. Against the guardian.

111.Q. Why do you pray?

A. I pray because...(insert answer from 112).

112.Q. Why are you a chosen one?

A. I am a chosen one, because, [he] who did not share in the community business,[was] the devil, he conceived a hatred for the church; the diabolic one opposed all this; he grasped at our holy marriage [feast], at the sacrament, at divine [things], from the home of the Holy Spirit.[?]

116.Q. Where did Christ come?

A. Into Bethlehem-town, into a quiet home.

118.Q. Where was God, when He was not in heaven, nor on earth, nor in the streams of moonlight, nor in the adorning[light] of the stars or heaven, nor in the radiance of the sun?

A. God was then in the mountain-range of faith.

120.Q. And where now does God abide?

A. In the farthest land.

123.Q. Do you take heart in your holy sacrament?

A. I [indeed] take heart. The holy sacrament is to know the secret truths of God the Father and Christ, in which is the wisdom, and the innermost mind of the Spirit.

Variant text from recitation of Mrs. F. Semonoff. Translated by Eli Popoff.

1. 1.

2. 2.

3. 3.

4. 4.

5. 5.

6. 6.

7. Q. How can the fruits of the spirit be destroyed?

A. By too much dependance upon the grace of God without striving to lead a life of good deeds.

8. Q. What were you taught by your fathers and mothers?

A. Our fathers and mothers taught us how to come to [truly realize] the Lord our God, and how to interpret the [meaning of] his ways.

9. Q. Whom do you consider as your first forefather on earth?

A. Abel.

10. Q. What do you consider gave you birth?

A. Faith gave birth to us, Hope nursed us, and Love brought us to¹ [the realization of] Christ.

11. Q. To what group of peoples do you belong?²

A. We belong to God's people, who are ever, like pilgrims, wandering from one place to another on the face of the earth.

12. Q. Why are you a people of a wandering, pilgrim nature?

A. We hold ourselves to be people of a wandering, pilgrim nature because we are always moving from a [symbolic] land of Egypt [or land of oppression], - from a state of confusion -, - towards attainment of the promised land, a land of enlightenment of truth [or, that is, a state of contentment and peaceful living].

13. Q. From what village are you?

A. Our village is the [symbolic] 'Trinity', where the Lord Himself is ever at work.

1. cf. psalm 176.

2. cf. clauses 69, 70 above.

14. Q. Where is the Lord at work?

A. The Lord is at work among devout people, people that have dedicated themselves to a life of truth.

15. Q. Is your testament of Faith the old testament or the new?

3

A. We are of the old testament, of the law of God and of the Faith of Jesus.

16. Q. Whom do you try to imitate in your Faith?

A. The three Israelite youths: Ananias, Azarias, and Misael.

17. Q. Why do you refer to yourselves as Christians?

A. Because of our realization of the teachings of Christ.

18. 109.

19. Q. What is this spiritual weapon?

A. Our spiritual weapon is the word of God.

20. Q. Against whom have you drawn your spiritual weapon?

A. Against [the symbolic] Goliath, the pillar of the Philistines; against those in authority; those who live at the expense of the toil of others; against those who as thieves and robbers withhold from the people the divine truth that should be freely available to all from the heavenly fountain.

21. 8.

22. Q. What is your soul?

A. My soul is what I myself am; my soul reflects my life's deeds.

3. A Staroveri choice of term? Since the 'Faith of Christ' is New Testament matter, there must be another reason for preferring the term 'Old'. Most Doukhobors consider the Old Testament to be obsolete and of dubious spiritual use.

23. Q. What is God?

A. God is Divine Reason; God is a spirit: God is man.

24. Q. Who has ever seen God with their physical eyes?

A. Not any one, at any place, nor at any time, has seen God with his physical eyes. Only they see God, who love their fellow men. In Love, God abides.

25. Q. With what do such people perceive God?

A. With their spirit; with their reason; with their feelings -
- such people perceive God.

26. Q. Where do such people perceive God?

A. At every place to which His sovereignty extends.

27. Q. Where is His sovereign land?

A. There, where His kingdom is.

28. Q. Where is His Kingdom?

A. In the souls, in the hearts of men. If we love our fellow men, we shall be dwelling in the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of God will be within us. Where there is agreement, there is en-
4
-lightenment...Where there is Love - there is God.

29. Q. Do you consider yourselves slaves of God?

A. We do not consider ourselves slaves of God; we call ourselves the servants of God, and hold ourselves to be children of God.

4. cf. clause 24 of this variant; and psalms 147, 176.

30. Q. Why do you not hold yourselves slaves of God?

A. We do not hold ourselves as slaves of God, because our God⁵ does not have slaves; we call ourselves His servants because we serve Him of our own free will, and we consider ourselves as His children because of our love for Him.

31. Q. How can you love God?

A. By fulfilling His work.

32. Q. What is His work?

A. Glorification of His name with our deeds.

33. Q. How can we glorify His name with our deeds?

A. By fulfilling all truth, according to his laws.

34. Q. What is comprised in God's law?

A. God's law is based upon the commandments. The first commandment is that thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy mind; and the second is like it: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments the whole law of God is based.

35. 108.

36. Q. What kind of works do you refrain from doing?

A. We refrain from anger and violence; from the judgement of others and the taking of oaths, and from taking part in the terrible deeds of war. We do not keep company with those who indulge in foolish giddiness, dances, and other forms of devil-inspired worldly pleasure.

5. See headnote, psalm 304.

37. Q. What do you hold to be the least permissible deed for a servant of God?

A. War and the taking of human life and all forms of hate towards your fellow man are the least permissible deeds for a servant of God.

38. Q. Who are they serving and whose slaves are they, who have hate for their fellow man?

A. They serve the spirit that destroys mankind, and they are slaves of the devil.

39. Q. What is the devil?

A. The devil is the spirit of destruction living within his servants, who themselves dwell in a real flaming Gehenna.⁶

40. Q. What is the flaming Gehenna?

A. A state of living in hate and madness, a dependence on earthly idols, all of which degrade man to [a status of] Hell.

41. Q. What is Hell?

A. Eternal death.

42. Q. What is Heaven?

A. Living as part of Eternal Life, guided by reason and Love.

43. Q. And what is Eternal Life?

A. Being at one with God in His omnipresence.

44. Q. Do you have among you a King?

A. Our King is God the Father, and our ruler is Christ the Saviour.

6. Hebrew term appearing in the Gospels (cf. Matthew XVIII, 9). The place-name of a polluted valley used for waste disposal was adapted to a apocalyptic symbol of eternal torment.

45. Q. Do you recognize the power of the authorities?

A. We recognize the power of the authorities that are given of God.

46. Q. To whom is authority given from God?

A. To him is authority given from God, who is servant of all and gives his life in service of Christ and his fellow man.

47. Q. Who does not have authority from God, is not a teacher nor a minister?

A. He has no authority from God, is neither a teacher nor a minister, who lives at the expense of the toil of his brothers and who by enticement gets money from his brothers for his own enjoyment.

48. Q. Do you have truth amid you?

A. We have. Truth is the realization of the will of Providence: the recognition and knowledge of the ways of God and the fulfillment of deeds in line with God's ways.

49. Q. Whence did you get truth?

A. From the teachings of Jesus.

50. Q. How do you come to realize truth?

A. By entreaty to God and by constant recourse to His Divine teachings. We come to realize truth through the word of God.

51. Q. Do you have a temple among you?

A. We have. Our human body is a temple of God, and our soul is a personification of Truth.

52. 21.

53. Q. Where is your church to be found?

A. Our church is found there, where in freedom, and in the spirit of God's love, people gather together, and in word and deed enjoy brotherly, fraternal feelings mutually.

54. Q. Do you attend church, and do you take part in the placing of candles?

A. We attend the genuine, true church, and we do place candles. The candles that never go out are from the light of our reason, that comes from within our own human bodies. Our constant light before God is our Living Faith based upon a crystal-clear untainted conscience.

55. Q. To whom do you pray?

A. To that God who is Divine Truth itself, to the Spirit of Truth;
7
to Jesus Christ who was a personification of Truth.

56. Q. In what manner do you pray?

A. In Faith and in Truth. Our prayer is our whole life of good deeds.

57. Q. Why do you not attend services at the stone- and wood-built temples of the Greek-Orthodox church, and do not pray to the wooden icons therein?

A. Because the Lord forbids us to pray and bow before them, or [any] other objects made by human hands; so that from this unreasonable, false practice, we ourselves would not get traits of being wooden-natured or stone-hearted. You will

7. Or, was Truth incarnate.

eventually become like the kind of god you worship. Our God is the omnipresent Spirit, and prayer and bows to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit must be made in spirit and in truth. This is why we do not join the throng indulging in such vanity, we scorn with righteous indignation the Church which is based upon hypocrisy, and we avoid all other forms of entangling devices set out by the devil. It is better to have the sight of one eye, even if you, thus, see not too clearly, rather than, from the obscuring tactics of the church preachers, to be totally blinded.

8

58. 56.

59. Q. What is the New Testament; how do you understand it?

A. The New Testament is really tidings of great joy, which proclaim to us, that we can become children of God, who are not conceived through the blood, nor the flesh, nor by lust, but in the spirit, born of God.

60. Q. Where, among you, is the New Testament kept safe?

A. The Lord has said: "And they shall have my message printed on their hearts, and they shall proclaim it to all by the words of their mouths."

9

61. Q. Do you have among you the practice of baptism?

A. We have. Abstinence from all wordly acts of hypocrisy and lusts of the flesh is the baptism of a repentant nature, and suffering for the sake of truth is a baptism by the Holy Spirit.

8. Cf. Matthew XVIII, 7-9.

9. Cf. clauses 87 - 89 above.

62. Q. Do you have amid you a cross?

A. We have. Our cross is voluntary austerity and simplicity. The first point of our cross is Faith; the second is Hope; the third is toil; the fourth is nourishment. I have Faith and Hope, I toil and am nourished.

63. Q. Why do you not sign the cross on yourself by motion of the hand?

A. The Lord forbids it, for praying by hand motion does not give
11
one salvation. Motioning the hands may be all right to chase away flies, but it can in no way be held as pleasing to God.

64. Q. Do you observe among you special holy days?

A. We do. When we have given food to the hungry, or clothed the needy; when we have visited one suffering sickness or one confined in prison; when we have forgiven one who has done us harm, or is our enemy; - these, then, are our special holy days.

65. Q. Do you, among you, observe Christ's holy day?

A. We do. Every day is Christ's holy day.

66. Q. Do you partake of Holy Communion?

A. We partake of Holy Communion when we profess Christ to all people, without fear. In this way we become members in common of the Church of Christ and of the family of God.

67. Q. Do you actually observe a commemoration of Jesus Christ?

A. We do. When with traitors, we share our meals as with brothers; when we even wish to wash the feet, or in other ways do service,

10. Cf. clauses 55, 68 above.

11. Cf. psalms 300, 301, contra.

as to brothers, for those who harmed us and were our enemies -
- this then is a real commemoration of Jesus Christ.

68. Q. Do you have among you the practise of fasting?

A. We do. We consider that [to be] the practice of fasting,
that sets a person apart from the bonds of falsehood and
deceit. Take away from your lips all your complaints,
abstain from all evil deeds, and you will fulfill the true
fast. He fasts truly who ever fulfills God's deed of virtue
and truth, and always keeps His divine laws.

69. Q. What is Chastity of the soul?

A. Chastity of the soul consists of being clean in a physical sense
as well as being chaste in all your actions.

70. Q. Who taught you all that is herein recited?

A. Our teacher is God, our adviser is the Holy Spirit, and our
guide is the one and only Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Thy will
be done, Lord, for ever and ever.

12. Cf. clauses 6, 12, 13, 42-44, 97(?), and especially 108 and 114,
above. Physical cleanliness is here formally commended.

Psalm 61.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961

This two-part psalm describes some aspects of God's nature and, anticipating millennial rule, prays for the unity of believers and the presence of God.

БОГ ЕСТЬ ДУХ СВЯТ, САМ СЕБЕ СВЯТОЕ МЕСТО; ДУША ЕГО, ТЕЛО - БЕЗСМЕРТНЫЕ; НЕ ПОЖДЕН, НЕ СОТВОРЕН, ВЕЧНАЯ, САМОБЫТНАЯ, ОБОЛЧИТСЯ СВЕТОМ, ЯКО РИЗОЮ, ВЕЧНЫМ СВОИМ БЕЗСМЕРТНЫМ НА ЦЕМ МЕСТЕ ПОКЛОНЯЕМСЯ ОTCY И СYНУ, СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ; ТВОЕ ЖЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ВЛАДЫЧЕСТВО ВСЯ НА НЕБЕСИ, И НА ЗЕМЛИ, В МОРЯХ, ВО ВСЕХ БЕЗДНАХ. ТЕБЕ ЕДИНУМУ ОTCY НЕБЕССМУ БЫЛО УГОДНО ВОЗЛИТЬ СИЛЬНОЕ МОГУЩЕСТВО ДЕСНИЦЕЮ СВОЕЮ. КОГДА БУДЕТ ОТ ВЕЧЕРНЕЙ ЗАРИ ЗВЕЗДА, ТОГДА Я ВАС БУДУ СИДИТЬ СВОЕЮ ИСТИННУЮ ПРАВОТУ. СГОНОЮ ВАС, РАДИ ПРАВДЫ, ХА МОРСКИЕ ОСТРОВА ПО ЕДИНУМУ, ПО ДВОЕ, ПО ТРОЕ - РАДИ ИМЕНИ ЕГО СВЯТОГО. МОЛИМ И ПРОСИМ ТЕБЯ ЕДИНУГО ГОСПОДА, СОТВОРИТЕЛЕ НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ, КОГДА ЯВИШЬСЯ ПО СЕРЕДИ ЯЗЫК, ВОСПРИЕМЛЕШЬ КОРЕНЬ ОТЕЧЕСКОЙ ЖИЗНИ, ПРИРОДУ ВЫШНЕГО, ТОГДА СОБЕРИ ХАС РАСТОЧЕННЫХ ОТ ЧЕТЫРЕХ КРЫЛ ЗЕМЛИ. ПУТЬ ТВОЙ ИМЕННО СВЯТОЙ, СТЕЗЮ СВОЮ ПО СЕРЕДИ НАС УПОКОЙ. ОПОЧИЦЬ С НАМИ РОДУ РОДОВ, СЕЙ ВЕК НА БУДУЩИЙ ВЕК ПОМЯНИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИИДЕШЬ В ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ.

1

God is a holy spirit, a holy place in himself; his spirit, [is] a body - neveraging, not born, not created, eternal, self-existing, wrapped in light, as[in] a robe, in his eternal immortality; in this place we bow to

2

Father, and Son, and to the Holy Spirit; for your rule, Lord, [is] in all the heavens, and on the earth, on the sea, in all the abysses. You the one Heavenly Father were pleased to pour out [your] mighty power with your right hand. When the star will [rise] in the evening sky, then shall I judge you with my true justice. I will gather you, for the sake of truth, in the isles of the sea, by ones, by twos, by threes - for the sake of Your holy name. We pray and beseech You the one Lord, maker of heaven and

3

earth, when you show yourself among the nations and take up the staff of

1. Cf. John IV, 24.

2. the first resonse and Molenve bow of Father of All, q.v..

3. or, for nations, tongues; for staff, root.

patriarchal life, the nature of the Highest, then bring us exiles together from the four corners of the earth. Your path is holy truth, your path [is] a rest in our midst. Stay with us from age to age, [in] this age [and] in the future age remember us, Lord, when you come into your Kingdom.^{4.}

4. Cf. Luke, XXIII, 42.

Psalm 64.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. Published in Novitsky's 1882 edition of Doukhobors, their History and Faith (Kiev); by Zibarov et al., in A Word of Freedom, (Purleigh Maldon, 1899); and in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961. Collected in Canada by Bonch-Bruevich.

The psalm is an intensive discussion of the Doukhobor concept of God. False gods are discerned by the evil behaviour of their worshippers. Every believer's body is a temple, in which dwells his soul as a tri-partite image of a triune God. Here the equation between the persons of the Trinity and the human mental aspects of memory, reason, and will is set up.

КТО БОГ ВЕЛИЙ, ЯКО БОГ НАШ? ТЫ ЕСИ, БОГ НАШ, ТВОРЯЙ ЧУДЕСА ЕДИН. КТО ЕСТЬ БОГ? БОГ ЕСТЬ ДУХ, БОГ ЕСТЬ СЛОВО, БОГ ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕК. ПОЗНАЙТЕ БОГА ИСТИННОГО ОТ ЗЛЫХ БОГЕ ЯЗЫЧЕНСКИХ; ТАК И ПЕЧЕТ ПИСАНИЕ: БОГОВ МНОГО И ГОСПОД МНОГО, А У НАС ЕСТЬ ОДИН БОГ-ОТЕЦ, ВСЯ ЖИЗНЬ ЕГО И МЫ ЖЕ ЕГО ВО СЛАВЕ БОГА ОТЦА СЫН ГЛАГОЛЕТ: ТАКОВА БО ЕСТЬ СУТЬ. ЕРЕТИКИ, НЕПРАВИЛЬНЫЕ ХРИСТИАНЕ, ОНИ ЖЕ ИМЕНЕМ ХРИСТОВЫМ НАРЕКАЮТСЯ ОТ САМОГО ХРИСТА ОТЧУЖДАЮТСЯ ОТ ЦЕРКВИ ХРИСТОВОЙ И ВЕРЯЩИХ ВО ХРИСТА МУЧАЮТ И УБИВАЮТ. ЗЛЫЕ СУТЬ БОГИ ЯЗЫЧЕНСКИЕ И ДУШАМ ВРЕДНЫЕ; ВОЗБРАНЕНО ПОЧИТАТЬ ИХ ЗЛЫЕ, ПАСТЬБА ИХ ЗЛОУМНА; АЖЕ БО ОВЦЫ ХРИСТОВЫ, ХЕ ОБРАТИЛИЦЬ БО ОНИ В МИР, ТО И НЕ ИМЕЛ БЫ ХРИСТОС ЦЕРКВИ СВОЕЙ НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ДОБР НАШ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ, ИИСУС ХРИСТОС, ДОБРЫ СУТЬ РАБЫ ЕГО ЗЕЛО. ДУШЕБОЛЕЗНЕННЫХ БЫХ, ЧТИТЕ ГОСПОДА И СВЯТЫХ ЕГО, КАК НАМ ГОСПОДЬ НАКАЗАЛ СЛОВОМ СВОИМ. ВСЯК ЧЕЛОВЕК ПРАВОВЕРНЫЙ МОЖЕТ ХРАМОМ БОЖИИМ НАРЕКТИТЬСЯ. ХЕ ИЗВЕСТИ ЛИ ВАМ, ЧТО ТЕЛА ВАШИ - ХРАМ ДУХА МОЕГО? ДУХ БОЖИЙ ЖИВЕТ В ВАС И ОЖИВОТВОРЯЕТ ВАС; НЕ ОСК- -ВЕРНЯЕТСЯ ПЛОТЬ ВАША; НЕ ОТГОНЯЙТЕ ДУХА СВЯТОГО ОТ ЦЕБЯ, - ПРЕДЛОЖИТСЯ ВАМ ВО МЗДЕ БОЖИИХ ПРАВЫХ СЛОВЕС. ГОСПОДЬ НЕ ИМЕЕТ НА ЦЕБЕ ТЕЛА: БОГ ЕСТЬ ДУХ БЕЗПЛОТНЫЙ И СОЗДАЛ ДУШУ ЧЕЛОВЕКА БЕЗПЛОТНУЮ, ЦЕБЕ ПОДОБНУЮ, РАЗУМНУЮ, ВЕЧНУЮ, САМОВЛАСТНУЮ ОПАШНИЦУ Ц ЦБЕРЕЖЕНИЕМ ПЛОТИ; ОНЕ ЖЕ БОГУ ВЫШИВАЛА ВСЕ БОЖЕСТВЕННОЕ И ДУХОВНОЕ. ТЕЛО СОЗДАЛ ЕСИ ОТ СЕМЛИ, А ДУША БО ЕСТЬ ОБРАЗ БОЖИЙ И ПОНЕЙ ЖЕ МЫ ИМЕЕМ ТРОИСТВЕННУЮ СИЛУ. БСЯКОЕ ЕСТЕСТВО ДУШИ, СИЛА ЧЕЛОВЛЯЕМСЯ СЯ-СУТЬ: ПАМЯТЬ, ПАЗУМ, ВОЛЯ. ПАМЯТЬЮ УПОДОБЛЯЕМСЯ БОГУ ОТЦУ; ПАЗУМОМ УПОДОБИМСЯ БОГУ - ДУХУ СВЯТОМУ, ТАКОЖДЫ ВО СВЯТОЙ ТРОИЦЕ ТРИ СУТЬ СИЦА, НО ЕДИНУЮ ДУШУ ИМЕЮТ; ТРИ СИЛЫ ДУШЕВНЫХ, НО ЕДИНЬ БОГ.

What God [is] great, as [is] our God? It is You, our God, alone [who
 1.
 are] the creator of wonders. God is a Spirit, God is the word, God is
 2.
 [a] man. Distinguish the true God from the evil gods of the heathen:
 thus say the scriptures: gods a-plenty and lords a-plenty, but we have
 one God-Father, all life [is] His and we too [are] His in the glory of
 3.
 God the Father. The Son said: Such is indeed the case. The heretics,

one God-Father, all life [is] His and we too [are] His in the glory of
 God the Father. The Son said: Such is indeed the case. The heretics,
 the untrue christians, they are called by Christ's name but from Christ
 himself they are estranged, and from Christ's church, and the believers
 in Christ they harass and they murder. Wicked are the gods of the pagans
 and hurtful to the soul; it is forbidden to worship their evil images,
 the flock of them is evil-minded; but as for Christ's sheep, had they not
 turned from those in the world, then would Christ have had no church on
 earth. Good is our Lord God, Jesus Christ, good is the springing-up of
 his servants. You that are soul-sick, honour the Lord and his saints, as
 the Lord's own word bids us. Every person believing, should reckon him-
 -self a temple of God. [Is it] not known among you, that your bodies [are]
 - temples of My spirit? The spirit of God dwells in you, and creates life
 in you; do not defile your flesh; do not drive the holy spirit forth from
 yourselves; - [may] you receive in reward the true word of God. The Lord
 has no body for himself. God is a fleshless spirit and he made the human
 spirit fleshness, [as] himself (), reasoning, eternal, the absolute
 clothed in the economy of the flesh; for it is God's fine handiwork, all
 [that is] divine and spiritual. The body is formed out of earth, but the
 spirit is in the sacred image of God and through it, we have a threefold

3.. idiom

4. or, icons.

5. or, congregation.

6. lit., showing green(of plants); sprouting up

7. Cf. I Corinthians, VI, 19.

8. obscure word; omitted by translators.

9. phrase omitted by translators.

10

11

power. In every quality of the spirit, the human power is this:

Memory, reason, will. By memory we are likened to God the Father; by

12

reason we are likened to God the Son; by will - to the Holy Spirit,

thus in the holy Trinity there are three persons, but they hold one

spirit; three spiritual powers, but one God.

10. obscure.

11. For the sentence thus far, the translators read: The essence of human force is....

12. "by reason...by will" omitted by Bonch-Bruevich.

Psalm 71.

Translation by Eli Popoff. Cited by Bonch-Bruevich from the 1882 edition of Novitsky's Doukhobors. Their History and Faith (Kiev) and by him noted as appearing in Haxthausen's Studies in the Russian Interior (1847), p. 401). Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff merely notes: "Recited and sung at prayer meetings and other occasions." The psalm is apocalyptic in tone, and is indeed largely a digest of the later chapters of the Apocalypse. The name Brasia is obscure; the reference to Abel seems to imply that the sacrifice of a human was inadequate to overcome the devil. It has been suggested somewhere that the opening sentence has been sometimes taken to refer to the current leader of the Doukhobors (at whatever time and place) inasmuch as a leader's role includes the possession of a more complete divine nature than others'.

КТО ИМ ЯКО БЫ СЕЙ ИОАНН, НОВЫЙ МОИСЕЙ ОТ ДЕВЫ НЕТЛЕННОЙ ВОПЛОТИЛСЯ ПОД
ВЕКИ, ОТ БОГА-СЛОВА. БОГ СКАЗАЛ НАМ - ПРЕМУДРОСТИ МНОГО, ПЛОТЬЮ РАСПЯТ -
- ДА СПАСЕТ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ; ВОЗГЛАГОЛЕТ ИОАНН - НОВЫЙ МОИСЕЙ КО СПАСЕНИЮ ЧЕЛ-
ОВЕЧЕНСКОМУ НА НУЖНОЕ БО НАМ ЕСТЬ ВРЕМЯ, К ВЕЧНОМУ СПАСЕНИЮ, ВОПЛОЩЕНИЮ
ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО, ИИСУСА ХРИСТА: ИЗВЕСТНАЯ ВАМ БО ЕСТЬ ВЕРА И ЕСТЬ ЖЕ
ОНА ВЕРА ВРАВАЯ. А МЫ ВЕРУЕМ И ИСПОВЕДЬЕМ ЯКО ЕДИН ГОСПОДЬ ЕСТЬ ИИСУС
ХРИСТОС, СЫН БОЖИЙ, БОГ ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕК, УСТАМИ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИМИ ГЛАГОЛЕТ:
СЛЫШИТЕ НОНЕ ЦАРЯ, ВОЗЗРИТЕ НА ВОСТОК, ГДЕ БО ЕСТЬ ГОРА СИОН; ВЫ ПРИДЕТЕ
К НЕЙ, ВОЗЗРИТЕ НА НЕЕ; ОТ ЦЕРЕДИ ГОРЫ СИОНОВОЙ ИСТОЧНИК ТЕЧЕТ, ОБМЫВАЕТ
СКВЕРНОСТЬ СЫНОВ, ДЩЕРЕЙ ИЗРАИЛЬСКИХ. ПО ВЕРХУ ГОРЫ СИОНОВОЙ СТОЯТ НЕБ-
-ЕСА, ПОКРЫТЫ ОНИ ДОБРОДЕТЕЛЯМИ; ОДЕЯНЫ ОНИ В РИЗУ БЕЛУЮ; ИЗКРАШЕНЫ ОНИ
ЗВЕЗДАМИ ОГНЕННЫМИ; ТЕ ЖЕ НЕБЕСА ПРОВЕЩАЮТСЯ СЛАВОЙ БОЖЬЕЙ. ВЗЫМ ДЕТ ИХ
ВЕЩАНИЕ ВЕ ВЩО ЗЕМЛЮ, В КОНЦЫ ВСЕЛЕННОЙ ГЛАГОЛЫ ИХ. ВОЗГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ:
КОГДА ПРИДЕТ КОНЧИНА ВЕКА ВСЕМУ, ТОГДА ЛЮДИ ВОЗМУТЯТСЯ, А ЦАРИ УЖАСНУТСЯ:
СОБЕРУТСЯ ВСЕ ЯЗЫКИ ВО ЕДИНУЮ ЗЕМЛЮ, ВЗЫШУ ЦАРЯ БЕЛОГО. ГДЕ БО ЕСТЬ ЦАР-
-СТВО ЦАРЯ БЕЛОГО, ТАМ ЯВИТСЯ ПРЕСТОЛ ДАВЫДА НОВОГО. В ДОМЕ ДАВЫДОВОМ
БУДЕТ СТРАХ ВЕЛИКИЙ; ЯВИТСЯ ГОСПОДЬ ВО ГЛАСЕ АРХАНГЕЛЬСКОМ, В ТРУБЕ БОЖЬ-
-ЕЙ. СНИДЕТ С НЕБЕСИ, СЯДЕТ НА ПРЕСТОЛ, СТАНЕТ СУДИТЬ ЛЮДЕЙ СВОИХ ПО
ПРАВДЕ. ТОГДА ЖЕ МИХАЕЛ АРХАНГЕЛ ВОСТРУБИТ ТРУБОЮ ВЕЛИКОЮ, СОЧИНИТ БРАНЬ
СО ЗМЕЕМ ДРЕВНИМ, ПОТРЕБИТ СМЕЯ ДРЕВНЕГО ЖИВЫМ ПИСАНИЕМ, ЗМЕЯ БРАСИЯ[?], -
- АВЕЛ ЕГО НЕ ВОЗМОГОША; ТОГДА ЖЕ МИХАЕЛ АРХАНГЕЛ ВОЗНЕСЕТ ТРУБУ ОТО
ВСЕГО ЧЕРТОГО, ПОСТАВИТ ТРУБУ НА ВОЗДУСЯХ, СВЕРЗИТ САТАНУ С ПРЕСТОЛА, РАЗ-
РУШИТ ПРЕСТОЛ САТАНИН, ПОГИБНЕТ СЛАВА ДЬЯВОЛЬСКАЯ; ВОЗГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ:
АМИНЬ, АМИНЬ. ЗАТВОРИША НЕБЕСА, ВОЦАРИТСЯ ГОСПОДЬ В НЕБЕСАХ ВО ВЕКИ
ВЕКОВ. АМИНЬ.

1

Who is it? As a likeness of John, a new Moses, from an untainted maiden
incarnated everlastingly, from God's word. God has told us much wisdom,
[He is] crucified in the flesh - who will save the people. John speaks,

1. incorruptible, Popoff.

2

the new Moses [is] for the salvation of the human race: faith is [re-
-quired] to be saved for even, [faith] in [the Lord God's incarnation],
in Jesus Christ. To you is known the true faith: we believe and pro-
-fess [the] Lord God our Jesus Christ, as there is one Lord Jesus Christ,

3

the Son of God. God is a man, he speaks through a human mouth: today
the king hears, he looks to the east, there where Mount Zion is, you
come to it, you look upon it: from the midst of the mountain runs a
spring, it washes [away] the filthiness of the sons, daughters of Israel.

4

On the top of Mount Zion stand the heavens, they shelter the doers of
good; they are dressed in white robes; they are adorned with fiery stars;
these are those heavens foretold to the glory of God. It will sprout

5

up, that which they prophesied through all the earth, [and] in the end
all their sayings [will grow]. The Lord speaks: when the end comes

6

for all things, the people will be stirred up, but the kings will be

7

horrified: all nations will gather together into one land, will seek out
the white king. There where the kingdom of the white king is, there
will the throne of the new David appear. In the house of David there will
be great terror; the Lord will appear, with the voice of an archangel,

8

in the voice of God. He will come down from heaven, he will sit upon
the throne, he will rise to judge his people by truth. Then Michael the

2. In both cases, Popoff renders this word "Messiah".

3. From this point, the translation is supplied by Lucy Kazakoff, as Popoff summarizes only.

4. Cf. Book of Enoch, XXVI; Apocalypse XXII, 1-2.

5. lit., broadcast (as seed).

6. as a pool is muddied

7. lit., tongues.

8. lit., trumpet.

Archangel will blow the great trumpet, he will wage war against the old serpent, he will swallow up the old serpent with the living scriptures, the serpent Brasia, - Abel had no power over him (?). Then Michael the Archangel will bring the trumpet up from all [that is] the devil's, he will raise the trumpet firmly in the air, he will cast down Satan from [his] throne, he will shatter Satan's throne, the devil's glory will⁹ perish. The Lord will speak: Amen, Amen. The heavens will close, the Lord will begin to rule in heaven for ever and ever. Amen.

9. Cf. Apocalypse XXI, 7-9; also psalm 113.

Psalm 74.

Translated by D.S.C. committee... Cited by Bonch-Bruevich from Novitsky's Doukhobors, their History and Faith (Kiev, 1882), and published in Doukhobors, their Belief (Canora 1961).

Bonch-Bruevich suggests comparison with psalm 73 (not translated here) and with a text 'Symbols of Faith'. published in Prayers (St. Petersburg, 1890). The psalm opens with an excerpt from the Nicene Creed, then moves on to a description of Doukhobor worship as symbolic anti-types to ecclesiastical institutions.

ВЕРУЮ ВО ЕДИНОГО БОГА ОТЦА, ВСЕДЕРЖИТЕЛЯ, ТВОРЦА, КОТОРЫЙ ХАМ СОТВОР-
-ИЛ НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ И СВЕТ НАМ ОТКРЫЛ, ТОМУ МЫ И ВЕРУЕМ, ТОМЫ И ПОЙЛОНЯЕМЦЯ.
МОЛИМЦЯ МЫ БОГУ ИСТИННОМУ И ДУХУ ИСТИННОМУ. ГЛАЗОМ МОИМ КО ГОСПОДУ
ВОЗВАХ. ГЛАСОМ МОИМ КО ГОСПОДУ ПОМОЛЮСЯ. СПОВЕДУЮ БОГА НЕБЕЦНОГО, ЯКО
БЛАГ ГОСПОДЬ, ЯКО ВО ВЕК МИЛОСТЬ НА НАС, ПО НЕЙ ЖЕ ВСЕ СОГРЕШЕНИЕ ОТ-
-САТВЛЯЕТ. А МЫ ПРИЧАЩАЕМСЯ КО СВЯТЫМ ЕГО ТАЙНАМ, ЖИВОТВОРЯЩИМ СТРАШ-
-НЫМ, БЕЗСМЕРТНЫМ, ХРИСТОВЫМ ВО ОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ГРЕХОВ МОИХ. ХОДИМ МЫ В
БОЖИЮ ЦЕРКОВЬ ВО ЕДИНУЮ, БОЖЬЮ, СВЯТУЮ, СОБОРНУЮ, АПОСТОЛЬСКУЮ, КОТОРАЯ
ЕСТЬ СОБРАНИЕ ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТИАН, ЕЕ ЖЕ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ НАШ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС
ЯВЛЕНИЕ ДУХА СВЯТОГО. СВЯЩЕННИКА ЦЕБЕ ИМЕЕМ ПРАВЕДНОГО, ПРЕПОДОБНОГО,
НЕ СКВЕРНОГО, НЕ ЗЛОБНОГО, КОТОРЫЙ ОТЛУЧЕН ОТ ГРЕШНИКОВ. ОБРАЗУ БОЖЬЕМУ
ПОКЛОНЯЕМСЯ. НЕОЦЕНЕННЫЙ ОБРАЗ ВНУТРИ НАС СИЯЕТ. ИКОНЕ ПОКЛОНЯЕМСЯ
ЕСТЕСТВЕННОЙ, СУЩЕСТВЕННОЙ; С СВОЕГО СУЩЕСТВА ПОКАЗЫВАЕТ СЫН ОТЦА.
ИКОНОСТАС ЦЕРКОВНЫЙ, ОКРЕСТ ДУХОВНЫЙ, - СОБРАНИЕ ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТИАН.
БОГОРОДИЦУ ИМЕНУЕМ И ПОЧИТАЕМ ВСЕХ СВЯТЫХ УГОДНИКОВ БОЖИИХ. МОЛИМСЯ
МЫ БОГУ, КАК ОЦЕБЕ, ТАК И О БЛАГОВЕРНОМ ЦАРЕ, МОЛИМСЯ И ПРОСИМ НА
МОЛИТВАХ: СПАСИ, ГОСПОДИ, БЛАГОВЕРНОГО ЦАРЯ. ОН ВЫШЕ НАС БРАК ИМЕЕТ,
- ДЕВА, КОТОРАЯ ЕСТЬ ВЕЧНОЕ БЛАЖЕНСТВОЕ. А МЫ ЦЕБЕ ЗАКОН ИМЕЕМ: ПОМЫСЛЫ
БЛАГИХ ДЕЛ, В ТОМ ЦЕБЯ УТВЕРЖДАЕМ. В РУКОТВОРЕННУЮ ЦЕРКОВЬ ХОДИТЬ НЕ
ЖЕЛАЕМ, РУКОТВОРЕННЫМ, НАПИСАННЫМ ОБРАЗАМ ВАШИМ НЕ ПОКЛОНЯЕМСЯ. ПОТОМУ
ЧТО ОНА ТЛЕННАЯ, НЕ ВЕЧНАЯ, ОТ ДЕЛ РУК ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИХ.

I believe in one God the Father, Almighty, the Creator, who made for us
the heavens and the earth and revealed to us the light, and in his we
believe and to him [we] bow down. We pray to the true God and the true
Spirit. With my voice I call to the Lord. With my voice will I pray to
the Lord. I profess the heavenly God, for the Lord is good, for his mercy
1
[is] for ever with us, through it he sets aside all [our] sins. For we

1. Cf. Psalms, CXVII, 2.

2
 take communion by[means of] his holy secrets, life-giving, awesome,
 deathless, Christ-like in the taking-away of sins. We go^{to} God's church,
 to the one, living, holy, ecumenical, apostolic[church], which is the
 assembly of true christians, that our Lord God Jesus Christ [by] his
 appearance gathered,[that shines out], that he enlightened, that he
 adorned with the gift of the Holy Spirit. We have a righteous priest
 4
 for ourselves, reverent, not defiled,[not ill-tempered], who keeps away
 5
 from sinners. We bow to the image of God. This priceless image shines
 6
 within us. We bow to the image [that is] natural, material; in his own
 7
 being the Son bears witness to the Father. The church iconostasis,
 the spiritual community, - [is] the gathering of true christians. We
 8
 call on the name of the Bearer-of-God, and we respect all God's holy
 chosen ones. We pray to God, as for us, so too for the righteous king.
 He has a wedlock beyond ours - the Virgin, which is eternal blessedness.
 But we have a law for ourselves; planning good deeds, to which we give
 ourselves over. We do not desire to go into the church made by hands.
 To your hand-made, painted images we do not bow down, because in them no
 9
 holiness do we see, nor salvation; we do not bow, because they are per-
 ishable, not eternal, a work from the hand of man.

2. The eucharist.

3. or, sacraments; and so translators.

4. unobscene, translators.

5. pay homage, translators. Cf. the first bow of Molentye.

6. lit., icon. Cf. the third bow of the Molentye: to the image of God in man.

7. Cf. John VI, 46 & preceding.

8. That is, the Virgin: an ecclesiastical idiom of frequent appearance.

9. a bow from the waist, as distinct from the preceding bows-to-the-earth.

Psalm 75.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The references to 'scribes and pharisees' and their association with 'godlessness' or 'lawlessness' occur as elements in the bodies of a number of psalms. As will appear towards the end of this collection, some psalms originate as other texts assimilated to the functions of psalms. It is possible that texts such as this, and other short psalms, have been excerpted, perhaps with expansion, from earlier long texts; it is also possible, though there is at present no evidence, for shorter psalms to be expanded into longer texts.

ВЕРУЕМ МЫ ЕВАНГЕЛИЮ ВЕЧНОМУ, КОТОРЫЙ СОТВОРИЛ ВСЕМУ МИРУ СУД, СУДИТ
ВСЕХ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХ, ИЗОБЛИЧИТ КНИЖНИКОВ И ФАРИСЕЕВ ИЪ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХ.

We believe the everlasting Gospel, that which creates judgement for
the world, to judge all godlessness, to prove the scribes and pharisees
guilty of their godlessness. 1

-
1. The temple staff and political party described in the Gospels as maintaining opposition to ther person and teachings of Jesus, and ultimately conspiring in His crucifixion.

Psalm 76.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

This psalm argues that the Eucharist may be held as a spiritual rather than material sacrament. Stress is not upon the Elements, but upon the divine Person, and on aftereffects that are more individual than communal in quality.,

ПРИЧАЩАЕМСЯ МЫ КО ХРИСТУ, ЖЕЛАЕМ ОТ НЕГО ПОЛУЧИТЬ НОВУЮ СИЛУ,
БЛАГОДАТЬ, ВЕК ЖИТЬ БЛАГО, ПО-ХРИСТИАНСКИ.

1

We have Communion with Christ, we desire to receive from Him a new strength, blessing, to live a good life, as Christians.

1. or, we commune, Cheveldayoff. lit., We take the Eucharist(passive).

Psalm 78.

Translated by Cheveldayoff. Text received by Bonch-Bruevich from I.M. Tregubov, and noted in a Chertkov publication of 1899. Also in Doukhobors, Their Faith, (Canora 1961).

Compare also with psalm 313, for a different interpretation of 'home'. Millenarian elements in the psalm include the expressed desire for the realization of the divine kingdom, and the terminal emphatic catalogue of the virtues of the eternal home therein. Also noteworthy is the definition of the soul as the essential person, and the implication that the soul ought to know of its divine provenance.

ОТЕЧЕСТВОЕ НАШЕ НЕБЕСНОЕ - ИМЕЛ БЫ Я ЦЕБЕ ХРИСТИАНИНОМ ХА ЗЕМЛЯ ОТТУДА
 МЫ ВСЕ С НАЧАТИЯ ПРИНЯХОМШИ, ВСЕ МЫ ПОДИХОМШИ, ВСЕ МЫ БОЖЕСТВЕННЫ. НЕ
 ЕСТЬ НАМ ЗЕМЛЯ ОТЕЧЕСТВО, А МЫ ЕСТЬ СТРАННИКИ НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ТЕЛО НАШЕ ЗЕМЛЯ-
 -НОЕ - НЕ ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕК, А ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕК - ДУША В ТЕЛЕ, - УМ НЕБЕСНЫЙ,
 БОЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ; ТЕЛО ЖЕ НАШЕ ВОЗЬМЕТСЯ В ПРАХ, А ДУША ОБРАТИТСЯ В ОТЕЧЕСТВО
 СВОЕ, ГДЕ НЕТ ХИ СМЕРТИ, НИ БЕДЫ, НИ ВИНЫ, НИ ПЛАЧА, НИ ГЛАДА, НИ ЖАЖДЫ,
 ТАМ ВЕЧНЫЙ ДЕНЬ, НЕПРЕСТАЮЩИЙ СВЕТ!

Our heavenly homeland - I, a Christian, would have for myself on earth;
 thence we all began, we were born, we are divine [in nature]. The earth
 is not our home, we are strangers on the earth. Our earthly body is not
 a person - the person is a soul within the body, a heavenly, divine con-
 -science. Our earthly body will turn into dust, but the soul will return
 to its eternal home, where there is no death, no misery, no guilt, no
 hunger, no thirst, but an everlasting day, unbroken light.
 1

-
1. This word may also be translated 'world' in the sense of all that is revealed by the light.

Psalm 79.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Eli Popoff notes "This psalm is sung and recited at funerals." Bonch-Bruevich notes that it is sung when Doukhobors go to the house of one who is carried to burial. He also adds, with regard to the final phrase, that "a person of mine on earth" is a current Doukhobor leader, and the remaining Doukhobors are held to be the "pillar [reaching] to heaven." The clause beginning "In the evening..." occurs as a Doukhobor prophecy and is often taken [Field notes, 13/4/71] to refer to recent historical experience of the sect. For example, the 'evening' was the declaration of pacifism and vegetarianism; the 'midnight', the inauguration of the Communal life style; and subsequent sufferings; and the dawn will involve both a return to Mother Russia and, on a different level of interpretation, the universal revelation and acceptance of the Doukhobors' ideals.

СОЙДЕМСЯ МЫ, БРАТЯ, ПОДУМАЕМ, ВО ЕДИНУЮ ЦЕРКОВЬ СОБОРНУЮ, АПОСТОЛЬСКУЮ, СОТВОРИМ МЫ, БРАТЯ, РАДОСТЬ АНГЕЛЬСКУЮ. С ВЕЧЕРА ЦЕРКОВЬ ОГРАЖДАЛАСЯ, К ПОЛУНОЧИ ЦЕРКОВЬ ОСВЕЩАЛАСЯ, К БЕЛУ СВЕТУ ЦЕРКОВЬ НА ЦУД К БОГУ. ПРИЛЕТАЛИ АНГЕЛЫ БОЖЬИ ПО ТОЮ ДУШУ ИЗПАИТЕЛЬСКУЮ ПОДНЯЛИ ТОЮ ДУШУ НА ПЕНИЕ ПОНЕСЛИ ТОЮ ДУШУ К САМОМУ ХРИСТУ, К БОГУ НАШЕМУ ВСТРЕБАЕТ ТОЮ ДУШУ САМ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ; ТЫ ПОЙДИ, МОЯ ДУША, ИЗРАИТЕЛЬСКАЯ - НЕ ЛЖИВЫЙ ПРОРОК, УЧЕНИК ХРИСТОВ, ЕСТЬ У МЕНЯ ЧЕЛОВЕК НА ЗЕМЛЕ ТАКОЙ ЖЕ, КАК Я. КАК СТОЛБ ДО НЕБЕС.

1

We will gather ourselves, brothers, and ponder, in the common church assembly, apostolic; we will create, brothers, an angelic rejoicing. In the evening, the church was on guard for itself, at midnight it was enlightened, at dawn the church went to judgement before God. Angels of God came flying for this Israelite soul, they raised this soul with song, they carried this soul to Christ himself, to our God; the Lord God himself met this soul: Go, my soul, Israelite - no false prophet! - disciple of Christ, [to My serene paradise]. [there] is a person of mine on earth, such a one as I, like a pillar [reaching] to heaven.

1. Popoff reads ОДИНУЮ for ЕДИНУЮ (which is possible, allowing for mishearing by Bonch-Bruevich, and so translates: 'one and only....')
2. on the defensive, Popoff.
3. Popoff's gloss.

Psalm 83.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

'We bow to the appearance of our Lord God.' - and, that is, not to icons nor to ecclesiastical officials per se; but indeed, upon due occasion, to fellow Doukhobors or other men, inasmuch as all men are held to share in a certain portion, however hidden, of divinity. The word ОБРАЗ, here translated appearance, might in this context equally be given as: image, form, likeness, or incarnation.

ВОИСТИНУ МЫ ЕСТЬ ХРИСТИАНЕ, КЛАНИМЕСЯ ВО ОБРАЗ ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО,
ИИСУСА ХРИСТА, СЫНУ БОЖЬЕМУ, ЦОДЕРЖАЕМ СВЯТОЙ ЗАКОН ЕГО.

Truly we are christians, we bow to the appearance of our Lord God,
Jesus Christ, to God's Son, we keep His holy laws.

Psalm 84.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data on Bonch-Bruevich.

(An elaboration of I Corinthians, VI, 19).

НЕ ЕСТЬ ЛИ ВАШЕ ТЕЛО ХРАМ ДЫХУ МОЕМУ? ДУХ БОЖИЙ ЖИВЕТ В ВАС И ОЖИВ-
-ОТВОРЯЕТ В ВАС; ПРИДУ К ВАМ, ПОЙОЖУ В ВАС, ВЫ БУДЕТЕ МОИ СЫНЫ И
ДЩЕПИ, А Я ВАШ ОТЕЦ.

Is not your body a temple of my Spirit? The Spirit of God dwells
with[-in] you and revives you; I will come to you, I will walk with
you, you shall be my sons and daughters, and I your father.

Psalm 87.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Brilliant, June 1963, and in Kamsack, Sask, June 1964.

Popoff notes: "A psalm popularly recited, but not sung as often. It explains fairly well the Doukhobor conception of God, and basically out of it flows the popular Hymn The Temple of the Living God." Since the time of Bonch-Bruevich, a number of minor changes have occurred, some being annotated below, but most consist merely of adjustments of dialect. The psalm centres about two paramount Doukhobor doctrines: the experience of suffering, and the close presence of God within the individual believer and the believing community. The psalm draws (as repeated below from Bonch-Bruevich's notes) from several scriptural passages.

ПРИЗРИ МЕНЯ ГОСПОДИ И ПОМИЛУЙ, ПО СУДЬБЕ ЛЮБЯЩИХ ИМЯ ТВОЕ, ДАЙ ДЕРЖАВУ
ОТРОКУ ТВОЕМУ, СПАЦИ СЫНА, ПАБА ТВОЕГО, СОТВОРИ СО МНОЮ ЗНАМЕНИЕ ВО
БЛАГЕ. Я НЫНЕ В СКОРБЯХ НАХОЖУСЯ, ИБО Я ПРИНЯЛ ЦЕЧАЛЬ О ГРЕШНИКАХ,
ОСТАВЛЯЮЩИХ ЗАКОН ТВОЙ. ВСЕ ВИДАШИЕ МЕНЯ ПОРУГАЮТ МЕНЯ, ЖИВАЮТ ГОЛОВАМИ
СВОИМИ И ПРОСТИРАЮТ РУКУ СВОЮ К БОГУ ЧУЖДОМУ. МНЕ ЖЕ СКАЗАНО ОПРАВДАНИЕ
ТВОЕ И Я ЗНАЮ МЕСТО ПРИШЕСТВИЯ ТВОЕГО. Я ВОЗВЕШАЮ ВСЕ ЧУДЕСА ТВОИ И
ГОВОРЮ ВСЕМ, ЧТО Б НАШ НЕ УДЕРЖИМ НЕБЕСАМИ, НИ ПОД-НЕБЕСАМИ; НИКОИМИ
ХРАМАМИ БОГ НАШ САМ СЕБЕ МЕСТО, ОН ПРЕБЫВАЕТ САМ В СЕБЕ, В РАЗУМНОМ
СОТЕСТВЕ. НАИПАЧЕ БОГ ЛЮБИТ ЖИТЬ В ДУШАХ И СЕРДЦАХ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИХ, В
ЛЮДЯЩИХ И ВЕРУЮЩИХ В НЕГО; КТО ЕМУ ВЕРНО СЛУЖИТ И КТО ИМЕЕТ ЦЕРКОВЬ
НЕРУКОТВОРЕННУЮ О МЕСТО СЕЛЕНАЯ СЛАВЫ ЕГО. ТАК ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ: ВЫ
ЕСТЬ ЖЕРКОВЬ БОГА ЖИВОГО. Я ВСЕЛЮСЯ В ВАС И УКРЕПЛЮСЬ В ВАС; БУДУ БАШИМ
БОГОМ, А ВЫ БУДЕТЕ ЛЮДЬМИ МОИМИ, ТЕМ И СТОИТЕ ОТ СРЕДЫ МИРА. ТАК
ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ: К НЕЧИСТОТЕ ИХ НЕИ ПРИКАСАЙТЕСЬ, ТОГДА Я ПРИМУ ВАС И
БУДУ ВАМ ОТЕЦ, А ВЫ БУДЕТЕ МОИ СЫНЫ И ДЩЕРИ. ИТАК, ИМЕЮЩИЕ ОБЕТОВАНИЕ
МОЕ, ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЕ, ПРАВЕДНЫЕ, ОЧИСТИТЕСЯ ОТО ВСЯКОЙ СКВЕРНОСТИ ИХ НЕИ, О-
ДЫХОТВЕРИТЕСЬ ДУХОМ СВЯТЫМ И ЖИВЕТЕ СО СВЯТЫМИ МОИМИ.

1

Take care of me, Lord, and forgive [me], according to the case of [all]
lovers of Your name; give help to Your young one, save Your son, Your

2

servant, made from me a sign of blessing. I am not found [to be] in

3

sorrow, for I accepted the sorrow of the sinners, of [those that] abandoned

1. lit., fate.

2. hand of reverence, Popoff.

3. they accepted sorrow from the Lord for me, earlier reading (?).

Your law. All who look on me put me to scorn, they nod their heads
 and stretch out their hands to a strange god. But Your justification
 was told to me, and I know the place of Your coming. I proclaim all
 Your miracles and I say to all, that our God is not confined to the
 heavens, nor under the heavens, in any temples; our God [is] an all-
 -encompassing being; He Himself is throughout all that is His, made in
 [His]mind. Even more God loves to live in the souls and hearts of men,
 in [those who] love and [those who] are loyal to Him; who serve Him
 faithfully and who have a church not-made-by-hands - the place of the
 home of His glory. Thus says the Lord: You are the church of the liv-
 -ing God. I shall make my home in you and I shall put strength in you;
 I shall be your God, and you will be My people, and you will be separate
 from the world around. Thus says the Lord: Do not be touched by their
 uncleanness, then I will come to you and will be your Father, and you
 will be My sons and daughters. So, having My promise, well-beloved,
 righteous ones, cleanse yourselves of all their foulness, be inspired
 by the Holy Spirit, and live with My saints.

4. Cf. Psalms, XXII, 6-7.

5. deliverance, Popoff.

6. phrase does not appear in earlier text.

7. So Popoff reads. Lit.: God himself is his own place?

8. Cf. Jeremiah, VII, 23.

9. 'you' replaces 'excellent ones' in earlier text. Uncleanness of World,
 Popoff.

10. foul flesh, earlier text.

11. Isaiah LII, 11.

12. rejuvenated, Popoff.

13. ...and go spiritually with my own saints, in earlier text.

14. Cf.: (a) II Corinthians VI, 16 - 18

(b) Leviticus XXVI, 11, 12.

Psalm 88.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, (Canora 1961).

An assemblage of scriptural sentences summarizing aspects of God's nature, and an affirmation of Doukhobor styles of prayer

ТАКО ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ: НЕБО - ПРЕСТОЛ МОЙ; ЗЕМЛЯ - ПОДНОЖИЕ НОГ МОИХ. КАКОЙ ДОМ МОЙ, КАКОЕ МЕСТО ПОКОША МОЕГО, СЯ БО СЯ СОТВОРИ РУКА МОЯ. НА КОГО ВОЗЗРЮ: НА КРОТКОГО, НА МОЛЧАЛОВОГО, ТРЕПЕШУЩЕГО СЛОВЕС МОИХ. БЛИЗОК ГОСПОДЬ СОКРУШЕННЫМ СЕРДЦАМ, СМЕРЕННЫХ ДУХОМ - СПАСЕТ. АШЕ КТО ВОЛЮ БОЖИЮ ТВОРИТ, ТОГО И БОГ ПОСЛУШАЕТ. ВЫНЕЕ НЕРУКОТВОРЕННОЕ В ЦЕРКВАХ НЕ ЖИВЕТ, И НИЖЕ ОТ РУК ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИХ ПРИЕМАЮТ РОЖДЕНИЕ. ПЛОТСКОЕ КРЕЩЕНИЕ - НЕИСТИННОЕ МОЛЕНИЕ; ЧАСТОЕ МАХАНИЕ - БЕЦЫ РАДУТСЯ, А МЫ МОЛИМСЯ БОГУ ЕДИННОМУ, СОТВОРШЕМО НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ. БОГ ЕСТЬ ДУХ, БОГ ЕСТЬ СЛОВО, БОГ ЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕКЯ ДОСТОИННО БОГЫ ИСТИННОМУ И ДУХУ ИСТИННОМУ МОЛИТЬСЯ И КЛАНЯТЬСЯ.

Thus says the Lord: the heavens - my throne; the earth - a stool for my feet. Such [is] my home, such my resting place, such [as is] made by my own hand. Upon whom do I look? upon the meek, upon the quiet, trembling at my words. Near is the Lord to broken hearts, the humble in spirit - he will save. For who does the Lord's will, the same will God hearken to. The Supreme, not in hand-built churches does he dwell, and below they [only] receive things borne from the hand of man. Fleshly baptism - [is] not true prayer; hand gestures - [by them] demons are delighted, but we pray to the one God, creator of heaven and earth. God is spirit, God is the word, God is [a] man; to the worthy true God and the true spirit we pray and bow ourselves down.

1. obscure clause.

2. Whom do I seek, translators.

3. ecclesiastical gestures, blessings, etc. Cf. psalm 6, Variant, (63).

4, the incarnate God, Christ,

5, a shallow bow.

Psalm 91.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963, and published with a recording - see Peacock 1970, p. 23.

Popoff notes: "Fundamental Doukhobor psalm used for all occasions." The psalm has an exuberant quality, generally achieved by the piling-up of enthralling concepts: one is occasionally warned by Doukhobors that this characteristic may be expected to lead to misunderstanding of either content or syntax (Field notes, 22-23/5/71). Accordingly, in preparing the translation it has been necessary to introduce additional full stops. There are few other psalms that, as it were, stand back from a religious event and comment upon it in such an introspective fashion. The virtues of the singing of psalms include personal blessings and community blessings (e.g., 'it builds the high pillar'), as well as direct honour to the Lord.

ПЕНИЕ ПСАЛМОВ - ДУШАМ НАШИМ УКРАШЕНИЕ. АНГЕЛОВ НА ПОМОЩЬ ПРИЗЫВАТЬ - ОТЖЕНЯЕТ ТЬМУ, СОДЕВАЕТ СВЯТЫЮ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ НА-УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ УМА, ЗАГЛАЖИВАЕТ ГРЕХИ, ПОДОБНО ЕСТЬ МИЛОСТЬ СВЯТЫХ, ПРИБАВЛЯЕТ ВЕРЫ, НАДЕЖДЫ И ЛЮБОВЬ, ЯКО СОЛНЦЕ ПРОСВЕЩАЕТ, ТАКО БОДОЙ ОЧИЩАЕТ, ЯКО ОГОНЬ ОПАЛЯЕТ, ЕЛЕЕМ УМАЩАЕТ, ЕЛЕИ ЕСТЬ МИЛОСЕРДИЕ, ЖРЕБИИ ВЕСЕЛИЯ, ЧАСТЬ ЕСТЬ АНГЕЛОВ ИЗБРАННАЯ, СВИРЕПСТВО ОТГОНЯЕТ, ВСЯКУЮ ЯРОСТЬ УТИШАЕТ, В ОГОНЬ СОКРУШАЕТ; ХВАЛА БОЖЬЯ НЕПРЕСТАННО ЕСТЬ; ПОДОБНО ЕСТЬ МЕДУ ПЕНЬЕ ПСАЛМОВ; ПЕСНИ ИЗБРАННЫЕ ЕСТЬ ПЕРЕД БОГОМ; ВСЯК ГРЕХ ОТГОНИТ; СОЮЗ ЛЮБВИ СОДРУЖАЕТ, ВСЯ ПРИХОДИТ, ВСЯ ИСПОНИТ, ВСЯ ПОЛУЧИТ И ВСЯ ПОКАЗУЕТ ДУШУ ВЕЛИЮ; ЫСТА ОЧИЩАЕТ, ЦЕРДЦЕ ВЕСЕЛИТ; СТОЛП ВЫСОК СОЗИДАЕТ, ЧЕЛОВЕКА ПРОСВЕЩАЕТ, ЧИВСТВИЯ ОТВЕРЖАЕТ, ВСЯКОЕ ЗЛО УБИВАЕТ; СОВЕРШЕННЫМ ПОКАЗУЕТ, АЩЕ КТО ИМЕЕТ ПАМЯТЬ И ЛЮБОВЬ, ТАКОЖДЕ БОЯЗНЬ; ХВАЛА БОЖИЯ НЕ ОТПАСТЬ ЖЕ НЕ КУДА; В ПОСЛЕД ПЕРЕД БОГОМ ВОЗРАДУЕТСЯ; ТИШИНА УМА ЕСТЬ ВЕСТНИК МИРУ; ПСАЛМЫ МОЛЯТ ВО ГРЯДУЩИХ, ВОЗДАЮТ В НАСТОЯЩИХ; КАЮТСЯ О МИНУВШИХ, О БЛАГИХ ДЕЛ РАДУЮТСЯ; РАДОСТЬ НЕБЕСНОГО ЦАРСТВИЯ ВСПОМЯНУТ; ЧЕРЕДУЕТ ПЕНИЕ ПСАЛМОВ МНОГИХ, ДА АЖЕ ВЗЫСКУЕТ ЖЕ ПРАВДУ ПРОТИВ ДЬЯВОЛЬСКИХ СИЛ, СВЕТЛОСТЬ ИСТИННУЮ ПОКАЗУЕТ, СТАРЦАМ УСПЕХА, ЮНОШАМ УКРАШЕНИЕ, УМА ЕСТЬ СТАРЧИТАЯ САМОГО ХРИСТА БОГА; ПОМОГАЮЩИЙ, ДАРУЮЩИЙ СЯ УСТА, ПРОРОЧЕСКИЕ УСТАВЫ; ТЩАТЕЛЬНО ЗАВСЕГДА МОЛИТЬСЯ НАУЧУ; ЕМУ ЖЕ ЕСТЬ ХВАЛА И ЧЕСТЬ, ВЕЛИЧЕСТВО, БЛАГОВОЛЕНИЕ, СВЕТЛОСТЬ, ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ, БЛАГОДАРЕНИЕ, СИЛЕН И КРЕПОК.

The singing of psalms - adornment to our souls. It brings angels to our help - drives away darkness, creates holiness, strength for the mind of man, effaces sin. It is like the charity of saints; it increases faith, hope, and love. As sunlight it lightens, and as water

it cleans; though like fire it scorches, [yet] like holy oil it anoints.
 the devil it shames, God it reveals, fleshly desire it quells. It is
 like the [holy] oil of charity, destiny rejoicing, an honouring of
 chosen angels, it drives out ferocity, it quietens all kinds of rage
 and shatters wrath, it is unceasing praise to God. It is like honey -
¹
 -the singing of psalms! The songs of the chosen are before God. It
 drives away all sin, it teaches all, it reveals all, it honours the
 soul, it cleanses the sense and gladdens the heart, it builds the high
²
 pillar, it enlightens man, it casts out the senses, it destroys all evil,
 it reveals perfection. Whoever has [within himself] memory and love,
 also fear and praise of God in his heart, he shall never fall away [nor
 perish], but after all he shall make merry, always in prayer before God.
 Serenity of mind - it is the proclamation of peace. Psalms pray for the
 future, give praise for the present, repent of the past, rejoice for
 good deeds, with gladness they recall the kingdom of heaven. In turns
³
 by psalm-singing - the great shield of truth is thrust against devilish
⁴
 power. The brightness of truth shows [itself] , to the old - comfort;
 but to the young - beauty, perfection of the mind, Christ himself -
⁵
 God's work, helping, giving to the tongue prophetic power. these very
 psalms, established by the lips of prophets [of old], carefully teach
 [us] always to pray. [In the singing of psalms] there is praise and
 honour to God, greatness, goodwill, radiance, wisdom and thanksgiving,
 power and a safe place beside the Lord.

1 ? read 'elect'

2. New feelings it brings out, Popoff.

3. The term implies antiphony.

4. reveals all, Popoff. or, appears.

5. or, the nation, the people, as a possible alternative.

Psalm 99.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

This psalm is essentially a paraphrase of an apocalyptic passage in Matthew, XXIV, 29,30.

БУДЕТ ПОСЛЕДНИЙ ДЕНЬ; ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ: ИЗОЛЮ ОТ ДУХА МОЕГО НА ВСЯКУЮ ПЛОТЬ, ПРОРЕКУ И ДАМ ЧУДЕСА НА НЕБЕСЕ ГОРЕ И ЗНАМЕНИЕ НА ЗЕМЛЕ НИЗЫ; КРОВЬ И ОГОНЬ - КУРЕНИЕ ДЫМА; СОЛНЦЕ ПРИЛОЖАТСЯ ВО ТЬМУ, А ЛУНА В КРОВЬ, ПРЕЖДЕ ДАЖЕ НЕ ПРИЙТИ БЫ ДНЮ ГОСПОДНЕМУ ПРЕВЕЛИКОМУ И ПРЕС-
-ВЯЩЕННОМУ И БУДЕТ ТОТ ДЕНЬ, ИЖЕ АЖЕ КТО ПРИЗОВЕТ ИМЯ ГОСПОДНЕЕ ТОТ И СПАСЕТСЯ.

The last day will come; the Lord says: I shall pour fire from my spirit upon all flesh, I will prophesy and do miracles in the mount-
-ain of heaven, and signs in the plains of the earth; bloodshed and
fire - smoking vapours; the sun will not shine, the moon¹[will be covered] in blood, even before the coming of the Lord's day, great and most holy; and it shall be that day, that whoever calls the Lord's name, that one will be saved.

1. This and preceding clause omitted by translator.

Psalm 113.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The psalm is in part composed of excerpts from the Apocalypse, IV, 6-8, and XII, 9-11, as Bonch-Bruevich footnotes. Popoff notes: "A very old Doukhobor psalm going back to their undated origin, its own origin now lost. Its melody is very drawn out and intricate and is preserved only among older folk. It is sung at regular and commemorative prayer services." The latter service mentioned is the Commemoration, which takes place six weeks after burial and on death anniversaries annually thereafter. The psalm in that context, would assert the justification of the dead as a believer. (Recorded in Brilliant by Peacock, July 1963).

ИДЕТ ГОСПОДЬ ПОВЕРХ ВОЗДУХА, ОТВЕРГНУЛ ОТ СЕРДЦА СВОЕГО; ОТКРЫВАЕТСЯ ТАЙНА С НЕБЕЦИ, ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ ГОРА СИОН. ГЛАГОЛОЕТ ГОСПОДЬ РАБАМ СВОИМ: ПРОСТРОХ РЫЦИ МОИ ВЕСЬ ДЕНЬ К ЛЮДЯМ НЕПОКОРЯЮЩИМСЯ, ПРОТИВНЫ ИМ ГЛАГОЛЫ. ВОЗВЕЩАЕТ: РАЗУМ БЫСТЬ ИМ НА ОБЛИЧЕНИЕ, ТЯЖКО ИМ БУДЕТ. ИБО СВЯТ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ, ВСЕДЕРЖИТЕЛЬ, ИСКОНИ СУДИТ И ВО ВЕК БУДЕТ. СКОРО НЕБЕСА ОТВОРЯТСЯ, АНГЕЛЫ БОЖЬИ ПОНЕСУТ ПРЕСТОЛ СТРАШЕН НЕ ЧЕТЫРЕХ ЖИВОТНЫХ. РОСТАВЯТ ПРЕСТОЛ ПОСРЕДИ СЕМЛИ С ТРУБНЫМ ГЛАСОМ ВЕЛИКИМ. ТОГДА ВСЕ КНИГИ ЖИВОТНЫЕ ОТКРОУТ УСТА СВОИ, А ОДНА КНИГА ОТКРОЕТСЯ, ОНЕ ЕСТЬ КНИГА ЖИЗНИ, СУД ПРИМЕТ. ТОГДА МИХАЕЛ АРХАНГЕЛ ВОСТРУБЕТ ТРУБОЮ ВЕЛИКОЮ, СОЧИНИТ БРАНЬ СО ЗМЕЕМ ДРЕВНИМ. ПОБЕДИТ ЗМЕЯ ДРЕВНЕГО ЖИВЫМ ПИСАНЬЕМ. СВЕРГНЕТ САТАНУ С ПРЕСТОЛА, РАЗРУШИТ ПРЕСТОЛ САТАНИНСКИЙ, ПОГИБЕТ СЛАВА ДЬЯВОЛА. ТОГДА УЗРЯТ ЕГО ЦАРЯ, ПРИДУТ КНЯЗЬЯ И ПОКЛОНЯТСЯ ЕМУ ЗА ИСПОЛНЕНИЕ СЛОВА ГОСПОДНЕГО ПОТОМУ, ВЕРЕН ТЫ, СВЯТОЙ ИЗРАИЛЬ, ИСБРАЛ ТЕБЯ ГОСПОДЬ И ТЫ ВЛАДЕЕШЬ ДЕРЖАВОЮ МОРСКОЮ И ВОЗМУЩАЕШЬ ВСЕ ВОЛНЫ ЕГО.

1

Our Lord walks without touching the earth, opening up his heart, a

2

wonder of heaven is revealed, Mount Zion is honoured. The Lord

speaks to his people: [I am here] with My arms outstretched all day

3

[long] to unrepentant people, - enemies of his word. He prophesied:

reason itself will judge them, it will become unbearable for them.

1. lit., above the air-surface.

2. floating phrase.

3. to whom his teachings seemed unacceptable, Popoff.

For the holy Lord God, All-creator, was the [sole] judge from time
 immemorial and shall be forever. Soon [the secrets of] ⁴heaven will
 be opened, the angels of God will carry forth the throne upon four
 dreadful beasts. They shall place the throne in the earth's midst
 with great sounding of trumpets. Then shall all the living books
 open their mouths, but one book shall be opened, which is the book of
 life, it shall direct the judgement. ⁵Then Michael the Archangel
 shall sound his great trumpet, he shall do battle with the serpent of
 old. He shall defeat the serpent of old with the living scriptures.
 He shall tumble Satan from the throne, he shall smash Satan's throne
 utterly, ⁶the devil's glory shall perish. Then the kings shall behold
 him, the princes shall come and bow deeply before him for fulfilling
 the word of the Lord; therefore you [are] faithful, O holy Israel,
 chosen of your Lord, and you shall have power over the sea [of mult-
⁷itudes], and shall gain power over all its waves. ⁸

4. gloss.

5. govern all, Popoff.

6. smite...to smithereens, Popoff.

7. gloss, following traditional interpretation of apocalyptic 'sea'.

8. be in a position to influence the wherewithal, Popoff.

Psalm 123 .

Translated in part by Eli Popoff; and by Lucy Kazakoff & Anna Gatt-
-inger. Bonch-Bruevich cites for comparison a hymn published by
Varentson in 1880. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "This psalm is one of the few remaining among the Doukho-
-bors that reflects the spirit of the Old Testament. It is seldom,
if ever, read at prayer services, but its melody is still so well
liked that it remains popular to this day even among younger groups."
The psalm indeed has a peculiarly precise and vindicative view of the
sufferings of the damned, though the origin and rationale of the
specific punishments cited is quite obscure. Popoff implies that the
psalm is used musically rather than doctrinally; and the version he
translates - unfortunately a Russian text is not available - differs
widely from the text herewith from Bonch-Bruevich. Essentially, the
closing repetition, as a prayer, of the opening lines is dropped; the
judged come together to judgement, rather than consecutively; and the
litany of penalties is deleted. Obviously, the text as current has
come under conscious and careful revision by authority. The rhythmic
structure of what I have referred to as the 'litany of penalties' is
marked, and uncommon in most psalm texts; this attribute, combined
with "the spirit of the Old Testament" make it possible that the
psalm was adopted from some Orthodox devotion.

ВОСКРЕСНЕТ БОГ, ВОЗНЕСЕТСЯ РУКА ЕГО ДО НЕБА; СУДЬИ К СУДЬЯМ ГРЯДУТ;
ЯКО СОЛНЦА ПРАВЕДНЫЯ, С ВОСТОЧНОЙ СТОРОНЫ ИДУТ ВЕРНЫЕ СПАСАЮЩИЕ,
ТРУЖДАЮЩИЕ; ОТ ЗАПАДНОЙ СТОРОНЫ ИДУТ ГРЕШНЫЕ, РАБЫ БЕЗЗАКОННЫЕ.
РЕЧЕТ ИМ А ГОСПОДЬ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ: ВЗЫДИТЕ ВРАГИ В ОГОНЬ - МУКУ ВЕЧНЮ;
ПОЛГИБАЙТЕ ВСЯК ЗА СВОИ ДЕЛА. УПАЛИ ГРЕШНИКИ НА МАТЬ-СЫРУ СЕМЛЮ.
ОХ, ВЫ, ОТЦЫ НАШИ, МАТЕРИ! НА ЧТО ВЫ НАС СПОРОДИЛИ? МЫ ВЫ ЗЛОЙ МУКИ
ПРЕДВЕЧНУЮ, НЕ ВИДЕЛИ. ПОСЛАЛ ГОСПОДЬ ГРЕШНИКОВ НА МУКУ ВЕЧНУЮ, НА
МУКУ РАЗЛИЧНУЮ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, СУДЬЯМ-ВЛАСТАМ НЕМИЛОСТИВЫМ -
- АДЫ, МЕСТА ГЛУБОКИЕ, ПРОПАСТИ, -- ТО ИМ БУДЯ МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ
ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, СРЕБРОЛЮБЦАМ - ИСТОЧНИКАМ - ЧЕРВИ
ИМ ОГНЕННЫЕ, ЧЕРВИ ЯДОВИТЫЕ, - ТО ИМ БУДЯ МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ ВЕКО-
-ВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, КНИЖНИКАМ, НЕПРАВЕДНЫМ УЧИТЕЛЯМ, -
- ОГОНЬ ИМ, ГОРЯЧЕЕ ПЛАМЯ НЕУГАСИМОЕ, - ТО ИМ БУДЯ МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ,
ЖИТЬЕ ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, БЛУДНИКАМ-ПРЕЛЮБОДЕЯМ -
ПЕЧИ ИМ ЖАРКИЕ, ПРИТВОРЫ ЖЕЛЕЗНЫЕ, - ТО ИМ БУДЯ МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ
ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, ЖЕНАМ-БЛУДНИЦАМ, МОЛАДЕНЦЕВ
ГУБИТЕЛЬНИЦАМ - ЗМЕИ ИМ ЛЮТЫЕ, СЕРДЦА ВЫСАСУЮЩИЕ, - ТО ИМ БУДЯ
МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, ИГРУНАМ,
ПЛЕСУНАМ - РЕКИ ИМ ОГНЕННЫЕ, ПЛАМЯ НЕУГАСИМОЕ, - ТО ИМ БУДЯ
МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. ИНЫМ БУДЯ ГРЕШНИКАМ, ВОРАМ-
-РАЗБОЙНИКАМ - ДОМЫ ИМ ГОРЬКИЕ, МОРОЗЫ ИМ ЛЮБЫЕ, ЗУБНАЯ СКРЬЖАНЬЯ,
- ТО ИМ БУДЯ МУКА ВЕЧНАЯ, ЖИТЬЕ ВЕКОВЕЧНОЕ. БАТЮШКА ТЫ НАШ,
НЕБЕСНЫЙ ЦАРЬ, ТО ТВОЙ СУД ПРИМЕЛ НЕ ЛОЖНЫЙ; СУДЬИ К СУДЬЯМ ГРЯДУТ;
ЯКО СОЛНЦА ПРАВЕДНЫЕ, С ВОСТОЧНОЙ СТОРОНЫ ИДУТ ВЕРНЫЕ, СПАСАЮЩИЕ,

ТРЪЖДАЮЩИЕ, ВСТРЕЧАЕТ ИХ ГОСПОДЬ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ ИМ: ВЫ ИДИТЕ, МОИ
 ВЕРНЫЕ, СПАСАЮЩИЕ И ТРЪЖДАЮЩИЕ, РАЙСКИЕ ВАМ ДВЕРИ ОТВЕРЗАЮТСЯ;
 ПРЕСВЕТЛЫЙ РАЙ ВАМ КРАСУЕТСЯ; ПИЩА ВАМ ДАРУЕТСЯ. БАТЮШКА ТЫ НАШ,
 НЕБЕСНЫЙ ЦАРЬ ТО ТВОЙ СУД ПРИМЕЛ НЕ ЛОЖНЫЙ, ВЕ ВЕКИ ВЕКОВ АМИНЬ.

God shall arise, He shall lift His arm to the sky: the judge is
 coming to judgement. Like the sun, the righteous come from the
 Eastward quarter, the redeemers, the workers; from the Westward
 quarter come the sinners, the slaves of lawlessness. The Lord

speaks and says: Depart, [my] enemies, into flame - eternal torment;
 perish, each one, for your deeds. The sinners fall down upon mother
 green earth. O, you, our fathers [and] mothers! Why did you give
 birth to us? We would not have seen such angry torment. The Lord
 sent the sinners to eternal torment, to diverse torments.

For some sinners [there] will be - the merciless judges - hell,
 everlasting deep pits - [there] will be eternal suffering for them,
 to dwell there forever.

For some sinners - the lovers of money, the usurers - [there] will
 be fiery worms, venomous worms for them - [there] will be eternal
 suffering, therein ever to dwell.

For some sinners - the scribes, false teachers - [there] will be the
 fire, ever-burning flames for them - [there] will be eternal suffering,
 therein ever to dwell.

For some sinners - the lustful, the adulterers - [There] will be a hot
 oven with iron doors for them - [there] will be eternal suffering,

-
1. which also is righteous inasmuch as it shines equally upon all.
 2. workers of salvation, parallel to slaves of lawlessness?
 3. Chthonic figure - 'Mother Nature.' ЧЕРНЫЙ carries the sense of
 'damp, green, virgin/unused, natural, fertile.'

therein ever to dwell.

For some sinners - the faithless wives, the destroyers of infants -
[there] will be fierce serpents for them, sucking dry the heart -
[there] will be eternal suffering, therein ever to dwell.

For some sinners - the guilty, the cardsharps - [there] will be
ever-boiling tar in huge kettles for them - [there] will be eternal
suffering, therein ever to dwell. .

For some sinners - the thieves, the bandits - [there] will be houses
of bitterness, with bitter frost, gnashing teeth for them - [there]
will be eternal suffering, therein ever to dwell.

You our Father, heavenly king, your judgement was not false; judges
coming before judges; like the sun, the righteous come from the
Eastward quarter, the true [believers], the redeemers, the workers,
the Lord meets [them] and says to them: Go you, my true [believers],
redeemers and workers, the gates of paradise are open for you; the
brightest paradise is adorned for you; food is freely given to you.

You our Father, heavenly king, your true judgement came to pass, for
ever and ever amen.

4. very archaic phrase.

5. lit., not-false.

Psalm 130.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff merely notes: "This psalm is sung and recited at prayer meetings and other occasions." It might be presumed that the appearance of a good number of psalms and psalm-references to the Last Judgement indicates a desire to establish, for millenarian believers, a body of reliable doctrine assuring them of their redeemed status in so drastic an event, the more so since it might (depending upon private views) be expected at any time, or be symbolically experienced through history.

БАТШКА ТЫ НАШ НЕБЕЦНЫЙ ЦАРЬ, ПРЕВЕЧНЫЙ БОГ, ВОЗВЕСТИ ТЫ НАМ СВОЕ-
СЛОВО В СУДЕ ПРАВЕДНОМ, В КОТОРЫЙ ДЕНЬ НАС, БАТЮШКА СУДИТЬ БУДЕШЬ?
МЫ ТОГО ВРЕМЕНИ СТАНЕМ ЖДАТЬ И ГОТОВИТЬСЯ. ТОЛЬКО СТРАШЕН НАМ ЕСТЬ
АНТИОХ ВЕ СВЯТОМ ТВОЕМ ПИСАНИИ. ОН ЗЕЛО ЛПТЫМ ВОЗСТАЛ ЕСТЬ НА РАБОВ
ТВОИХ. ОН ХОЧЕТ НАС ОТЛУЧИТЬ ОТ ЛЮБВИ БОЖИЕЙ, ОТ ВЕЧНОГО ВЕСЕЛИЯ,
ОТ ЦАРСТВА НЕБЕСНОГО. ОН ХОЧЕТ ПОГЫБУТЬ НАС В МУКЕ ВЕЧНОЕ. ЧТО
ВОЗГОВОРIT НАШ БАТЮШКА, НЕБЕСНЫЙ ЦАРЬ: ПОТЕРПИТЕ ДРУГИ МОИ ЛЮБИМЫЕ;
КТО ДЬЯВОЛА ПРЕДБОРЕТ, ТОТ ПРИНЕТ ЦЕБЕ ВЕНЕЦ ВЕЧЬИ ОТ ГОСПОДА. ЧЕГО
РАДИ ПОПУСТИЛ ГОСПОДЬ ДЬЯВОЛА ВОЕВАТЬ НАД ЧЕЛОВЕКАМИ ПО ВСЕЙ ЗЕМЛИ?
- ОТБЕТ МОИМ ЛЮБЯЩИМ ОТ ГОСПОДА: ЧТОБЫ ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ДУШИ ИСПОВЕДЫВАЛИ
ГОСПОДА БОГА СВОЕГО, ИСЕЛЛИСЬ БЫ ПРАВЕДНЫЕ Ц ЛИЦОМ ЕГО ВО МЕСТО
ПРЕСВЕТЛОЕ, ВО ЦАРСТВИЕ НЕБЕСНОЕ. ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ДУШИ ОНИ ЖДУТ ЦЕБЕ
БОЛЬШЕ ТОГО РАДОСТИ, ЧТБЫ ПРИНЯТЬ ИМ ВЕНЕЦ ВЕЧЬИ ОТ ГОСПОДА, А
ГРЕШЬИЕ ДУШИ ОНИ СУТЬ ВО ТЬМЕ ХОДЯТ, ОНИ ЧАЮТ СЕБЕ СКОРОЙ ПОГИБЕЛИ,
ХЕ БУДЕТ ИМ ОБРАЩЕНЬЯ ВЕ ВЕК ВЕКОВ. ПОГИБАЙТЕ В МУКЕ ВЕЧНОЕ ЗА
СВОИ ДЕЛА.

1

Father, you our heavenly king, everlasting God, tell us plainly
Your own word regarding the righteous judgement, in which day, Father,
will You judge us? We will wait at the camps(?) for that time and
[will] make ready[for it]; Our only fear is [of] Antioch [told of]
in Your holy writings. He opened his mouth fiercely, he is [the one
that] rose up against your servants. He wants to cut us off from the

1. or, proclaim; make known, Popoff.

2. ? Reference to the Israelites in the (exodus) Wilderness?

3. Antiochus, a figure of the Antichrist. Cf. II Maccabees, IV - XI;
and psalm 166.

4. ?? or, rose up to devour your servants??

love of God, from eternal happiness, from the kingdom of Heaven. He wants to plunge us into eternal torment. [To] which our Father answers back, the heavenly king: Be patient, my beloved friends; who⁵ overcomes the devil, that one will get an eternal crown for himself from the Lord. For what reason did the Lord allow the devil to make war upon mankind throughout all the earth? - and answer to his loved ones from the Lord: So that the righteous will [bear] witness of the⁶ Lord their God, the righteous will gain strength from His presence in the place of great light, of the kingdom of heaven. The righteous souls, they wait for that great gladness, that they should get eternal crowns for themselves from the Lord, but the sinful souls, they will have to walk into darkness, they do not look for their sudden ruin, there will be no turning for them for ever and ever. They will perish in eternal torment for their deeds.

5. I read ПРИНЕТ where Bonch-Bruevich prints ПРИМЕТ.

6. lit., face, countenance.

Psalm 138.

Translated by Eli Popoff, and published in his Historical Exposition..., Grand Forks 1964. Bonch-Bruevich notes that the psalm was recorded by A.M. Bodianski, but gives no other data.

'Be Devout' also appears in the Statute (Salmo 1967) of the (Independ-ent) Doukhobor Society of Canada and their 1961 Doukhobors, Their Faith. Popoff attributes it to Pobirohin. It is perhaps, at least at present, the one indispensable psalm as regards personal standards and their in-culcation. It remains strong in tradition: it is customarily delivered to young people at their wedding, by parents, and has been so heard (Field notes, 5/6/71). The Russian-language recitation was followed by an English reading from the 1961 pamphlet. 'Be Devout' is a gnomic text, consisting of some three internal divisions of advice couched in proverbial terms. The first advises regarding habitual behaviour; the second regards mental attitudes, and interpersonal relations are the concern of the third. The values are somewhat puritanical, stressing abstinence and submissiveness. The psalm is a resource of epigrams that have been heard in isolation on one or two occasions.

БЫДЬ БЛАГОЧЕСТИВ. УПОВАЙ НА БОГА, ЛЮБИ ЕГО ВСЕМ СЕРДЦЕМ. УСЕРДЕН БУДЬ КО СВЯТОЙ ЕГО ЦЕРКВИ. ВСЕ ЕГО УСТАНОВЛЕНИЯ СВЯТО ПОЧИТАЙ И ХРАНИ. СЛЕДУЙ ДОБРОДЕТЕЛИ, УДАЛЯЙСЯ ПРОРОКОВ. БУДЬ РАЗУМЕН. ВЗИРАЙ НА КОНЕЦ. ОСМАТРИВАЙ СРЕДСТВА. НЕ УПУСКАЙ К ЧЕСТНЫМ ДЕЛАМ СЛУЧАЙ. НИЧЕГО БЕЗ РАЗСУЖДЕНИЯ НЕ НАЧИНАЙ, И С РАЗСУЖДЕНИЕМ НЕ СПЕШИ; НЕ БУДЬ МЕДЛЕН, НО ПРИ СЛУЧАЕ ВРЕМЯ; НЕ ВСЯКОМУ СЛУХУ ВЕРЬ. НЕ ВСЕ, ЧТО ВИДИШЬ, ЖЕЛАЙ; НЕ ВСЕ, ЧТО МОЖЕШЬ, ДЕЛАЙ, НО ТОКМО ТО, ЧТО ДОЛЖНО. ЧЕГО НЕ ЗНАЕШЬ, НЕ УТВЕРЖДАЙ И НЕ ОТРИЦАЙ, НАПЛАЧЕ ВОПРОСЫ, ТОГДА БУДЕШЬ БЛАГОРАЗУМЕН. БУДЬ ВОЗДЕРЖАН. БЕЗ АЛКАНЯ ПИЩИ НЕ УПОТРЕБЛЯЙ. БЕЗ ЖАЖДЫ НЕ ПЕЙ, НО И ТО МАЛО, ПО НУЖДЕ. БОЛЕЕ ПЬЯНСТВА, ЯКО АДА УБЕЛГАЙ. ОТ НЕВОЗДЕРЖАНИЯ ПОЖДАЕТСЯ БОЛЕЗНЬ, ОТ БОЛЕЗНИ - СМЕРТЬ. ВОЗДЕРЖАННЫЕ ЖИВУТ ЗДРАВО, ДОЛГОВЕЧНОЕ И ХОРОШО. БУДЬ КРОТОК, НЕ ПРОДЕРЗЛИВ, БОЛЬШЕ МОЛЧАЛИВ, НЕ ЕЖЕЛИ ГОБОРЛИВ. КОГДА КТО ТЕБЕ ГОВОРIT, МОЛЧИ. КОГДА КТО ТЕБЕ СКАЗЫВАЕТ, СЛЧШАЙ. КОГДА КТО ТЕБЕ ПРИКАЗЫВАЕТ - ПОВУНЬСЯ; НЕ ХВАСТАЙ. НЕ БУДЬ УПРЕДПРЕИМЧИВ, ГОРД. КО ВСЕМ БУДЬ ЛАСКОВ, ДА НЕ КОМУ НЕ БУДЬ ЛАСКАТЕЛЕМ. ТАКЖЕ БУДЬ И СПРАВЕДЛИВ, ЧУЖОГО НЕ ЖЕЛАЙ, КОЛЫМИ ПАЧЕ НЕ КРАДЬ. А В ЧЕМ ИМЕЕШЬ НУЖДУ - СЫСКИВАЙ ТРУДОМ. В БЕДНОСТИ ПРОЦИ, ЕЖЕЛИ ДАДУТ ПРИМИ, ТАКЖЕ БУДЬ И БЛАГОДАРЕН. ЧТО В ЗАЙМЫ ВЗЯЛ - ОТДАЙ, ОСТАВЛЯЙ ПРАЗДНОСТЬ ЛЕНИВЬМ. ЕЖЕЛИ ВЕЛАЕШЬ, ЧТО НАЧАТЬ, ИСПЫТАЙ НАПЕРЕД СВОИ СИЛЫ, ПОТОМ ПРОДОЛЖАЙ, НЕ ОСТАНАВЛИВАЙСЯ. В НЕСЧАСТЬИ НЕ УНЫВАЙ, А В СЧАСТЬИ НЕ РАЗСЛАБЛИВАЙ. СКУДОСТЬ ПОЧИТАЙ. (МАТЕРИ ОСТРОЖНЫЕ ЕСТЬ БЕЗЛИЧНЫЕ СЛУЧАЕМ ЧАСТО ПЕЧДАЛЬНЫЕ.) ЧТО ТРЕПЕЛИВЫЕ СНОСЯТ, О ТОМ МАЛОДУШНЫЕ ВОЗДЫХАЮТ, ПЛАЧИТ И РЫДАЮТ, БУДЬ БЛАГОСКЛОНЕН И МИЛОСТЬ. ПРОСЯЩЕМУ

ДАЙ, ЕЖЕЛИ ИМЕЕШЬ, А БЕДНОМУ ПОМОГИ, ЕЖЕЛИ МОЖЕШЬ. ОСКОРБИЛ ЛИ КТО ТЕБЯ - ПРОСТИ ЕМУ. ОСКОРБИЛ ЛИ ТЫ КОГО - ПРИМИРИСЬ С НИМ. ПОХВАЛЬНЫЕ ДЕРЖАТ ГНЕВ НЕПОСТОЯННЫЕ ПРИЧИНАЮТ. ПРОСТИ СОГРЕШАЮЩЕМУ, УСТУПИ УМОЛЯЮЩЕМУ. ТАКЖО БУДЬ К ВЫШНЕМУ ПОСЛУШАН. С РАВНЫМИ ОБХОДИТЕЛЕН; ВСТРЕЧАЮЩИХ СОВСТРЕЧАЙ, ПРИВЕТСТВУЮЩИХ ВОСПРИВЕТСТВЫЙ ВЗАИМНО. ВОПРОСЯЩЕМУ ОТВЕЧАЙ; НЕВЕЖДУ НАСТАВЬ. ПЕЧАЛЬНЫХ УТЕШЬ. НИКОМУ НЕ ЗАВИДУЙ; ДОБРОЖЕЛАТЕЛЬСТВУЙ ВСЕМ. СЛУЖИ СКОЛЬКО КОМУ МОЖЕШЬ, ТО И УГОДИШЬ ВСЕМ ДОБРЫМ ЛЮДЯМ. ПРИЯТЕЛИ ТОБЯ ВОЗЛЮБЯТ, А НЕПРИЯТЕЛИ НЕ МОГУТ ВОЗНЕНАВИДЕТЬ. ГОБОРИ ВСЕГДА ПРАВДУ, НИКОГДА НЕ ДГИ. СИЯ ХРАНИ, ТО И БУДЕШЬ БЛАГОПОЛУЧЕН.

Be devout. Trust in God. Love Him with all your heart. Be zealous towards His holy church. All His commandments hold sacred and keep. Follow [the path of] virtue, take yourself away from vices. Be prudent: looking to the end, take care of the means. Do not lose [any] chance for fair deeds. Do not begin anything without forethought and do not hurry with [your] reasoning; do not be tardy, except under need and [then] for a little time. Do not believe all you hear. Not all, that you see, desire; not all, that you can do, attempt; not all, that you know, tell: but only that, which you ought. What you do not know, neither maintain nor deny; best of all - inquire - then you will be wise. Keep yourself in check: do not use food without hunger, without thirst do not drink, except for a little - for the stomach.¹ Hard drinking, shun as if [it were] hell. From lack of self-control is born sickness, and from sickness, death. The temperate live healthily, long, and well. Be meek, not rude; more silent than talkative. When another speaks, keep silence. When another tells you something, listen [carefully]; when another gives you some order - obey and do

1. when required, Popoff. Cf. I Timothy, V, 23.

not boast. Be not stubborn, quarrelsome, nor vain. To all be gentle,
²
 to none be flattering. Also be fair. Do not desire anything of an-
 -other's, more so do not steal; but whatever you have need of, get by
 work[ing]. In poverty, ask [for help; when it is given, take it and
 be thankful]. What you take on loan - return; what you promise - ful-
 -fill. Be manly, willing to work; leave off from idleness and sloth.
 If you wish to begin something, test your strength first, then carry on
 and do not slacken. In misfortune do not lose heart, but in good fort-
³ ⁴
 -une do not lose character. Honour poverty. Be careful to notice in
 life the different cases of inconstancy, misfortune and grief. For
 that which the patient endure, the small-souled sigh, weep, and sob.
 Be good-hearted and gracious. Give to him who asks, if you have [any-
 -thing]; help the poor, if you are able. If any offended you - forgive
 him; if you offended any - make peace with him. It is praiseworthy not
 to hold a grudge. Forgive the fellow-sinner; yield to one who pleads.
 If you love your fellow man, then you will be loved by folk. Also be
⁵
 obedient to superiors; well-mannered with equals, friendly to inferiors.
 Welcome those you meet; those who greet you - greet back in turn.
⁶
 Answer the seeker, set right the know-nothing, comfort the sorrowing.
 Do not envy anyone; wish well to all. Serve as many as you can, then you
 will please all people by your deeds. Your friends will love you, but
 enemies will not be able to come to hate [you]. Always speak the truth.
 Never lie about anything. This do, then you shall do well.

2. or, just; righteous.

3. lit., weaken. morally deteriorate, Popoff.

4. thriftiness, Popoff.

5. elders, Popoff.

6. ignorant, Popoff; the word conveys the sense of wilful ignorance.

Psalm 139.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. Published by both Chertkov and Zibarov in Words of Freedom, #1, 1899; translated in Elkinton, The Doukhobors, (Philadelphia 1903), p. 188; published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This doukhobor psalm was made, when those, who had been beaten mercilessly, were herded away by the cossacks to the governor, after the Burning of Arms, 30th. of June 1895." The psalm is a litany recounting the sacrifices of the true believer; it is for the most part parallel to MatthewX, 34 - 39.

ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ВОЗЛЮБИЛ ВРАТА ТЕСНЫЕ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОСТАВИЛ ОТЦА И МАТЕРЬ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОСТАВИЛ БРАТА И СЕСТРУ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОСТАВИЛ ВЕСЬ РОД-ПЛЕМЯ СВОЙ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОСТАВИЛ ВСЕ ЖИТЬЕ БЫТЬЕ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ХОЖУ В ТЕСНОТЕ ГОНЕНИЙ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ТЕРПЛЮ ХУЛЫ И ПОНОШЕНИЯ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ХОЖУ АЛЧУЩИЙ И ЖАЖДУЩИЙ. ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЖИВУ БЕЗ ПОКРОВИЩА.

For Your sake, Lord, I loved the narrow gate.

For Your sake, Lord, I gave up father and mother.

For Your sake, Lord, I gave up brother and sister.

For Your sake, Lord, I gave up all my family-kin.

For Your sake, Lord, I gave up the things of life.

For Your sake, Lord, I walk into strait persecution.

For Your sake, Lord, I suffer abuse and reviling.

For Your sake, Lord, I walk hungry and athirst.

For Your sake, Lord, I live without shelter.

Psalm 140.

Translated by Eli Popoff, and published in his Historical Exposition, (Grand Forks 1964). Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from I.M. Tregubov in March 1897, at a settlement in the Caucasus, as received from the Doukhotobor Nikolai Zibarov. Recorded in Grand Forks, 22/5/71, by editor.

This psalm has a short, rather simple melody (for a psalm), and is widely known; I have heard it sung by a highly-trained group of High School singers (Field notes, 10/1/71), as well as at Molenye and the 1971 Youth Festival. The references to the suffering of witness, and the terrible counsel to "run away into gloomy forests, [and there] starve to death..." may well date to the late 1600's, and the persecutions suffered (and sometimes sought) by various raskolniki, particularly the Khlvsti and Staroveri.

КТО ВОЗЛЮБИЛ ПЕЧАТЬ ГОСПОДНЮ, ТОМУ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ТЕСНО ЖИТЬ И ОХУЛЬНО СЛЫТЬ,
А КТО ВОЗЛЮБИТ ПЕЧАТЬ АНТИХРИСТОВУ, ТОМУ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ПРОСТРАННО ЖИТЬ,
ПОХВАЛЬНО СЛЫТЬ. ЦАРЬ ИСТИННЫЙ НАКАЗ НАКАЗЫВАЕТ: ДРУЗЬЯ МОИ, БРАТЬЯ,
СЕСТРЫ ДУХОВНЫЕ, ХАДВЮЩЕСЯ ТОВАРИЩИ, ЧТО ЖЕ ВЫ НЕ ПЛАЧЕТЕ О СВОИХ
ДУШАХ, НЕ РЫДАЕТЕ? К КОМУ ВЫ ПРИБЕГНИТЕ, КОМУ ВЫ СВОЮ ГОЛОВУШКУ
ПРИКЛОНИТЕ?--ЕСТЬ У НАС ЕДИН ГОСПОДЬ, А ИНОГО НЕТУ, А У НИХ ЕСТЬ ПОТЫ
НАЕМНИКИ, РАЗЛОЖИЛИ ОНИ ВЛАЦЫ ДОЛГИЕ, РАЗОГНАЛИ НАШИХ ПРАВЕДНЫХ СВИДЕТЕЛЕВ,
ГДЕ ЭТИ ПРАВЕДНЫЕ СВИДЕТЕЛИ СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВУЮТ? ТЕРПИТЕ МОИ ДРУГИ,
ТЕРПИТЕ ХРИСТА РАДИ. НЕ УМОЧЬ ВАМ БУДЕТ ТЕРПЕТЬ - УБЕГАЙТЕ В ЛЕСА
ТЕМНЫЕ, УМИРАЙТЕ СМЕРТЬЮ ГОЛОДНОЙ, ВО ВЕКИ НЕ УМРЕТЕ, ВО ВЕКИ ЖИВЫ
БУДЕТЕ. ОТ ВОСТОКА СЛНЦА ДО САПАДА ТЕЧЕТ, РЕВЕТ РЕКА ОГНЕННАЯ.
ОЖИДАЙТЕ, ГРЕШНИКИ, ВАМ МУЧИТЬСЯ НЕ ОТМУЧИТЬСЯ, ГОРЯЩИЙ ОГОНЬ ОТ ВАС
НЕ УГАСИТСЯ.

1

Whoso esteems the seal of the Lord, for him life in [this] world will be

2

narrow and needy, but whoso esteems the seal of the antichrist, for him

2

life in [this] world will be broad and comfortable. The true King gives

3

[this] order: My friends, spiritual brothers and sisters, reliable comrades, why do you not weep for your souls, nor sob? To whom will you turn [for help], where will you rest your heads?--We have one Lord, and no other, but they have hireling priests, [who] let their hair grow long,

1. or, mark; stamp; imprint.

2. After the two adjectives, Popoff inserts straits, byways, respectively.

3. message, Popoff.

[who] scattered the truthful witnesses, where are the true witnesses bearing[their] witness[now]? Endure, my friends, suffer for joy in Christ. [If] it will not be possible for you to endure - run away into the gloomy forests, [And there] starve to death, you will not die forever, you will live forever. From the eastern sun[-rise?] to the west it flows, a river [that] roars with flame. Wait, sinners, your pains will not be soothed, the burning flames will not pass away from you.

Psalm 141.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich in-
completely from A.A. Sats in Canada, 1899, and completed from a version
obtained from the same informant in the Caucasus in 1897 by I.M. Treg-
ubov. Published in Iskra # 478, July 2, 1954.

Bonch-Bruevich suggests comparison of the psalm with a prayer published
in Moscow (n.d.) in the Works of our holy father Tikhon Zadonskoi.
Certainly the style of the text is suitable to clerical devotions. The
individual sentences^{show} a great degree of formal parallelism (whence the
arrangement of the translation) not widely characteristic of psalm texts.
Again, this text is presented as uttered by a single speaker to an implied
listener, while in most Doukhobor devotions, the soul either addresses
God, or maintains a dialogue with God. The content of the psalm is also
characteristic of the Christocentrism of Orthodox devotion, and would
appear to belong to a well-developed tradition. Yet it is not to be wond-
-ered at, that the psalm should be adopted and maintained by the Doukho-
-bors, who may see in their own sufferings a share in Christ's atonement.

ХРИСТОС ГРЕШНУЮ ДУШУ К ЦЕБЕ ПРИЗЫВАЕТ: ПОЧТО ТЫ, ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕ, МЕНЯ ОТ-
-СТАВИЛ? ПОЧТО ОТ ВОЗЛЮБИВШЕГО ТЕБЯ ОТВОРИЛСЯ? ПОЧТО ПАКИ ПРИСТАЛ
КО ВРАГЫ МОЕМУ? ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, С НЕБЕСИ СНИКОХ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО
ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ВО ПЛОТИ БЫХ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ОТ ДЕВЫ РОДИЛСЯ.
ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, МЛАДЕНЧЕСТВОВАВ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, СМЕРИЛСЯ.
ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ОБНИШАЛ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ОБЕЗЧЕСТИЛСЯ.
ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ГОНЕНИЯ ПРЕТЕПРЕЛ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ,
ЗЛОСЛОВИЕ, ПНОШЕНИЕ, РАНЫ, ОПЛЕВАНИЯ, ЗАУШЕНИЯ, ОСЛЕПЛЕНИЕ, КОРЫЗЛИНИИ??
СТРАСТИ ПРИНЯЛ. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, С БЕЗЗАКОНИЕМ ВМЕНИХОМСЯ.
ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ, ПОНОСНОЮ СМЕРТЬЮ УМЕР. ПОМЯНИ, ЯКО ТЕБЯ РАДИ,
ПОГРЕБЕН БЫХ, С НЕБЕСИ СНИДОХ, ЧТОБЫ ТЕБЯ НА НЕБО ВОЗНЕСИТИ, ТЫ СМЕРЯХСЯ.
ЧТОБЫ ТЕБЯ ВОЗМЕСТИТИ, ТЫ ОБНИШАЛ. ЧТОБЫ ТЕБЯ ИСЦЕЛИТИ, ТЫ СОГРЕШИЛ. А
Я ГРЕХ ТВОЙ НА ЦЕБЯ ВЗЯЛ. ТЫ ВИНОВАТ, А Я ЗА ТЕБЯ КАЗНЮ ПРИНЯЛ. ТЫ
ДОЛЖЕН, А Я ЗА ТЕБЯ ЗАПЛАТИЛ. ТЫ НА СМЕРТЬ, Я ЗА ТЕБЯ УМЕР. НЕ К СЕМУ ЛИ
БОГУ МОЕМУ МИЛОСЕРДНОМУ ПРИВЛЕКЛО МЕНЯ, НЕ МОГ Я ТЕРПЕТЬ, ЧТОБЫ ТЫ
СТРАДАЛ В ТАКОМ ЗЛОПОЛУЧИИ. НА ЦЕГО ЛИ ТЫ ЛЮБОВЬ МОЮ ПРЕНЕБРЕГАЕШЬ?
ВМЕСТО ЛЮБВИ НЕНАВИСТЬ БОЗДАЕШЬ. ВМЕСТО МЕНЯ ГРЕХ ЛЮБИШЬ; ВМЕСТО МЕНЯ
СТРАСТЯМ РАБОТАЕШЬ. ЗА ЧТО ТЫ ВЗЫСКАЛ КО МНЕ? ЧЕГО РАДИ НЕ ХОЧЕШЬ
ПРИЙТИ КО МНЕ? ДОБРА ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ? У МЕНЯ ВСЯКОЕ ДОБРО ЕСТЬ. БЛАЖ-
ЕНСТВО ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ - У МЕНЯ ВСЯКОЕ БЛАЖЕНСТВО. КРАСОТЫ ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ.
КТО КРАСНЕЙ ПАЧЕ МЕНЯ? БЛАГОРОДСТВА ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ? КТО БЛАГОРОДНЕЙ
СЫНА БОЖЬЕГО И ДЕВЫ? ВЫСОТЫ ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ? КТО ВЫШЕ ЦАРЯ В НЕБЕСИ?
СЛАВЫ ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ? КТО СЛАВНЕЙ ПАЧЕ МЕНЯ? БОГАТСТВА ЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ?
У МЕНЯ ВСЯКОЕ БОГАТСТВО. ПРЕМУДРОСТИ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? Я ЖЕ ЕСТЬ ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ
БОЖИЯ. ДРУЖЕСТВА ЛИ ИЩЕШЬ? КТО ЛЮБЕЗНЕЙ, ЛЮБИТЕЛЬНОЙ ПАЧЕ МЕНЯ?
Я ЖЕ ДУШУ ЗА ВСЕХ ПОЛОЖИЛ. ПОМОЩИ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? КТО ПОМОЖЕТ КРОМЕ МЕНЯ?
ВРАЧА ЛИ ТЫ В ПЕЧАЛИ ИЩЕШЬ, КТО УТЕШИТ КРОМЕ МЕНЯ? ВЕСЕЛЯ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ?
КТО ВЕСЕЛЯТ КРОМЕ МЕНЯ? МИРУ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? АЗ ЕСТЬ МИР ДУШЕВНЫЙ.

ЖИВОТА ЛИ ИЩЕШЬ? У МЕНЯ ИСТОЧНИК ЖИВОТА. СВЕТУ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? АЗ ЕСТЬ СВЕТ. ИСТИНУ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? АЗ ЕСТЬ ИСТИНА. ПУТЬ ЛИ ТЫ ИЩЕШЬ? АЗ ЕСТЬ ПУТЬ. ВОЖДЯ ЛИ ТЫ К НЕБЕСИ ИЩЕШЬ? АЗ ЕСТЬ ВОЖДЬ ВЕРНЫЙ. НО ЧТО УБО ЧЕГО РАДИ НЕ ХОЧЕШЬ ПРИЙТИ КО МНЕ? ПРИСТУПИТЬ ЛИ ТЫ НЕ СМЕРЕШЬ, КОМУ Я НЕУДОБНО? ПРИСТУПА ЕСТЬ? ПРОСУТЬ ЛИ ТЫ ОПАСАЕШЬСЯ? КОМУ ПРОСЯЩИМ С ВЕРОЙ ОТКАЗАЛ? ГРЕХИ ЛИ ТЕБЕ НЕ ДОПУСКАЮТ? Я ЗА ГРЕШНИКОВ УМЕР. СМУЩАЕТ ЛИ ТЕБЯ МНОЖЕСТВО ГРЕХОВ? У МЕНЯ БОЛЕЕ МИЛОСЕРДИЯ ЕСТЬ. ВЫ ПРИДАЙТЕ КО МНЕ ВСЕ ТРУЖДАЮЩИЕ, ОБРЕМЕНЕННЫЕ, АЗ УПОКОЮ ВАС.

Christ is calling the sinful soul to himself: Why, you [little bit
1
of a] man, did you leave Me? why did you side with the enemy? Why
did you turn away from the one who loved you?

Think, how for your sake, I came down from heaven.

Think, how for your sake, I was in the flesh.

Think, how for your sake, I was born of a maiden.

Think, how for your sake, I was a child.

Think, how for your sake, I humbled myself.

Think, how for your sake, I became poor.

Think, how for your sake, I was disgraced.

2
Think, how for your sake, I lived in [this] earth.

Think, how for your sake, I suffered persecution.

Think, how for your sake, I accepted backbiting, shame, wounds; was
spit upon, was slapped in the face, was blinded, was reproached, took
upon myself the Passion.

3
Think, how for your sake, I was considered lawless.

Think, how for your sake, I died infamously.

1. Dialect variant in Tregubov's text.

2. Preceding three clauses omitted by Tregubov.

3. Omitted by Tregubov.

Think, how for your sake, I was buried.

I came down from heaven, to raise you up to heaven .⁴

I humbled myself, to save you.

I became poor, to enrich you.

I was disgraced, to glorify you .⁵

I was wounded, to heal you .⁶

I died, to raise you from death.

You sinned, but I took your sin upon myself.

You are guilty, but I was crucified for you.

You are a debtor, but I paid your debt for you.

You were condemned to death, but I died for you.

Is this not what God's mercy brought me to, I could not bear to see
you suffer such wretchedness.⁷

But why do you spurn this love of Mine?⁸

Instead of love, you return hatred.

Instead of me, you love sin.

Instead of [working for] me, you work for unspeakable things.⁹

For what do you punish me?¹⁰

For this reason you had to turn away from me, instead of seeking the
worth of my work for you, that is why you do not wish to come to me.¹¹

Why do you not want to come on the path to me?

4. Dialect variant in Tregubov's text.

5. Tregubov reads: "I was wounded, to glorify you."

6. So in Tregubov and Iskra text, but Bonch-Bruevich has: "You sinned against me, to wound yourself. But I took your sin upon myself."

7. my love, Tregubov.

8. all this love, Tregubov.

9. shocking, Cheveldayoff.

10. Omitted in Iskra text.

11. replaces following clause in Iskra text.

12

Do you want goodness? All goodness is in me.

13

Do you want happiness? All happiness is in me.

Do you want beauty? All beauty is in me.

14

Do you want nobility? Who is more noble than God's Son [and the Virgin]?

Do you want a high place? Who is so high as the king of heaven?

Do you want glory? Who is more glorious than I?

15

Do you seek after wealth. In me is all wealth.

Do you seek after wisdom? I am God's wisdom.

Do you seek for friendship? Who is a more dear [and] loving [friend] than I? I gave my life for all.

Do you seek for help? Who beside me will help you?

16

17

Do you seek for a healer in your sorrows? Who beside me can comfort you?

Do you seek for delight? Who can make you more joyful than I?

Do you seek for peace? I am peace of the soul.

Do you seek for life? I am the source of life.

Do you seek for the light? I am the light. Do you seek for the truth?

I am the truth. Do you seek for the way? I am the way. Do you seek a

leader to heaven? I am the true leader. Therefore why do you not come

on the way to me? Do you not have courage to come, who did I ever dis-

-tress who drew near to me? Are you afraid to ask? Who that asked in

faith did I ever refuse? Do your sins hinder you from coming? I died

for sinners. Are you disturbed by the [great] abundance of your sins?

12. Are you seeking for, Cheveldayoff.

13. Omitted in Iskra text.

14. Omitted in Iskra text, and by Tregubov.

15. Omitted in Iskra text.

16. physician, Cheveldayoff.

17. Tregubov misreads ИСЧЕЛНІТ for УТЕШНІТ, giving "wound" for "comfort".

My mercy is greater. Come to me all labourers, heavily burdened,
18.
for I will rest you.

18. Matthew XI, 28.

Psalm 143.

Translation by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Current text supplied by Popoff. Recorded by Peacock from recitation of child, family performance, Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "A psalm for regular prayer services. It was very widely read by all during the persecution following the refusal to serve in the army and the burning of arms in Russia in 1895. It is still very widely read to this day by young and old alike." The theme of the psalm is penitence, suffering, and ultimate reward for perseverance in faith. The contemporary version, given here, exhibits correction of dialect towards Standard Russian.

СТАНЕМ МЫ СЛЕЗНО ПЛАКАТЬ О СВОИХ ДЕЛАХ ИСТИННЫХ. ПЕЧЕТ К НАМ ГОСПОДЬ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ: ВЫ РАБЫ МОИ, РАБЫНИ, БЛАГОВЕРНЫЕ ХРИСТИАНЕ, НЕ ЗАБЫВ БОГА ЖИВИТЕ, НЕ ЗАБУДЕТ И ВАС ГОСПОДЬ БОГ НА ПОСЛЕДНЕЕ ВРЕМЯ: НЫНЕ НАСТАЛИ ВРЕМЕНА ГОНИМЫЕ, СУДИМЫЕ, - НАРОДИЛСЯ ЗЛОЙ АНТИХРИСТ, ПОПУСТИЛ СВОИХ ЗЛЫХ МУЧИТЕЛЕЙ ПО ВСЕЙ ЗЕМЛЕ, ПО ВСЕЙ ВСЕЛЕННОЙ. НЕ МОИМ РАБАМ УБЕГУ НИ В ГОРАХ, НИ В ПЕЩЕРАХ, НИ В ДАЛЬНИХ ПУСТЫНАХ ЖИТЬ МОИМ РАБАМ ИЗГНАННЫМ И БЫТЬ ИЗБИЕННЫМ ЗА СЛОВО БОЖЬЕ, ЗА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА. А ВЫ РАБЫ И РАБЫНИ, РАДУЙТЕСЬ И ВЕСЕЛИТЕСЬ, ИБО МНОГО, МНОЖЕСТВО НАГРАДЫ ВАШЕЙ ХА НЕБЕСАХ.

We begin to weep tearfully over our true deeds. The Lord speaks to us and says: You My manservants, womenservants, good-and-loyal Christians, do not forget the living God, - and the Lord God will not forget you in the last time. Now times of persecution have come, [times] of judge-
1
-ment, - the evil antichrist was brought forth, he turned loose his evil tormenters upon the whole world, upon the whole Universe, [there is] no escape for My servants, neither in the mountains, nor in the caves, nor in the wildernesses far off; My servants live in exile and
2
are [put] to slaughter for the sake of the word of God, for the sake of [their] witnessing of Jesus Christ. But you, menservants and women-
-servants, rejoice and make merry, for many great rewards are yours in heaven.

1. Cf. II Thessalonians II, 4 - 12: Apocalypse XIII, 11 - 18.

2. Phrase not present in Bonch-Bruevich' text.

Psalm 144.From The Common Views of the C.C.U.B..

Translated by Eli Popoff, and published in his Historical Exposition, (Grand Forks 1964). Bonch-Bruевич notes its appearance in Svobodnoi Misl'i (Thoughts of Freedom) (no.8, 1900), as well as in his own collection Letters of the Doukhobor Leader Peter Vasilievich Verigin, published with the Living Book. The original letter containing the text was sent to I.E. Konkin in December 1896.

This text was the basic religious 'constitution' of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. Sent ahead as instruction by Peter Verigin (Gospodnie) during his imprisonment, it was an ideological rather than organizational manifesto of the communal society, as was its successor, the 1934 Declaration of the Society of Named Doukhobors, then U.S.C.C., which has not been superseded

ИЗ ОБЩИХ ВЗГЛЯДОВ ХРИСТИАНСКОМ ОБЩИНЫ ВСЕМИРНОГО БРАТСТВА.

1. ЧЛЕНЫ ОБЩИНЫ УВАЖАЮТ И ЛЮБЯТ БОГА, КАК НАЧАЛО ВСЕМУ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕМУ.
2. УВАЖАЮТ ДОСТОИНСТВО И ЧЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕКА, КАК В САМОМ СЕБЕ ТАК РАВНО И В ЦЕБЕ ПОДОБНЫХ.
3. ЧЛЕНЫ ОБЩИНЫ СМОТРЯТ НА ВСЕ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕЕ ЛЮБОВНО И С ВОЗХИЩЕНИЕМ. В ЭТОМ НАПРАВЛЕНИИ СТАРАЮТСЯ ВОСПИТЫВАТЬ ДЕТЕЙ.
4. ПОД СЛОВОМ БОГ ЧЛЕНЫ ОБЩЕСТВА РАЗУМЕЮТ: СИЛУ ЛЮБВИ, СИЛУ ЖИЗНИ, КОТОРАЯ ДАЛА НАЧАЛО ВСЕМУ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕМУ.
5. МИР СОСТОИТ ИЗ ДВИЖЕНИЯ; ВСЕ СТРЕМИТСЯ К СОВЕРШЕНСТВУ И ЧЕРЕЗ ЭТОТ ПРОЦЕСС СТАРАЮТСЯ СОЕДИНИТЬСЯ СО СВОИМ НАЧАЛОМ, КАК БЫ ВОЗВРАТИТЬ СОЗРЕВШИЙ ПЛОД СЕМЕНИ.
6. ВО ВСЕМ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕМ НАШЕГО МИРА МЫ ВИДИМ ПЕРЕХОДНЫЕ СТУПЕНИ К СОВЕРШЕНСТВУ, КАК НАПРИМЕР, НАЧИТАЕТСЯ С КАМНЯ, ПЕРЕХОДИТ К РАСТЕНИЯМ, ПОТОМ ЖИВОТНЫМ, ИЗ КОТОРЫХ САМЫМ КРАЙНИМ МОЖНО СЧИТАТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕКА В СМЫСЛЕ ЖИЗНИ, В СМЫСЛЕ МЫСЛЯЩЕГО СОЗДАНИЯ.
7. УНИЧТОЖАТЬ, РАЗРУШАТЬ ЧТОБЫ НИ БЫЛО ЧЛЕНЫ ОБЩИНЫ СЧИТАЮТ ПРЕДОСУДИТЕЛЬНЫМ. В КАЖДОМ ОТДЕЛЬНОМ ПРЕДМЕТЕ ЕСТЬ ЖИЗНЬ, А СЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬНО И БОГ, В ОСОБЕННОСТИ ЖЕ В ЧЕЛОВЕКЕ. ЛИШИТЬ ЖИЗНИ ЧЕЛОВЕКА НИ В КАКОМ СЛУЧАЕ НЕ ПОЗВОЛИТЕЛЬНО.
8. ЧЛЕНЫ ОБЩИНЫ В СВОЕМ УБЕЖДЕНИИ ДОПУСКАЮТ ПОЛНЕЙШУЮ СВОБОДУ ВСЕМУ СУЩЕСТВУЮЩЕМУ, В ТОМ ЧИСЛЕ И СУЩЕСТВОВАНИЕ ЧЕЛОВЕКА. ВСЯКАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ, УСТАНОВЛЕННАЯ НАСИЛИЕМ, СЧИТАЕТСЯ НЕЗАКОННОЙ.

9. ГЛАВНАЯ ОСНОВА СУЩЕСТВОВАНИЯ ЧЕЛОВЕКА СЛУЖИТ ЭНЕРГИЯ МЫСЛИ, РАЗУМ. ПИЩЕЙ ВЕЩЕСТВЕННОЙ СЛУЖИТ: ВОЗДУХ, ВОДА, ФРУКТЫ И ОВОЩИ.
10. ДОПУСКАЕТСЯ ОБЩИННАЯ ЖИЗНЬ В ЧЕЛОВЕКЕ, ДЕРЖАЩАЯСЯ НА ЗАКОНЕ ПРАВ-
-СТВЕННОЙ СИЛЫ, ПРАВИЛОМ КОТОРОГО СЛУЖИТ: ЧЕГО СЕБЕ НЕ ХОЧУ, ТОГО
НЕ ДОЛЖЕН ЖЕЛАТЬ ДРУГОМУ.

1. The members of the Community honour and love God, as the source of
all being.
2. They respect the merit and worth of mankind, both of themselves,
and likewise of other [persons].
3. The members of the Community regard all that is, lovingly and with
delight. They try to inspire their growing ones with this line
[of thought].
4. By the word 'God', the members of the Community understand: The
power of love, the power of life, which is the source of all being.
5. The world is based upon going forward; all things strive for per-
-fection, and through this process seek to rejoin their source, as
seeds give back ripe fruit.
6. In all that is in our world we see changing steps toward perfect-
-ion, as, for example, beginning with stones, it passes on to
plants, then beasts, of which the very last one can count is man
- in the sense of life, in the sense of a thinking creature.
7. To do away with, to destroy, that which lives, the members of the
Community count blameworthy. In every single being there is life,

1. or, admiration.

2. or, everything which exists; Life, Popoff.

3. or, yearn.

4. or, transitional.

5. that is, the system of perfectibility.

6. or, the ultimate; the highest.

hence [there is] God, and above all in man. To rob the life from a person is not, in whatever case, [to be] allowed.

8. The members of the Community in their beliefs allow utter freedom to all that is, including the life of man. Every organization, founded upon violence, is counted unlawful.
9. The chief base of the life of man - thought, reason serves as[that]. For material food this serves: air, water, fruits and vegetables.
10. It is held that the life of mankind is communal, upheld through the strength of moral law, for which [this] rule serves: "Whatever I do not want for myself, that I should not wish for others."

Psalm 146.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Popoff notes: "A very old psalm used for regular prayer worship. It is often recited as well as sung. This psalm is also preserved mostly among the older folks only, although some younger [singing] groups have also mastered it." Presumably the injunction against witchcraft concerns peasant practices (of which traces remain); that against idolatry refers to the uses of icons. The psalm also appears in the 1968 U.S.C.C. collection.

ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ ВО ТРУБУ ОТРОКА СВОЕГО: ВЫ СМИРИТЕСЬ ЛЮДИ МОИ, ПОД КРЕПКОЮ РУКОЮ БОЖЬЕЮ, ВОЗЛЮБИТЕ ДРУГ ДРУГА, ЯКО САМОГО СЕБЯ, ТО И ВОЗВЕДЕТ ВАС ГОСПОДЬ НА БЛАГОТАХ НЕБЕСНЫХ И УХЛЕБИТ ВАС ХЛЕБОМ НЕБЕСНЫМ ОТ РАЗУМА СВОЕГО, НАПОИТ ВАС ВОДОЮ ЖИВОЮ ОТ ИСТОЧНИКА ЖОВОТА ВЕЧНОГО, А ВЫ ЖЕ НЕ ВЗДЫХАЙТЕ ДРУГ НА ДРУГА, НАИПАЧЕ ПОКОРЯЙТЕСЬ. ЕСТЬ ГРЕХ ЧАРОВАНЬЯ, ТАКО ЖЕ И ПРОТИВЛЕНЬЯ; ЕСТЬ ГРЕХ ИДОЛАМ ПОКЛОНЕНИЯ, ТАКО-Ж НЕПОКОРЕНИЕ; ЗАНЕЖЕЛИ ЛЮДИ МОИ, УНИЧТОЖИЛИ ГЛАГОЛ ГОСПОДНИЙ, РАЗДРАЖИЛИ ДРУГ ДРУГА, ПОКЛОНИЛИСЬ ПОХВАЛАМ СВОИМ, ДОНДЕЖЕ УНИЧТОЖИТ И ВАС ГОСПОДЬ БОГ, НЕ БУДЕТ С ВАМИ ЦАРСТВИЯ; ПОГИБНЕТЕ ЗА СВОИ ДЕЛА.

1

The Lord speaks out through the mouth of his son: Submit [yourselves], my people; under the sturdy hand of God, love one another as your own
 2
 selves, and the Lord God will lift you up in the work of bearing witness, and he will place you - the Lord [god]! - to be blessed by heaven, he will feed you with the heavenly bread of his knowledge, he will give you living water [to drink] from the fountain of eternal life. Do not
 3
 trouble one another, but always be humble; it is sin to do witchcraft,
 4
 also, to be obstinate; it is sin to bow to idols, also, to be without humility. Why, my people, do you turn away from the words of the Lord?

-
1. lit., trumpet. Proclaims through His chosen Son, Popoff.
 2. dedication, Popoff. or: affirmation; confirmation, strengthening.
 3. lead astray, Popoff. bewitch.
 4. lit., be contrary (?)

You give trouble to one another, do you not make worship out of your
own [self-]praise? From you, also, will the Lord God turn away, he
will no longer reign among you; you will be lost, because of your deeds.

5. This sentence is not interrogative in Bouch-Bruevich' text.

Psalm 147.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Compare Psalm 1, clause 20, in which the final couplet is reversed. The word CBET offers both its meanings in this context: 'light' and 'life!'

ПЕРВОЕ НЕБО - СМирЕНИЕ; БТОРОЕ - РАЗУМЕНИЕ; ТРЕТЬЕ - БРАТОЛЮБИЕ;
ЧЕТВЕРТОЕ - ВОЗДЕРЖАНИЕ; ПЯТОЕ - МИЛОСЕРДИЕ; ШЕСТОЕ - СОВЕТ;
СЕДЬМОЕ - ЛЮБОВЬ: ГДО ЛЮБОВЬ ТАМ И БОГЯ ГДЕ СОВЕТ, ТАМ И СВЕТ.

The first heaven - Meekness;

The second - Understanding;

The third - Brotherly Love;

The fourth - Temperance;

The fifth - Compassion;

The sixth - Counsel;

The seventh - Love:

Where there's Love, God is too;

Where there's Counsel, Light is too.

Psalm 150.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Cheveldayoff notes that the psalm is used at funerals. It is, perhaps, typical in its use of quite open dialogue between the Lord and His people, and in the use of special apocalyptic imagery apparently peculiar to Doukhobor tradition.

ИСКОНИ И ДИ ДНЕСЬ ЗОВЕТ ГОСПОДЬ ЧАД СВОИХ; ВЫ ПРИДИТЕ КО МНЕ, ЧАДУШКИ, БЫ ПРИДИТЕ КО МНЕ, МИЛЫЕ, - УГОТОВЛЕНО ВАМ У ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ. НЕ ПОЖАЛЕЙТЕ БЫ СВОЕО ОТЦА-МАТЕРЬ, ВЕСЬ СВОЙ РОД-ПЛЕМЕН, ВСЮ СВОЮ ТЛЕННУЮ ИМЕНИЮ ПО ПЛОТИ, ПОЖАЛЕЙТЕ МНЕ БАТИЮШКУ, НЕБЕСНОГО ЦАРЯ ПО ДУХУ. ВОЗМОЛИЛИСЬ К НЕМУ ЧАДУШКИ, ВОЗМОЛИЛИСЬ К НЕМУ МИЛЫЕ: ГОСПОДИ! ГОСПОДИ! ТЯЖЕЛО НАМ В ТВОЕ ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ ВОЙТИ: ВСЕ ПУТИ ТВОИ ЗАГРАЖДЕНЫ, НА ПУТЯХ СТОЯТ ДВЕРИ ЖЕЛЕЗНЫЕ, ВРАТА МЕДНЫЕ, У ВОРОТ СТОИТ СТРАЖА СКВЕРНАЯ. ВОЗГЛАГОЛИЛ К НИМ ГОСПОДЬ. НЕ УБОЙТЕСЬ, МОИ ЧАДУШКИ, НЕ УБОЙТЕСЬ, МОИ МИЛЫЕ; АЗ Я БОРЕЦ ВПЕРЕДИ ВАС КРЕПКО ГРЯДУ, ДВЕРИ ЖЕЛЕЗНЫЕ СЛОМЮ, ВРАТА МЕДНЫЕ СОКРУШУ, СТРАЖУ СКВЕРНУЮ РАЗГОНЮ, А ВАС УВЕДУ В СВОЕ ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ И БУДУ С ВАМИ ВО ВЕК В РАЮ ЦАРСТВОВАТЬ; РАЙ РАЙ ИЩУ, ЛИЦО БОГА ИАКОВЛЕВА.

From the beginning [of time] and to this day the Lord calls his children:
Come to me, children, come to me, my dears - for you the Kingdom of heaven
1
is prepared by me, by our Lord God. Do not be sorry [to leave] your
father[and]mother, all your kin, all your perishable fleshly goods,- take
2 3
pity on me, your Father, heavenly king in the spirit. The children call
to him, the dear ones pray to him: Lord, Lord, it is so hard for us to
enter your heavenly kingdom; all the paths to you are choked [with ob-
-stacles]. On the paths stand doors of steel, gates of brass, at the
4
gates stand fierce guards. The Lord speaks back to them: Do not fear, my
5
children, do not fear, my dears; for I, the mighty fighter, go in strength

1. Popoff omits the following phrase.

2. Affectionate form.

3. Spiritual Father and Heavenly King, Cheveldayoff.

4. or, vile; nasty, Cheveldayoff.

5. lit., wrestler.

before you. I will break down the steel doors, I shall tear down the gates of brass, and shall scatter the fierce watchers, but you I shall lead into my own heavenly kingdom, and will reign with you [there] for
6
ever: Lo, the heaven of heavens, the face of the God of Jacob.

6. The 1968 Grand Forks text concludes: in the Heaven of the God of Jacob.

Psalm 156.

Translated by Eli Popoff, with Peter Legebokoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff simply notes, "Edifying psalm, used on various occasions." It makes use of a mixture of biblical and more private imagery. At the present time, the closing phrases (beyond the indicated point) are not in current use, and possibly show, in Bonch-Bruevich' text, some corruption. I follow Popoff's reading 'throne' for ПРЕСТОЛ, but in this context it might equally be read 'altar'. Significant in this psalm - especially as it is presently used - is the reference to 'living books', as a reinforcement of the primacy of the oral transmission of doctrine.

БАТЮШКА ТЫ НАШ ЦАРЬ ИЗРАИЛЕВ, САМ ТЫ НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ СОБИДАЕШЬ; НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ ЛЕЖАТ КНИГИ ПРЯМЫЕ, ТОЛКОВЫЕ, ЖИВОТНЫЕ, ВО ВСЕМ МИРЕ. НЕТУ В НИХ ЛЖИ ДО НЫНЕ. НА ТЕХ КНИГАХ ЦВЕТЫ ЦВЕТУТ, НА ТЕХ ЦВЕТАХ ДУШИ ПОДЪЕЗДАЕТСЯ. КТО ЭТИ ЦВЕТЫ ПОРУГАЕТ, ТОТ САМ СВОИ ДУШИ ПОГУБЛЯЕТ. КТО ХРАМ БОГА НАШЕГО РАСПИНАЕТ, - РАЗОПНЕТ НАШ БАТЮШКА НЕБЕСНЫЙ ЦАРЬ ВО ВСОЕМ ВТОРОМ ПРИШЕСТВИИ; СУДЬЕ ПРАВЕДНОМУ О СПАСЕНИИ РОДУ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКОМУ.

Our Father, king of the Israelites, you yourself created the throne.
On the throne lie books [that are] true, plain, living. Since the making of the world, till now, there is no falsehood in them. On these books flowers bloom, in these flowers souls are born. Whoever breaks off these flowers, thereby plunges his soul into eternal
1 2
torment. Whoever crucifies the temple of our God - our Father the heavenly king will crucify him till the day of judgement; the judge
3
will deliver the righteous people into salvation.

-
1. End of current use.
 2. Which is the body of the believer.
 3. lit., give birth: the righteous are 'reborn' into salvation.

Psalm 159.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963. Published in 1968 U.S.C.C. Collection.

Popoff notes that the psalm is "An educational psalm for youth and adults - Recited often on all occasions, Does not have melody and is not sung." Presumably its function has changed and its melody has been lost since the turn of the century, when Bonch-Bruevich noted that the psalm "is said during burial, and may be sung while the coffin lid is fastened, the coffin lowered, and earth filled over it." A gnostic psalm, similar in style but somewhat more rambling than psalm 138, this certainly appears addressed to the living and youthful; but could also be applied to the example set by honoured dead.

МОЛЮ ТЕБЯ, ЦАРЬ ГОСПОДИ, МОЙ БОЖЕ, ДАЙ ЖЕ МНЕ БОЖЕ В НЕБЕСНОМ В ТВОЕМ ПОЛЕ ЛОЖЕ; ТЫ БО ТВОРЕЦ МОЙ, К ТЕБЕ ПРИБЕГАЕМ, В ТВОИ РУЦИ МЕНЯ ПРИДАВАЮТ. ДЕВА МАРИЯ - В ТЕБЕ БЛАГОДАТЬ; ПРОШУ ТЕБЯ, ПРИСНЫЙ, ИЗВОЛЬ СОХРАНИТЬ. АНГЕЛ МОЙ СВЯТОЙ, ПРИСНЫЙ МОЙ ХРАНИТЕЛЬ, - В ЛЮБВИ БОЖЬЕЙ БУДЕШЬ МНЕ УЧИТЕЛЬ. АЩЕ КТО ВОСХОЧЕТ САМОГО СЕБЯ ПОЗНАТЬ, ТОТ ДА ПУСТИТСЯ РАЗУМОМ ИСКАТЬ. АЩЕ КТО СКОРО ОТО СНА ВОЗСТАНЕТ, - ГОСПОДА ПРОСЛАВИТ, ДУШУ И ТЕЛО, ВСЕЙ ЖИЗНИ ЗДРАВНЕ. ОТРОЧЕ БЛАЖЕ, С'ИЗМАЛА УЧИСЯ, ВО ВСЯКОМ ДЕЛЕ ГОСПОДУ МОЛИСЯ. ГОСПОДЬ СТОИТ В ЮНЫХ, ЗАВСЕГДА В ДЕЛЕ БЫША, СТАРЫЕ ИМАЮТ ПОКОЙ СЕБЕ ЖИЗНИ. ПРАЗДНОСТЬ СТАРЫХ ЛЮДЕЙ ПОВРЕЖДАЕТ, А МОЛОДЫМ НАПАЧЕ ВО ВРЕД ПРЕДВАЕТ. ПИТИ В ЮНЕ ОТНУДЬ ГНУШАЙСЯ, НА ЯВСТВЕННЫЙ МИР ПРИОБЩАЙСЯ. МНОГИЕ ПИТИЯ УМ ПОМРАЩАЮ, ЧЕЛОВЕКА НИ ВО ЧТО ОБРАЩАЮТ. ЧАДО! ИЗБЫТКА ВО ВСЕМ СТЕРЕГИСЯ, В БЛАГОМ РАЗЕ ПРАВДЫ ДЕРЖИСЯ; СЫНУ ГЛУПОМУ НЕ В ПОМОЩЬ БОГАТСТВОЯ АЩЕ НЕ КУПИТ СЕБЕ МУДРОСТИ ИЗРЯДСТВА; ОТО МНОГИХ СЛОВЕС В ГРЕХАХ НЕ УБЕЖИШИ, ВСЯКОМУ СЕБЯ НА ПОСМЕХ ЯВИСЯ. БЕЗЧЕСТНАЯ СЛАВА ВСЕМ СРАМ СОТВОРЯЕТ, ТОГО БО УСТРАШАТЬСЯ ЮНЫМ ПОДОБАЕТ; ВСЯК НЕ ДЕРЖИТСЯ ГРЕХОВНОЙ ВЕТВИ, ВСЮДУ БУДУТ БЕЗ СТЫДА СИДЕТИ; А ВЫ, ЮНЫЕ ДЕТИ, ОТНУДЬ НЕ В СМЕХ ЛГИТЕ, В ТОМ БО НЕ БУДЕТ ВАМ ПОД СТАРОСТЬ БЕД ИМЕТИ; ЮНОСТИ ЛГАТИ ЗЕЛО НЕ ПОТРЕБНО, - ПОД СТАРОСТЬ КАЖДОМУ БУДЕТ ВРЕДНО. ДЕТИ ВЛАДЫЧНЫЕ, В КРАСОТАХ СЕБЯ НЕ ПРЕЛЫЩАЙТЕ, НА СМЕРТЬ СУД, МУКУ, ЦАРСТВИЕ ПРИСНОЕ ПОМЫШЛЯЙТЕ; ЗЛОЕ - НЕЧИСТОЕ КАЖДОМУ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ ОТЪЕМТ СИЛ-ЛЕТ ЕГО ВЕКУ; АЩЕ КТО С'ИЗМАЛА ДРАГОЙ СВОЕЙ СЛАВЫ НЕ УТРАТИТ, ВСЮДУ ЕМУ ГОСПОДЬ С ЧЕСТЬЮ ЗАПЛАТИТ, ВОЗЪЕМЕТ РАДОСТЬ, ГДЕ В НЕБЕ МНОГО, АЩЕ НЕ ДАСТ КОМУ ЛЕПОТЫ И ПРИРОДЫ, ТОТ ДА ИСПОЛНИТСЯ СМЫСЛОМ, ТОТ ДЕНЬ НА СВОБОДЕ. СТАРЫЕ И ЮНЫЕ ВСЕМУ ВСЕ ВНЕМЛИТЕ, ЛЮБОВЬ К БОГУ УМ, СЕРДЦЕ ПРОЗРИТЕ.

I pray to You, my king, Lord my God - grant me, O God, a place to rest
 in Your heaven. You are my Creator, to You I come running, into Your
 hand I give myself over. Virgin Mary, - paradise is Your gift, always¹
 (?) Your nearness [is] my safekeeping. My holy angel, my close Guardian,²
 in [the way of] God's love you will [always] be my teacher. Whoso would
 begin to know himself, the same must come to seek wisdom through hard
 work. Whoso is early renewed from within(?),³ the same will glorify
 the Lord with soul and body, and all his wholesome life. Blessed lad,
 learn in youth; in every act, offer prayer to the Lord. The Lord wishes⁴
 the young always to be busy; when you shall be old - live in peacefulness.⁵
 Idleness is hurtful even to the old, but for the young yet more, this will
 be harmful. The young should by all means loathe drinking, they should
 always be accustomed to a clear world (?).⁶ Much drinking clouds the mind
 and makes a person good-for-nothing. Children, beware of all excess, be
 well-behaved, keep to truthfulness. Riches are of no help to foolish sons,
 to whom wisdom and common-sense never attach themselves.⁷ By too much talk
 one will not escape sin, but will show oneself a laughing-stock to all.
 [One's] scandalous reputation brings shame for all, it is proper for the
 young to fear that.⁸ Let all be in control of themselves; the children of
 sinners will everywhere be put to shame. But you, young children, by no
 means tell a lie for fun, and your old age will not have misfortune. To

1. You are bountiful with blessings, Popoff.

2. everpresent, Popoff.

3. Whosoever, at an early state, awakens to the true life, Popoff.

4. Take heed of words of wisdom, Popoff.

5. Usefully occupied, Popoff: this is the sense of this word.

6. ?Align yourselves with the realm of natural expressiveness, Popoff.

7. unless one enriches himself with wisdom and true enlightenment, Popoff.

8. lit., let all be abstainers.

lie during youth, to be bad without need - old age will have harm and misfortune for all [such]. Children of the sovereign, do not fascinate yourselves with beauty, think always of death, the judgement, the torment and the Kingdom. Evil and dishonour keep after a person and draw away [his] strength throughout the years of his life. Whoever in youth does

10

not lose his honour's way, him the Lord will repay with honour everywhere. Where will you get happiness? - [only] in heaven is there much.

Whoso has not received [his] form from nature, that [one] will be comp-

11

-leted in his reason on that day of freedom. Old and young, be most concerned with all this, you will begin to see God's love clearly with mind and heart.

9. (?); is extremely unworthy, Popoff,

10. fig.; dissipate his worthy honour, Popoff.

11. Whoso hath not by nature been endowed with outward beautification, the more so shall be filled with the real essence of beauty on the day of his true realization, Popoff. The sense seems to be that the physically or mentally subnormal person who strives for virtue will receive a perfect nature on the day of judgement. Cf. the psalm Righteous Souls..., and the O.T. Apocryphal Book of Wisdom, III, 13-15, for comparable doctrine.

Psalm 161.

Translated, and comparative text supplied, by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock, Kamsack, Sask, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "This is an old time original Doukhobor psalm which is read even more often than it is sung. It is used for regular prayer services as well as other occasions. It is a psalm that is quite widely preserved among the younger generations." Compare the opening lines of psalm 267, also implying an awareness of a 'pre-cultural', pre-sectarian life. The term 'damp earth' (СЫРАЯ ЗЕМЛЯ), here and generally translated 'green earth' - 'green' is an alternative reading implied by the 'damp' in an agricultural context - recurs from time to time, and seems to refer to a strongly identified ground-of-earthly-existence: cf. also the figure that recurs occasionally, 'Mother Green Earth', a personification.

ЖИЛИ МЫ, БЫЛИ НА СЫРОЙ ЗЕМЛЕ, НИЧЕГО МЫ НЕ ЗНАЛИ, НЕ ВЕДАЛИ, ЧТО У НАС НА ЗЕМЛЕ СПОВЕДАЕТСЯ. БЫЛ ПРЕСТОЛ ХРИСТОВ, ОН И СТРОИЛСЯ, - ПРАВЕДЕН ГОСПОДЬ С ЧЕЛОВЕКАМИ, С ВЕРНЫМИ, С ИЗБРАННЫМИ, С МИРА НАРОДОВ ПОВЫБРАННЫМИ, ШЛИ ОНИ К БОГУ СВОЕЙ ВОЛЕЙ ОХОТОЙ. ЖИВОМУ БОГУ ПОРУКУ ДАЛИ, НА СЫРОЙ ЗЕМЛЕ СЛЕЗЫ ПРОЛИЛИЯ СОБИРАЛИСЬ ВСЕ ВЕРНЫЕ И ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ВО ТУЮ ЦЕРКВУ СОБОРНУЮ, БОГОМОЛЬНУЮ: СВЕТ ХРИСТОС, ТЫ НАШ, БАТЮШКА, СКАЖА ТЫ НАМ ПРО ГЛАГОЛ СВОЙ, КАК НАМ ЖИТЬ-ПРОЖИТЬ НА СЫРОЙ ЗЕМЛЕ? НАМИ ВЕСЬ МИР-НАРОД ПОРУГАЕТСЯ, БОЖЬИМ ИМЕНЕМ ПОНОШАЕТСЯ. А ВЫ, ДРУГИ МОИ, ЖИВИТЕ Ж ВЫ НА СЫРОЙ ЗЕМЛЕ ВО КРОТОСТИ, ВО СМирЕНИИ, В ЛЮБВИ, В БОЖЬЕМ СОГЛАСИИ. НЕ ХОДУТЬ БО ВАМ ПО МИРСКИМ ПИРАМ, ПО ЗЛЫМ СОЙМИЩАМ, НЕ ПИТЬ БО ВАМ ПОЙЛУ ХМЕЛЬНОГО, НЕ ГОВОРИТЬ БО ВАМ СЛОВА ТЕМНОГО, - ТО И ПОЛУЧИТЕ СЕБЕ ЦАРСТВИЕ, БЛАЖЕННЫЙ РАЙ, ПОЗАВИДУЕТ ВАМ ОТЕЦ И МАТЬ; ГДЕ МЫ БЫЛИ, ГДЕ МЫ ЖИЛИ, МЫ ТОГО НЕ ЗНАЛИ, НЕ ВЕДАЛИ.

We lived, we dwelt on the green earth, [but] we did not know anything, nor [did we] grasp what was taking place in our world. The throne is Christ's he built it - the righteous lord with the people, with the true [ones], with the elect, chosen from among the world's peoples. They came to God of their own will and desire, to the Living God [they] gave surety, on the green earth shed [their] tears. They came together, all the true [ones], the righteous, in the church assembly of the faithful: Christ the light, You our Father, tell us, give us a word, how shall we live our

lives in the green earth? All the world's peoples quarrel with us,
 they misuse God's name. - But you, my friends, beloved, live in meek-
 -ness and humility, in the love of God,¹ in agreement: do not go to
 worldly feasts, to wicked gatherings, nor to birthday [feasts], to
 christenings, nor to their funerals;² do not take intoxicating drinks,
 and do not speak dark words,³ and then you will receive for yourselves
 the Kingdom, blessed paradise, your father and mother will envy you;
 Where we were, where we lived,⁴ we did not know this, we did not grasp
⁵ [it].

1. unity, Popoff. Bonch-Bruevich' text reads: "Live...in love, in agreement with God;..."
2. Holy Church is missing from the contemporary version but appears in Bonch-Bruevich.
3. evil, Popoff.
4. where you were, where you lived,...Bonch-Bruevich.
5. understand, Popoff; the root of the word implies a material act.

Psalm 166.

Translated by editor with Anna Gattinger. No data in Bonch-Bruevich; published in U.S.C.C. collection, Grand Forks 1968. Recorded by Barbara Bachovzeff, The Doukhobors of British Columbia, Folkways FR 8972.

This beautiful psalm symbolizes the experience of suffering believers as a journey, against hard odds set by the Lord, to a mystical Jerusalem. The imagery recalls the Baltic exile, self-imposed, of many of the Skoptsi and Khivsti. The psalm gives the fullest account of the "Pillar" motif (cf. psalm 91) so far, identifying it with that of the Israelites in the wilderness (Exodus, XIII, 21-22; XL, 34-39), and as the Lord's support for his faithful servants. There are three speakers: a narrator, who simply sets the stage and records actions; the young men, witnessing believers; and the Lord. Tribulations are symbolized both by the vicious human and antichristian opposition of the Antiochus-figure, and by threatening or tempestuous natural objects and forces. The duty of the "young men" is twofold: to go ahead in the face of opposition when told; and to wait in patience. To cross the 'dark sea', they are given the 'ship of Noah', a motif used in the New Testament as a type of salvation through both righteousness and faithful witness (I Peter III, 20-22.).

ЗАРОЖДАЛИСЯ МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ОТ СВЯТЫХ ОБЛАЦЕВ. ВОЗОПИЮТ МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ПЕРЕД ГОСПОДОМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! НЕТУ У НАС НИ РОДА, НИ ПЛЕМЕНИ, ТОЛЬКО ЕСТЬ У НАС БРАТЬЯ-СЕТСРЫ ДУХОВНЫЕ, А ДЕТИ НАШИ НА ВОЗРАСТЕ, - ГОДАМИ-ЛЕТАМИ НЕ ЧИСЛЕННЫ. ПРОЙДУТ, МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ПО ЗЕМЛЕ СО СЛАВОЮ, СО ВЕЛИКОЮ, С КРАСОТОЮ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКОЙ. КРАСОТА БО ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКАЯ - ПРОЛИВАЮЩИХ КРОВЬ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ЗА ИМЯ ГОСПОДНЕ, ЗА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА, ЗА СЛОВО БОЖИЕ. ЗАПЛЕНИЛ АНТИОХ-КНЯЗЬ ЮНОШЕЙ ВО ТЕМНУЮ ТЕМНИЦУ. СЛЕЗНО ВОСПЛАКАЛИСЬ МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ПЕРЕД ГОСПОДОМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! ВЫПУСТИ НАС С ТЕМНЫХ ТЕМНИЦ, НАМ ХОТЕЛОСЬ ПРОЙТИ В ТВОЙ ЕРУСАЛИМ-ГРАД, ПОСМОТРЕТЬ ТАМ ВЕЛИК СТОЛБ ОГНЕННЫЙ, ОН ЖЕ ВОЗСИЯЕТ ОТ ЗЕМЛИ И ДО НЕБА. МЛАДЫЕ МОИ ЮНОШИ! МОЙ ЕРУСАЛИМ-ГРАД ДАЛЕЧЕ, ЗА ГОРАМИ КРУТЫМИ, ЗА ЛЕСАМИ ТЕМНЫМИ, ЗА МОРЯМИ ЧЕРНЫМИ. МЛАДЫЕ МОИ ЮНОШИ, ОТВОРИТЕ МОИ ВОРОТА ГОСПОДНИ СУПРТИ ВОРОТ АДОВЫХ. СЛЕЗНО ВОСПЛАКАЛИСЬ МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ПЕРЕД ГОСПОДОМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! ТЯЖЕЛО НАМ ТВОИ ВОРОТА ОТВОРИТЬ: ВОРОТА ТВОИ ЗАВАЛЕННЫ КАМНЕМ САМОРОДНЫМ, ЗАСЫПАНЫ МОРСКИМ ПЕСКОМ; НАМ ТВОИ ВОРОТА ОТВОРИТЬ - НА ЗЕМЛЕ СВОЮ КРОВЬ ПРОЛИТЬ. МЛАДЫЕ МОИ ЮНОШИ, ВЫ ПРОЙДЕТЕ ЛЕСЫ ТЕМНЫЕ, ВЗЫЙДИТЕ НА ГОРЫ КРУТЫЕ, ПРИСТУПИТЕ К МОРЮ ЧЕРНОМУ, СТАНЬТЕ ЖЕ ВЫ НА НОЕВ КОРАБЛЬ. БУЙНЫ ВЕТРЫ СБУШЕВАЛИСЬ, ЧЕРНО МОРЕ ВСКОЛЫХАЛОС. СЛЕЗНО ВОСПЛАКАЛИСЬ МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ ПЕРЕД ГОСПОДОМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! ПОЧТО ПОПУСТИЛ БУЙНЫЕ ВЕТРЫ БУШЕРАТЬ, МОРСКИЕ ВОЛНЫ ВОЛНОВАТЬ, ЧЕРНО МОРЕ КОЛЫХАТЬ, ЧТО НЕЛЬЗЯ НАМ ПРОЙТИ В ТВОЙ ЕРУСАЛИМ-ГРАД, ПОСМОТРЕТЬ ТАМ ВЕЛИК СТОЛБ ОГНЕННЫЙ, ОН ЖЕ ВОЗСИЯЕТ ОТ ЗЕМЛИ И ДО НЕБА? МЛАДЫЕ ЮНОШИ, ПОСТОЙТЕ ВЫ У МОРЯ, ОБОЖДИТЕ ПОГОДЫ ДОБРОЙ, ДОНДЕЖЕ ПРИДЕТ К ВАМ СЛОВО ГОСПОДНЕ ВСЕМ ЯЗЫКАМ НА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО, НА ОБЛИЧЕНИЕ ВСЕХ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХ. МЛАДЫЕ МОИ ЮНОШИ, НА СТОЛБЕ МОЕМ СТОИТЕ И СТОЛПА МОЕГО НЕ ВИТИТЕ.

1

2

Young men were created in holy throngs. The young men cry out before the Lord: Lord, Lord! We have neither family, nor kin, we have only spiritual³ brothers - sisters, but our children are growing - they are ageless. They go forth, the young men, about the world in glory, in greatness, in the beauty of man. Beauty in man -[that is] the pouring forth of blood upon the earth for the name of the Lord, for witnessing for Jesus Christ, for the word of God. Antiochus-prince⁴ shut up the youths in gloomy dungeons. The young men wept [bitter] tears before the Lord: Lord, Lord! Free us from the dark dungeons, we wanted to go on into Your Jerusalem-town, there to look upon the great fiery pillar, that shines from earth even to heaven. My young men! My Jerusalem-town is far⁵ away, beyond lofty mountains, beyond shadowy forests, beyond dark seas. My young men, open up my Lordly gates, [they are] opposite to the gates of hell. The young men wept bitter tears before the Lord: Lord, Lord! [It is] very hard to open your gates; your gates are blocked up by living stone, they are buried by the sands of the sea. For us to open your gates - [is to] pour out our blood upon the earth. My young men, you will go on through the shadowy forests, you will go up into the lofty mountains, you will come to the dark sea, you will embark in the ship of Noah.⁶ The wild winds were uproarious, the dark sea was stirred

1. or, were born, arose.

2. obscure word.

3. lit., age-years not anyone has counted.

4. Cf. psalm 130; also II Maccabees, IV-XI.

5. Cf. Book of Enoch, XVIII-XXXII.

6. The Ark, Genesis VI-IX; an image of Christ's suffering, Cf. I Peter, III, 18-22.

7

up. The young men wept bitter tears before the Lord: Lord, Lord!

why do you allow the wild winds to rage, the waves of the sea to billow
up, the dark sea to heave, so that it is impossible for us to come to
Your Jerusalem-town, there to look upon the great fiery pillar, that
shines out from earth even to Heaven? Young men, stay you a while by
the sea, wait a little for fair weather, till the Word of the Lord

8

comes to you for witnessing to all nations, for exposing the unright-
-eous. My young men, you stand upon My pillar though you do not see

9

My pillar!

7. As an apocalyptic image of all peoples.

8. lor, tongues, languages. fig.

9. My special thanks to Mrs. Vera Soukeroukoff of Tahgum for her comments
and help with this text.

Psalm 172.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff; current text supplied by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, July 1964.

Popoff notes: "A psalm very often read at prayer meetings by younger people and also sometimes sung at regular prayer meetings." The psalm, penitential in topic, imputes blame for sin to attachment to worldly goods.

ТВОРЕЦ.МОЙ, ТВОРЕЬ, ПОКРОВИТЕЛЬ МОЙ, СОЗДАЛ ТЫ МЕНЯ НА СЕЙ БЕЛЫЙ СВЕТ. КАК ПРЕЖДЕ ВСЕГО БОГА ВОЗЛЮБИЛ, ТОГДА ЖЕ ВО МНЕ СТРАХ БОЖИЙ БЫЛ. О, БОЖЕ ТЫ МОЙ, МИЛОСЕРДНЫЙ МОЙ, КАК БЕДНЫЙ Я БЫЛ, Я ВСЕ БОГА ПРОЦИЛ, А БОГАТЫМ Я СТАЛ, СТАЛ ПРО БОГА ЗАБЫВАТЬ. СТАЛ ПРО БОГА ЗАБЫВАТЬ, ТОГДА ЖЕ Я СТАЛ СВОЮ ПЛОТЬ УКРАШАТЬ, А ДУШУ СВОЮ СТАЛ ОТНАЖАТЬ. О, БОЖЕ ТЫ МОЙ, МИЛОСЕРДНЫЙ МОЙ. О, БОЖЕ МОЙ, МИЛОСЕРДНЫЙ МОЙ, КАКОЙ Я БЫЛ, ДА КАКОЙ Я СТАЛ: ГРЕШНЫЙ, НЕВОЗДЕРЖАННЫЙ.

Creator, my Creator, my Guardian, You made me in this bright world.

First of all I loved God, at that time I had fear of God. O, You my God, my Merciful [one], when I was poor, I asked for all from God, but when I grew rich, I grew forgetful of God. I grew forgetful of God; when then I began to adorn my flesh, I began to strip [naked] my soul. O, You my God, my Merciful[one]! O, my God, my Merciful[one], what sort [of a man] I have been, but what sort I have become: sinning, without control.

1. the remainder of this psalm does not appear in Bonch-Bruevich' text.

Psalm 176.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock from child's recitation, Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "A basic children's psalm. Does not have a melody." The psalm is a reminder to the parent as well as a devotion for the child. The second sentence applies a personal rationale to the three virtues compared by St. Paul (I Corinthians XIII). The last sentence - for which cf. psalm 147 and notes - floats, and is probably proverbial.

МАТЬ МОЯ ДАНЕНЬЯ, ДАЛА МНЕ ПУТЬ СПАСЕНЬЯ. ВЕРА РОДИЛА, НАДЕЖДА
ВОСПИТАЛА, ЛЮБОВЬ К БОГУ ПРОИЗВЕЛА. ГДЕ ЛЮБОВЬ, ТАМ И БОГ, ГДЕ
СОВЕТ ТАМ И СВЕТ.

Mother, my birthgiver, show me the path of salvation. My faith

made [me] ¹grow, hope brought [me] ²up, love brings [me] to God.

Where there is Love, there is God; where there is counsel, there
is light.

1. lit., thrive; gave me my real awakening, Popoff.

2. to the realization of God, Popoff.

3. agreement...enlightenment, Popoff; these are plausible readings.

Psalm 181.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The opening sentence of the psalm is not explicit, but the three guests may perhaps be the three angels that visited the patriarch Abraham under the Oak at Mamre (Genesis XVIII). The early Church Fathers interpreted these as a foreshadowing of the Trinity, and Russian iconography settled upon the image of the angels as correct for traditional representation of the Trinity. Such guests would indeed be desirable for the devout soul, and would well be typified by attributes such as close the psalm.

ОДИН ГОСТЬ ЗА МНОЙ НЕ ХОДИТ, А СЛЕДУЕТ ТРИ ГОСТЯ: ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ,
НЕВИННОСТЬ, ТЕРТИЙ, - СПОКОЙСТВИЕ. ПРОСВЕЩАЕТ НАМ РАЗУМ ГУСТУЮ
ТУЧУ, ВСЕ ГРЕХИ НАШИ РАЗГОНЯЕТ, ВСЕМ ЧИСТЫМ ЖЕЛАНИИМ ЛЮБУТЬ ГОСПОДА
БОГА.

[It is] not one guest [that] comes after me, but three guests look
after me: wisdom, innocence, the third - peacefulness. Dense clouds
are made light through understanding; all our sins are scattered, by
all our pure desires to love the Lord God.

1. preceding material omitted by translator.

Psalm 182.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Chevaldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Grand Forks, July 1963.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that the psalm is recited over the newly-born. Popoff states: "A children's psalm that is learned by children at as early an age as possible: usually when they are about 6 or 7 years old." It is a simple collection of cautions to which any child of God should be obliged, to which is added a commination against those who beset the paths of children with traps.

СОТВОРИЛ ЧЕЛОВЕКА-МАЛОЛЕТОЧКА. МАЛОЛЕТОЧЕК ВЫРОСТАЕТ, ОН ПО БОЖЬЕМУ ВЕЛЕНИЮ ПОСТЫПАЕТ; ГДЕ ВЬЮТСЯ, ДЕРУТСЯ, - ОН ТУДА НЕ ХОДИТ; ГДЕ СКАЧУТ И ПЛЯШУТ, - ОН ТУДА НЕ СМОТРИТ; В ДУХОВНУЮ БЕСЕДУ ПРИБЕГАЕТ; С НЕЧЕСТИВЫМИ ГЛАГОЛ СВОЙ НЕ СПУШАЕТ; НАИПЧЕ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХ ОБЛИЧАЕТ. ГОРЕ ВАМ, КНИЖНИКИ, ФАРИСЕИ, НЕЧЕСТИВЫЕ ЛИЦЕМЕРЫ; САМИ ВЫ НА БОЖИЙ ПУТЬ НЕ ИДЕТЕ И ХОТЯЩЕМУ САГРАЖДАЕТЕ.

[The Lord] created the person, little fellow. The young lad grows up, he acts in God's will; where they fight, they kill - he does not go there; where they jump about, they dance - he does not look in there; he takes part in spiritual talk; he does not hold back his word among the unrighteous; indeed, he exposes the unrighteous. Woe¹ be to you, scribes, pharisees, unrighteous hypocrites; on the path to paradise, on God's path, you do not go - and you block the path² for those who desire³ [to walk it].

1. Cf. Matthew X, 27.

2. lit, the yearners.

3. Cf. Matthew XXIII, 13.

Psalm 183.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that the psalm is 'recited in the last moment before the death of a Doukhobor.' It is not so much a confession as a confident preparation for the soul's departure. Note that two persons - both the soul and the Lord - are addressed.

Н^ЫНЕ ОБРАТИСЯ ДУША МОЯ ДО Г^ОСПОДУ; ОТРЯСИ СКВЕРНОСТЬ ОТ НОГ СВОИХ;
ИЗМОЙ ЧИСТО ЛОЖЕ СВОЕ; ИСТРЕБИ БОДРОСТЬ СВОЮ; ИСТРЕБИ ВСЕ ПОХОТЕНИЕ
СВОЕ; СПРАВЬ ПОВЕЛЕНИЯ Б^ОЖИИ; ПРИСТУПИ К ПРЕСТОЛУ ВЛАДЫЧНОМУ И
ВОЗДАЙ ГЛАС СВОЙ К ТВОРЦУ-БОГУ, ЖЕНИХУ СВОЕМУ. Г^ОСПОДИ, ТВОРЕЦ
МОЙ, Н^ЫНЕ ПРИХОДИТ КОНЕЦ МОЙ; НЕ ПОГУБИ МЕНЯ, Г^ОСПОДИ, БЕЗЗАКОННИЕМ
МОИМ; ПРЕДВАРИ МЕНЯ. Г^ОСПОДИ, С ИЗБРАННЫМ СВОИМИ; ПРИМИ МЕНЯ, О^ТЧЕ,
К ЦЕБЕ В ГРЯДУЩЕМ, ВЕЧНО СЛАВИТЬ ИМЯ Т^ВОЕ, Г^ОСПОДИ.

Today, my soul, turn to the Lord; shake the filth from your feet;
wash yourself clean of falsehood; wipe off all your boldness; clean
off all your lust; [be] on the right [side] of God's will; come to
stand before the Master's throne and fix your eyes on the Creator-
-God, your bridegroom. Lord, my Creator, today my end approaches;
do not destroy me, Lord, for my wickenesses; tell me about your
chosen[ones], Lord; accept me, O Father, to yourself in the time to
come forever to glorify Your name, Lord.

-
1. altar, Cheveldayoff.
 2. floating phrase; cf. psalm 244.
 3. or, elect.

Psalm 184.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Brilliant, July 1963. Current text supplied by Popoff.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that the psalm is recited on the date of the Assumption of the B.V.M.. It is excerpted directly from the Gospel of Matthew, V, 3-12, the Beatitudes, to which is added, between each beatitude, a petition. See psalm 1, clause (29). Popoff notes: "psalm sung and recited at prayer meetings, funerals, and other occasions."

УЗРЕВ МНОГО НАРОДА, ВЗОШЕЛ ХРИСТОС НА ГОРУ; ШЕДШИЕ С НЕМ УЧЕНИКИ ЕГО ПРИСТУПИЛИ К НЕМУ. И ОН, ОТВЕЗШИ УСТА СВОИ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ К НИМ: БЛАЖЕННЫ НИШНИЕ ДУХОМ, ИБО ИХ ЕСТЬ ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ ПЛАЧУЩИЕ, ИБО ОНИ УТЕШАТСЯ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ КРОТКИЕ ИБО ОНИ НАСЛЕДУЮТ ЗЕМЛЮ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ АЛЧУЩИЕ И ЖАЖДУЩИЕ ПРАВДЫ, ИБО ОНИ НАСЫТЯТСЯ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ МИЛОСТИВЫЕ, ИБО ОНИ ПОРМИЛВАНЫ БУДУТ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ ЧИСТЫЕ СЕРДЦЕМ, ИБО ОНИ БОГА УЗРЯТ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ МИРОТВОРЦЫ, ИБО ОНИ БУДУТ НАРЕЧЕНЫ СЫНАМИ БОЖЬИМИ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ ИЗГНАННЫЕ ЗА ПРАВДУ, ИБО ИХ ЕСТЬ ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ. ПОМЯНИ И НАС ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВО СВОЕ. БЛАЖЕННЫ ВЫ, КОГДА БУДУТ ПОНОСИТЬ ВАС И ГНАТЬ, И ВСЯЧЕСКИ НЕПРАВЕДНО ЗЛОСЛОВИТЬ ЗА МЕНЯ. РАДУЙТЕСЬ И ВЕСЕЛИТЕСЬ, ИБО ВЕЛИКА ВАША НАГРАДА НА НЕБЕСАХ: ТАК ГНАЛИ И ПРОРОКОВ, БЫВШИХ ПРЕЖДЕ ВАС.

Seeing many people, Christ went up on the mountain; His disciples followed(?) Him and stood together with Him. And He, opening his mouth, spake to them:

1

Blessed are the poor-in-spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are the mourners, for they shall be comforted. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

1. lit., they shall thoroughly possess.

Blessed are the gentle, for they will inherit the earth. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are the hungry-and thirsty-for-truth, for they shall be satisfied. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom

Blessed are the kindly, for they will be forgiven. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are the clean-in-heart, for they will see God. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are those exiled for the truth's sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Remember us, Lord, when you come to Your Kingdom.

Blessed are you, when they shall revile you and drive you out, and shall scandalously say anything untrue [about you] for My sake. Rejoice and make merry, for great [is] your reward in heaven: thus they drove out the prophets too, that were before you.

2.or, persecute.

3. Bonch-Bruevich' text ends at this point.

Psalm 187.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963. Also published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Popoff notes: "A psalm for young and old alike. It is read at all regular meetings and is generally considered a psalm of counsel." Compare with psalm 138; but less gnostic in form. The 1968 text differs from that of Bonch-Bruevich in a few minor details: some obscure words disappear, and the Lord's name is replaced by 'He' in secondary clauses. The final plea for forgiveness of the unrighteous is unusual, as is the vocabulary and import of the opening lines, possibly derived from an Orthodox source, with implications of attendance at Sunday church service.

ПРАВОСЛАВНЫЕ ХРИСТИАНЕ, ПОМНИТЕ ТВЕРДО, ЧТО ВЫ НЫНЕ УГОДИЛИ БОГУ, ПОМОЛИВШИСЬ; РАБОТЫ РАБОТАЙТЕ, ОТ РАБОТЫ ОСТАВАЙТЕ, К ДОБРЫМ ДЕЛАМ ПРИСТАВАЙТЕ; ХОДИТЕ В БОЖЬЮ ЦЕРКОВЬ НА ПОУЧЕНИЯ; ЧТО ВЫ СЕБЕ НА ПОУЧЕНИИ ПОЛУЧИЛИ, ОТОШЛИТЕ К СЕБЕ В ДОМ; БРАТОЛЮБИЮ И ЛЮБОВЬ СЕБЯ НАЧИТЕ; ИЗСТАРИ СЕБЕ ПОЧТИТЕ ВОСКРЕСЕНИЕ ХРИСТОВО, ДА КОТОРОГО БОГА, КОТОРЫЙ ПОИТ И КОРМИТ, НА СВЕТ ПРОЗВОДИТ; ВСЕМИ ДОБРОДЕТЕЛЯМИ УВЕЩЕВАЕТ; В ПЛАТЬЕ НАС ОДЕВАЕТ; ВРАГОВ ОТ НАС ОТГОНЯЕТ, ОТ ТЕМНОЙ ТЕМНИЦЫ УКРЫВАЕТ; НАГРАБДАЕТ НАС ГОСПОДЬ, ОН - ЕДИН ГОСПОДЬ, ЕДИН СВЕТ, ЕДИН ИИСУС-НАЗАРЕЯНИН; КРОМЕ ЕГО НЕТ ДРУГОГО; ОН И БЫЛ, ДА НЕ ИМЕЛ НИ НАЧАЛА, НИ КОНЦА; ТОЛЬКО ОТКРЫЛ ВОЛЮ СВОЮ, ПОЕМНЕННУЮ НА ВСЯКОМ МЕСТЕ. БОГ ВЕЗДЕ ВИДИТ, ВЕЗДЕ СЛЫШИТ НАШИ НАМЕРЕНИЯ И МЫСЛИ, КАК МЫ О БОГЕ ДУАЕМ И ГАДАЕМ, ПОМЫШЛЯЕМ И РАЗСУЖДАЕМ; А МЫ БУДЕМ ЗНАТЬ И ОПАСАТСЯ, ХУДОГО НЕ ДЕЛАТЬ; НЕ НАДО БЫ НАМ В ПРАВОСУДИЕ. БОГ ЕСТЬ СПРАВЕДЛИВЫЙ ДУХ, БЕЗСМЕРТНЫЙ И БЕЗТЕЛЕСНЫЙ; ПРИ ТОМ ПРАВОСУДИИ КТО МИЛОСЕРДЕН, ПРАВЕДЕН, С ТОМ Я ДОЛЖЕН ЖИТЬ ВЕКА ДО ДОНЦА. ПОЧИТАЙ ГОСПОДА, И ЖИВИ, КАК ХОЧЕШЬ; НЕПРАВЕДНИКИ ИСТРЕБЯТСЯ, А ПРАВЕДНИКИ ВОЗВЕСТИЯТСЯ; ВОЗРАДУЮТСЯ, ВОЗВЕСЕЛЯТСЯ. КОСТИ СМЯТЫЕ; ОТВРАТИ ЛИЦО ОТ НЕПРАВЕДНЫХ.

1

Orthodox christians, remember well, that now you have pleased God,

[when] you were praying. Work on at your tasks, [but] leave off from

2

work, that you [may] keep to good deeds; go to God's church for lessons; what teaching you get, carry the same off with you to your home; train yourselves in brotherhood and love, honour your elders, teach your fool-

1. ecclesiastical term.

2. or, a sermon.

-ish ones. Honour Christ's Resurrection, which is of God, who feeds and keeps [us, and] brings [us] into the world; he entreats all to good works; he clothes us with garments; he drives [our] foes away from us; he keeps [us] safe from gloomy.dungeons. The Lord rewards us; He - the One light, - Jesus of Nazareth; except for him - no other! He was and is, and had neither beginning nor end, showing his will by [this] appearance.³ In every place - He [is there]; he sees all, he hears all our purposes and thoughts, how we think and guess about God, dream and reason [about Him]. But we shall know and be careful, not to do evil; we should not think about evil, lest judgement come upon us. God is a righteous spirit, undying and without a body: in this judgement he is just and merciful, I want to live with him to the end of time. Honour the Lord, and live, as you wish: [but] the unrighteous will be destroyed utterly, while the righteous will be joyful. They will rejoice, they will be glad in their [very] bones, the humble ones;^{4.} turn [Your] face to the righteous.

3. The word implies something imperfectly perceived.

4. The 1968 text replaces this clause with:

ГОСПОДИ, НЕ ОТВРАТИ ЛИЦО СВОЕ И ОТ НЕПРАВЕДНИКОВ. This reading, clearer than that of Bonch-Bruevich, yields:

Lord, do not turn your face away, even from the unrighteous.

Psalm 191.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

A psalm encouraging those who lose confidence; presumably suited to private devotional use.

ВЗЫШИТЕ ГОСПОДА, УТВЕРДИТЕСЯ ОТ ЛИЦА БОГА ИАКОВЛЕВА; ИСКОНИ ПОМЯНИ
ЧУДЕСА НА ЗЕМЛЕ, КОТОРЫЕ ВЗЫШУТ ГОСПОДА, НЕ ПОСТЫДЯТСЯ ВО ВРЕМЕНА
ЛЮТЫЕ; ВО ДНИ ГЛАДА ЧАДЫ БОЖИИ ПРЕБУДУТСЯ С ГОСПОДОМ ВО ВЕК.

1

Seek the Lord, get a foothold before the face of the God of Jacob,
from time untold remember the miracles on earth, [those] who seek
the Lord, they will not be ashamed in harsh times; in the days of

2

pressing(?), the children of God will dwell with the Lord for ever.

1. or, strengthen, establish, yourself.

2. (?); but, cf. the apocalyptic metaphor of the Day of Judgement as the Lord's Winepress (Isaiah LXIII, 2-3; Apocalypse, XIV, 17-20; XIX, 15).

Psalm 196.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from the singing of A.A. Sats. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1968. current text published in 1968 U.S.C.C. collection.

An excerpt from the gospel of John, XIII, 31-35.

РЕЧЕТ ХРИСТОС УЧЕНИКАМ СВОИМ: НЫНЕ ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ СЫН ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИЙ ВО СЛАВЕ ОТЦА СВОЕГО. БОГ ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ В НЕМ И ОН ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ В БОГЕ - ОБА ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ В МИРЕ. ЧАДЫ МАЛЫЕ, ВЗЫЩИТЕ МЕНЯ; ГОВОРЮ ВАМ ДИВНОЕ. АЗ Я К ВАМ ПРИШЕЛ И ВЫ МОЖЕТЕ ИДТИ СО МНОЙ К ОТЦУ МОЕМУ. СЕЙ ДЕНЬ ДАЮ ВАМ ДУХА СВЯТОГО, ПОБЕЖДАЙТЕ ВСЕ НЕМОЩИ ВАШИ. ВЕРУЙТЕ В ОТЦА МОЕГО И НИ ЕДИНЬИ ИЗ ВАС НЕ ПОГИБНЕТ.

Christ speaks to his disciples: Now the Son of man is glorified in the glory of His Father. God is glorified in Him and He is glorified in God - Both glorified in the world. Little children, seek Me; I tell you a wonderful [thing]. As I came to you, so you may come with Me to My Father. This day I give to you the Holy Spirit, overcome all your feebleness. Trust in My Father and not one of you will perish.

Psalm 197.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from I. Obrosimov. Recorded by Peacock in Brilliant, July 1964. Published in 1968 U.S.C.C. Collection.

Popoff notes: "An educational childrens' psalm, also recited sometimes by adults; not sung." The psalm is to some degree concerned with the nature of righteousness. The sun and the just are associated; the righteous are an example of the Lord's truth, and by that he will judge all the world (Cf. Matthew V, 43-48).

СОЛНЦЕ СВЕТИТ НА ВСЕХ ПРАВДОЮ; ТАКОЖДЕ ПОДОБАЕТ И ЧЕЛОВЕКУ БЫТЬ ХЕ
ЛЖИВОМУ, СПРАВЕДЛИВОМУ, ЛЮБИТЬ ДРУГ ДРУГА, КАК САМОГО СЕБЯ. В
ЛЮБВИ ГОСПОДЬ ПРЕБЫВАЕТ. ПОСЛАЛ ГОСПОДЬ АНГЕЛОВ СВОИХ ВО ВСЕ
КОНЦЫ СЕМЛИ ПРОПОВЕДОВАТЬ СЛОВО БОЖИЕ. ВО СЛЕД ЗА НИМИ САМ ГОСПОДЬ
ГРЯДЕТ СУДИТЬ ЗЕМЛЮ И ВСЮ ВСЕЛЕННУЮ ПО ПРАВДЕ ЛЮДЕЙ ПРАВЫХ ИСТИНОЙ
СВОЕЙ.

1

The sun shines on all by justice. Just so it becomes people to be,
not deceitful, [but] just, to love each other as our very own selves.
In love the Lord dwells. The Lord sent his angels through all ends
of the earth to preach the word of God. In their track the Lord

2

3

himself follows to judge the world and all creation by the truth of
his truthful people, his witnesses.

-
1. Some read, "...upon all the just"; the sun is just, however, inas-
-much as it shines equally upon both good and bad men.
 2. Tregubov offers a variant which inserts "with great anger" at this
point.
 3. Tregubov's variant replaces this clause with: "He renders to every man
according to his deeds."

Psalm 202.

Translated by Mercedes Chevelayoff and Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded in Kamsack, Sask., June 1964, by Peacock. Published in 1968 U.S.C.C. collection.

Popoff notes: "A basic psalm for children, but also recited by older folks as well, for almost any occasion. It was with the Doukhobors very nearly since their origin, and very likely was composed by either Ilarian Pobirohin or Saveli Kapustin in the early formative years during the latter part of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century." The psalm encourages the believer to persevere in spite of trials, being, through suffering, strengthened and redeemed by the Lord.

ВЕЛИКИ ДЕЛА ТВОРЦА-БОГА! ЗНАЙТЕ: НЕТ В СВЕТЕ ЛУЧШЕ, НЕТ В СВЕТЕ БОЛЬШЕ, КТО БОГА ЗНАЕТ И ВЕЛИЧАЕТ, ТОТ ИЗБРАН БЫВАЕТ. СО ХРИСТОМ ПРОРОКИ ВСЕГДА И ВСЕГДА В РАЗГОВОРАХ. АНГЕЛЫ СВЯТЫЕ ПЕСНИ ВОСПЕВАЛИ, ХРИСТА ВЕЛИЧАЛИ; А ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ЛЮДИ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ЖИВАЛИ, БОГА ПОЗНАЛИ И ВСЕГО ПРИНИМАЛИ; УКОРЫ И ПОКОЫ, ХУЛЫ И ПОНОШЕНИЯ, БОИ И ИБИДЫ, СКОРБИ И БОЛЕЗНИ. ЗА ТО ИХ ГОСПОДЬ ЛЮБИТ, К СЕБЕ ПРИЗЫВАЕТ, СЛОВАМИ НАТВЕРЖДАЕТ И СЫНАМИ НАРЕКАЕТ; ВО СВОИ РАИ ПРЕСВЕТЛЫЕ И ВО ЦАРСТВИЕ СВОЕ НЕБЕСНОЕ ПОСЫЛАЕТ.

1

Great are the deeds of God the Creator! Know: [there is] not anywhere

2

a better, not anywhere a greater. Who knows God and glorifies him,

3

the same is [His] chosen. With Christ [were] the prophets ever, and

4

[they] were ever in conversation [with Him]. Holy angels sang songs

[of praise], glorified Christ. Righteous folk lived on earth, knew God

5

and accepted all: reproach and submission, reviling and slander, beating

6

and injury, suffering and sickness; on account of all this, the Lord

loves them, calls them to Himself, strengthens them with [His] word,

names them [His] sons, welcomes them into His paradise. Into his

bright-shining paradise, into the Kingdom of Heaven.

1. Punctuated with preceding clause in U.S.C.C. text.

2. Emanates forth a manifestation of God, Popoff.

3. or, elect.

4. Bonch-Bruevich notes: "People of God motif (Khlysti)."

5. ...all the aftermaths of this [witness], Popoff.

6. or, persecution (by physical violence).

Psalm 205.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Another psalm in which the activities of the faithful are directly identified as the Lord's work, and His constant presence with them is affirmed.

В ЗАЩИТЕ ГОСПОДА УТВЕРДИТЕСЯ; В ЗАЩИТЕ БОГА ИАКОВА, КОТОРЫЕ ВЗЫДУТ, ТЕ УТВЕРДЯТСЯ, ВО ВРЕМЯ ЛЮТОЕ НЕ ПОСТЫДЯТСЯ; ВО ДНИ ГЛАДНЫЕ НАСЫТЯТСЯ. ВСЕ РАБЫ ГОСПОДНИ СТОЯТ ВО ХРАМЕ БОЖИЕМ, ВО ДВОРЕ ДОМА БОГЕ НАШЕГО; ИСПОЛНЯЮТ ПОВЕЛЕНИЕ БОЖИЕ; НАРЕКАЮТСЯ ЧАДАМИ БОЖЬИМИ, ТЕ И ПРЕБУДУТ С ГОСПОДОМ ВО ВЕК.

Maintain yourself under the safeguard of the Lord, under the defence¹ of the God of Jacob; whoever calls [for help], and maintains that [defence], [the same] in harsh times will not be ashamed; in the days of hunger, [he] will be filled. All the servants of the Lord stand in the temple of God, in the courtyard of the house of our God; they carry out the commandments of God; they are named children of God, they will abide with the Lord for ever.

1. Clause omitted by translator; the transitive verb requires an object not supplied in the text.

Psalm 213.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruевич. Recorded by Peacock in Mossleigh, Alta., June 1964.

Popoff notes: "An old time Doukhobor psalm usually sung when guests are being welcomed with prayer." Note, though, that 'thoughts of salvation' are cited parallel to 'guests so dear'; so it is probable that the psalm originated in a contemplative context; cf. psalm 181. This is further borne out by the rhythmic structure: all the psalms that possess such a structure use it to impose a catalogue of ideas upon the singer or reciter or hearer. During the repetition, one has mental freedom to reflect upon the inserted topic.

ГОСТИ НАШИ ДОРОГИЕ, МЫСЛИ НАШИ СПАСЕННЫЕ; ПОЙТЕ МНЕ, ВОСПОЙТЕ, УТЕШЬТЕ МЕНЯ, – УТЕШАЙТЕ, АЗ БО ^С ВАС ПРИУТЕШАЛ; ЧЕЛОВЕКА НА СЕРДЦЕ НЕ ВЗЫДУ, РАЗУМОМ ВАС НЕ ОБ'ЕМЛЮ. ГОСПОДИ ТЫ НАШ, ГОСПОДИН ВЕЛИКИЙ, ТВОЙ ДАР ПЕРЕД НАМИ. ЧЕМ НАМ ТВОЙ ДАР ОТДАРИТЬ? СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ. СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ СОЛНЦЕ И МЕСЯЦ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ. СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ ЛУНЫ И ЗВЕЗДЫ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ. СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ СКОТ И СВЕРЕЙ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ. СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ ХЕЛБЫ И СОЛИ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ. СОТВОРИЛ ГОСПОДЬ РЕКИ И РЫБЫ НАС РАДИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ, НАШЕГО РАДИ СПАСЕНИЯ.

Our guests so dear, our thoughts [of] salvation; sing to me, sing over,
comfort me - comfort, as I have comforted you; in man's heart I am not
found, in your reason I do not abide. You our Lord, great Lord, your
gift is before us. How may we return your gift? But you, my manservants,
womenservants, can you stand together, [can you] keep God's commandment?
The Lord created heaven and earth for we people, for our salvation.
The Lord created sun and moon for we people, for our salvation.
The Lord created full moon and stars for we people, for our salvation.

1. Your benevolent thoughts have saving grace in them, Popoff.
2. the Lord; Popoff.
3. Popoff omits the negative.
4. can you serve continually, Popoff.
5. Popoff inserts 'eventual' at this point throughout.

The Lord created tame beasts and wild for we people, for our salvation.

6

The Lord created bread and salt for we people, for our salvation.

The Lord created streams and fish for we people, for our salvation.

6. In Popoff's text, this clause is moved to the end of the psalm. This may be because Popoff or his informant wish to assert the primacy of bread and salt, the fundamental foods; but note also that Bonch-Bruevich' informant, of course, may have recited an erroneous version since corrected.

Psalm 219.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. REcorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963. Published in 1968 U.S.C.C. collection.

Popoff notes: "Edifying psalm, sung on various occasions." Bonch-Bruevich notes: "The psalm is also recorded by Tregubov in the Caucasus. It is sung after the banquet, given at the home of the dead after the burial procession has returned from the cemetery." Presumably the psalm is suited, in its specific divine promise of restitution of the imprisoned or exiled devout, to the case of the dead, and is applicable broadly as well. The 1968 version is translated here.

ПОМОЛИТЕСЯ КО МНЕ, Я ПОСЛУШАЮ ВАС, ВЗЬМИТЕ МЕНЯ И ОБРЯЩЕТЕ МЕНЯ.
КОГДА ВЗЬМИТЕ МЕНЯ И ОБРЯЩЕТЕ МЕНЯ ВСЕМ СЕРДЦЕМ ВАШИМ, ТОГДА Я
ЯВЯЮСЬ К ВАМ; ВОЗВРАЩУ УЗНИКОВ ВАШИХ, СОБЕРУ ВАС СО ВСЕХ СТРАН,
ОТО ВСЕГО ГРАДА, ЗА МЕНЯ ИЗГНАННЫХ. ЧАДА МОИ, СЯЕ РЕКУ ВАМ, ЗАПОВЕДИ
СВОИ ДАЮ ВАМ, ОПРАВДАНИЕ СВОЕ ЯВЯЮ ВАМ. АЩЕ КТО СЛОВО МОЕ СОБЛЮДЕТ,
ТОТ ВО ВЕК ЖИВ БУДЕТ.

1

Pray to me, I will hear you; ask of Me and turn to me. When you ask
of Me and turn to Me with all your heart, then I will show Myself to
you; I will bring back your [people who are] prisoners, I will gather
you from all lands, out of all towns, [who were] for My sake banished.
My children, this I say to you, I give you My commandments, I will
show you My justification. Who thus fulfills my word, the same will
live for ever.

2

-
1. seek, Popoff.
 2. or, acquittal.

Psalm 226.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Kylemore, Sask., June 1964.

Popoff notes: "A psalm that appears to be one of those that was taken out of the writings in the Bible. Much of it appears in Isaiah XLV, 11-18. It is not often recited, but older people have a love for its very olden time melody and have preserved it to our time." Bonch-Bruevich notes that it is also published in Novitski in his Doukhobors, their History and Faith, (Kiev 1882 ed.), and cites from Novitski: "This psalm was sung (obscure word) at the time of the Doukhobors' prayerful attendance at the home of the Holy Emperor Alexander I in the year 1818." The language of the text is archaic and some of the syntax appears corrupt.

СИЦЕ ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ СВЯТЫИ БОГ ИЗРАИЛЕВ. СОЗДАЛ ЕГО СОТВОРИЛ ЕГО;
ВО ГРЯДУЩИХ ОПРОСИТЕ МЕНЯ О СЫНЕХ МОИХ, О ДЦЕРЯХ. ОТ ДЕЛ РУК МОИХ ЗАП-
-ОВЕДАЛ: АЗ СОТВОРИЛ СЕМЮ, ЧЕЛОВЕКА НА НЕЙ; АЗ УТВЕРДИЛ РУКОЙ СВОЕЙ
НЕБО; АЗ ВСЕМ ЗВЕЗДАМ СЛОВОВЕДАЛ АЗ ВОЗДВИЗОША ЦАРЯ С ПРАВДОЮ ВСЕ ПУТИ
ЕГО ПРАВЕДНЫЕ, ВСЕ СОЗИЖДЕТ ГРАД МОЙ; ОТ ПЛЕНЕНИЯ ЛЮДЕЙ МОИХ ВОЗ-
-ВРАТИТЕ НЕ СО МЗДОЮ, А НЕ С ИЗДАРАМИ. РЕЧЕТ ГОСПОДЬ САБАОФ, ТАКОЖДЕ
ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ: УТРУДИСЬ ЕГИПЕТ ВКУПЕ; ИХНИМ ОБЩЕСТВОМ, В МАЕТНОСТИ,
МУЖА ВЫСОКА. ПРИДУТ ТЕБЕ И ПОКЛОНЯТСЯ ТЕБЕ, ЯКО В ТЕБЕ ЕСТЬ БОГ; НЕ
ЯКК БОГ, НЕВИДИМЫЙ БОГ, ТЫ ИЗРАИЛЯ СПАС; ПОСТЫДЯТСЯ И ПОСРАМЛЯТСЯ ВСЕ
ВЕРУЮЩИЕ ЕГО ДАЖЕ ДО ВЕКА. ТАКОЖДЕ ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ СВЯТЫЙ, БОГ
ИЗРАИЛЕВ.

Thus says the Lord, the holy God of the Israelites. I made, I created;¹

In the future will you question me about my sons, about my daughters?³

I commanded regarding the work of my hand; I made the earth, [and] man
[that] is in it; I set out the heavens with my own hand; I ordered all
the stars; I raise up the king with truth, all his paths are just;
he will build all my city; he will bring back my people [that were]

taken captive without ransom and without a bribe.³ Thus says the Lord

1. them, adds Popoff.

2. Popoff reads 'for the future', and places with previous clause.

3. Probably the sentence was associated, by the petitioning Doukhobors in 1818, with Alexander I's previous amnesty to all claiming Doukhobor faith, and his gift to them of the Milky Waters land.

4

Sabaoth, thus speaks the Lord: the workers of Egypt together;[they will offer] bows in company with the rebellious, the tall men. They will come to you and bow themselves down to you, for God is with you; for there is no God [but] the unseen God, You are the salvation of Israel; you will be ashamed and disgraced[,enemies of Israel]. Make yourselves good-as-new, islands of Israel; they will not be ashamed, nor will they be disgraced, all the faithful [ones], even for ever. Thus says the holy Lord, the God of the Israelites.

4. of Hosts (Hebrew).

5. sons, Popoff. Also a Hebrew idiom for borderlands or districts.

Psalm 241.

Translated by D.S.C. committee, and published in Doukhobors, their Faith, 1961. Recorded by Tregubov in the Caucasus, and also published by Chertkov in the Word of Freedom, Purleigh, Essex, 1899.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "The psalm was written down by Tregubov...at the time of his visit to the Doukhobor exiles in the Caucasian aulie (village)....Compare this psalm with the fourth prayer of John Chrysostom, 'Lord, do not deny me', in Prayers (St. Petersburg 1890). It seems to me that the text of the Doukhobor psalm [is] very close to the text of the 'prayer of John Chrysostom.'...At our disposal is held a friend's record of this psalm belonging to A.A. Sats." The psalm is a plea for forgiveness and strength against weakness and sins, as confessed.

ГОСПОДИ, НЕ ЛИШИ МЕНЯ НЕБЕСНЫХ ТВОИХ БЛАГ. ГОСПОДИ, ИЗБАВЬ МЕНЯ ОТ ВЕЧНЫХ МУК. ГОСПОДИ, УМОМ ИЛИ ПОМУШЛЕНИЕМ, СЛОВОМ ИЛИ ДЕЛОМ СОГРЕШИЛ, ПРОСТИ МЕНЯ. ГОСПОДИ, ИЗБАВЬ МЕНЯ ОТ ВСЯКОГО НЕВЕДЕНИЯ И ЗАБЕВЬЯ В МАЛОДУШЕСТВЕ, ОКАМЕНЕНИИ, НЕЧИВСТВИИ. ГОСПОДИ, ИЗБАВЬ МЕНЯ ОТ ВСЯКОГО ИСКУШЕНИЯ. ГОСПОДИ, ПРОСВЕТИ МОЕ СЕРДЦЕ И ЕЖЕ ПОМРАЧИЛО ЛИКАВОЕ ПОХОТЕНЬЕ. ГОСПОДИ, АЗ ЯКО ЧЕЛОВЕК СОГРЕШИЛ. ТЫ ЖЕ, ЯКО БОГ, ЩЕДР И ПОМИЛУЙ МЕНЯ, ВИДЕХ НЕМОЩИ О ДУШИ МОЕЙ. ГОСПОДИ, ПОШЛИ БЛАГОДАТЬ ТВОЮ В ПОМОЩЬ МОЮ И ПРОСЛАВЛЮ ИМЯ СВЯТОЕ ТВОЕ. ГОСПОДИ ИИСУСЕ ХРИСТЕ! ЗАПИШИ МЕНЯ, РАБА ТВОЕГО, В КНИГУ ЖИВОТНУЮ И ДАРУЙ МНЕ КОНЕЦ БЛАГИХ. ГОСПОДИ БОЖЕ МОЙ, ЕЩЕ НИЧТО ЖЕ БЛАГО СОТВОРИХ ПРЕД ТОБОЮ. ПОШЛИ ПО БЛАГОДАТИ ТВОЕЙ, ПОЛОЖУ В НАЧАЛЕ БЛАГОЕ. ГОСПОДИ! С НЕБЕСИ И С ЗЕМЛИ ПОМЯНИ МЕНЯ, ГРЕШНОГО РАБА СВОЕГО, СТУДНОГО, НЕЧИСТОГО В ЦАРСТВИИ ТВОЕМ. АМИНЬ. ГОСПОДИ! ВО ПОДАРОК ПРОСТИ МЕНЯ. ГОСПОДИ! НЕ ОСТАВЬ МЕНЯ. ГОСПОДИ! НЕ ВВОДИ МЕНЯ В НАПАСТЬ. ГОСПОДИ! ДАЙ МНЕ МЫСЛИ БЛАГИЕ, СЛЕЗЫ, ПАМЯТЬ СМЕРТНУЮ ВЕ ОМЛЕНИЕ. ГОСПОДИ, ДАЙ МНЕ ПОМЫСЛИТЬ ВЕ ИСПОВЕДАНИЕ ГРЕХОВ МОИХ. ГОСПОДИ, ДАЙ МНЕ ТЕРПЕНИЕ, ВЕЛИКОДУШНУЮ КРОТОСТЬ. ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕЛИ ВО МНЕ-КОРЕНЬ БЛАГИХ И СТРАХ ТВОИХ ВО СЕРДЦЕ МОЕМ. ГОСПОДИ! СПОДОБИ МЕНЯ ЛЮБИТЬ ТЕБЯ СВЕЙ ДУШОЙ МОЕЙ. ПОМУШЛЕНИЕМ, ТВОРИТЬ ВО ВСЕМ ВОЛЮ ТВОЮ ВО МНЕ, ГРЕШНОМ. ГОСПОДИ! ПОКРОЙ МЕНЯ ОТ ЧЕЛОВЕКА, НЕКОТОРЫЙ БЕСОВЫЙ СТРАСТЕЙ, ОТ ВСЯКОЙ ИНОЙ НЕПОДОБНОЙ ВЕЩИ, ЯКО ТЫ ВСЕ ЖЕ ТВОРИШИ, ЯКО ТЫ ИЗВОЛИШИ, ЯКО БЛАГОСЛОВЕН ЕСИ ВО ВЕКИ ВЕКОВ. АМИНЬ.

Lord, do not deny me your heavenly blessing. Lord, save me from eternal torment. Lord, if by reasoning or thinking, by word or deed I have sinned, forgive me. Lord, save me from whatsoever ignorance and unawareness [is] in faintheartedness, lifelessness, unfeeling. Lord, save me from whatsoever temptations [there are]. Lord, enlighten my heart that

is darkened by evil lusts. Lord, inasmuch as [I am] a man, I have sinned. But You, inasmuch as [You are] God generously forgive me, seeing the infirmity of my spirit. Lord, help me with your blessing
¹ to my aid, and I will glorify your holy name. Lord Jesus Christ!

² Write me, your servant, down in the living book and give me a good end.

³ Lord my God, still [I have] done nothing good before you. Give help through Your blessing, I will start with a good beginning. Fix in my

⁴ heart the dew of Your blessing. Amen. Lord! In [my] repentance, forgive me. Lord! Do not abandon me. Lord! Do not lead me into disaster.

⁵ Lord! Give me good thoughts, tears; to remember mortality in ().

Lord! Give me urges towards confession of my sins. Lord, give me

⁶ temperance, chastity, obedience. Lord, give me endurance, great-spirited
⁷ humility. Lord, fix in my roots goodness, and your fear in my heart.

Lord! Make me worthy to love you with all my spirit [and] thoughts, to do in everything Your will for me, a sinner. Lord! Defend me from men, from my devilish passions, from other unworthy things, for You create all,
⁸ for You do what is pleasing, for You are blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

1. Sats' version reads, "by your blessing, in my aid."

2. Motif of the heavenly record of the redeemed (Apocalypse XX, 12-15).

3. lit., have created.

4. This sentence does not appear in Sats' version.

5. obscure word; sentence omitted by translators.

6. lit., measure.

7. tolerance, translators.

8. idiomatic verb.

Psalm 242.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff and Eli Popoff. No. data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock from child, Brilliant, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "An educational child's psalm, also recited sometimes by adults; not sung." A devotional psalm. The reference 'to know all...' should probably be applied to the clauses that directly follow it: this knowledge is the spiritual, divine understanding discussed in the catechetical psalms, the ability to share the mind of God.

УТИШИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ТИШЕ ВОДЫ; УНИЖИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, НИЖЕ ТРАВЫ; УКРЕПИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, КРЕПЧЕ МАКНЯ САМОЪВЕТНОГО. ТЫ ЖЕ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ПРОРОДИЛ И ТЫ ЖЕ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ПОРАЗИЛ, ВО МНЕ ПЛАМА УТИШИЛ. ДАЙ ЖЕ МНЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕ ПРО ВСЕ ЗНАТИ И ВСЕ РАЗУМЕТУ, ТВОЮ ВОЛЮ ТВОРИТИ СО СВЯТЫМИ БО СВОИМИ ВО ВЕК ПРЕБЫТИ.

Calm me, Lord, quieter than the waters;

Humble me, Lord, lower than the grass;

Strengthen me, Lord, stronger than a precious stone.

It is you, Lord, who gave me birth,

And you, Lord, who struck me;¹

You quenched the flame within me.²

Make me able, Lord,

To know all, to understand all about everything;

To perform Your will, and to live with the righteous [people]³ forever.

-
1. Overwhelmed me with greatness, Popoff. But the sense seems to refer to some trial or suffering.
 2. of passion, adds Popoff.
 3. or, saints.

Psalm 243.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The psalm is in three parts. It opens with a plea, for either shelter or understanding; it goes on to rejoice in divine promises to the faithful; and it concludes with an account of persecutions closed by a plain affirmation. Present suffering and doubt are negated by the anticipation of coming salvations. The psalm is millenarian insofar as it represents an element of Doukhobor faith that is frequently applied to historical and contemporary suffering. Note rhythmic structure.

ДРУЗЬЯ НАШИ, БРАТЯ ВЕЛИКИЕ, НАДЕЖНЫЕ ТОВАРИЩИ, НЕ ПОКИНЬТЕ НАС ВЪ,
ПО ИМЕНИ УБОГИХ ЛЮДЕЙ. ПРИМИТЕ НАС ДРУГ ЗА ДРУГА, БРАТ ЗА БРАТА.
ХОТЯ СКОРЕИ И БОЛЕЗНИ И МУКИ ТЯЖКИ, --УГОТОВАН НАМ, У ГОСПОДА БОГА
НАШЕГО, ХЛЕБ, БЕЛЕЕ СНЕГА. УГОТОВАНО ВАМ, У ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО,
ПОЙЛО, СЛАЖЕ МЕДА СТАВЛЕННОГО; ОГОТОВЛЕНО И ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО РИЗЫ
НЕТЛЕННЫЕ, НЕОЦЕНЕННЫЕ, ВО ВЕК НЕИЗНОСИМЫЕ; УГОТОВЛЕНО У ГОСПОДА
БОГА НАШЕГО ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ, ЗА НАШЕ ЗА ВЕЛИКОЕ ПРОТЕРПЕНИЕ, НА
ЗЕМЛЕ МЫЧЕНИЕ. НАС ПОБИЛИ И ПОМУЧИЛИ ЗА СЛОВО БОЖИЕ, ЗА ИМЯ ГОСП-
-ОДНЕЕ, ЗА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА. А МЫ РАДУЕМСЯ И ВЕСЕЛИМСЯ.

Our friends, great brothers, trustworthy companions, do not abandon us,
in the name of people in need. Accept us as one friend [accepts] another,
as brother [accepts] brother. Though suffering and sickness are torment
are [very] grievous - our Lord God has readied for us bread, whiter than
snow. Our Lord God has readied for us a drink, sweeter than melted honey;
our Lord God has readied for us imperishable robes, priceless, lasting for
ever; our Lord God has readied for us the kingdom of heaven, on account of
our great suffering, [our] torment on earth. They beat us and they tor-
-tured us on account of the word of God, on account of the name of the
Lord, on account of our witnessing for Jesus Christ. But we are glad and
we rejoice.

1. lit., There is made ready for us, by our Lord God,... and so throughout.

Psalm 244.

Translation by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Compare with psalm 183. A penitential psalm, but more concerned with salvation than with self-judgement and recrimination.

ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ТВОРЕЦ МОЙ, НОНЕ ПРИХОДИТ КОНЕЦ МОЙ. НЕ ПОГУБИ МЕНЯ,
ГОСПОДИ, С ЛЮДЬМИ БЕЗЗАКОННЫМИ. СО СБРАННЫМИ СО СВОИМИ ПРИМИ МЕНЯ,
ОТЧЕ, К СЕБЕ ВО ГРЯДУЩИХ, ВЕЧНО БУДУ СЛАВИТЬ ИМЯ ТВОЕ СВЯТОЕ.

1

Lord, Lord, my Creator, now comes my end. Do not destroy me, Lord,
with the lawless people. With the gathered [people], with your own,

2

accept me, Father, to yourself in the time to come, I shall forever
glorify Your holy name.

1. Floating line.

2. or, the future.

Psalm 245.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The syntax of this psalm is not at all clear; it appears, near the middle, to borrow from the style and sense of some of the charm-psalms. In content, it is an admission of frailty and a prayer for support. The typical speaker may be faithful, yet aware of his own weakness.

НЕБЕСНЫЙ ОТЧЕ, ТЫ ВСЕ СИЛЬНО МОЖЕШЬ, ВСЕ НАМ БЛАГОЕ ПОДАТЬ ХОЧЕШЬ,
ТОКМО ПРОШЕДШИЕ ГРЕХИ НАМ ПРОСТИ, ОТ ПРЕДЫДУЩЕГО ПАДЕНИЯ СОХРАНИ;
ТЫ УБО ЗНАЕШЬ ВСЮ СКЛОННОСТЬ НАШИХ КО ГРЕХУ К ВЕЛИКОМУ; МОРЕМ МИРОМ
ЗАВОЛНУЕМСЯ; БЕДАМИ, НАПАСТЯМИ; ПЛОТЬ УДОВЛЯЕТСЯ СТРАСТЬМИ, МИР -
-ПРЕЛЕСТЬЮ, ДЬЯВОЛОВОЙ ХИТРОСТЬЮ, ЯКО НЕ ПОБЕДИШЬ НАС УПАСТЬ В
ПРОПАСТЬ ОТЧАЯНИЯ НАШЕГО. ЕЖЕЛИ ТЫ ПОПУСТИШЬ, НЕБЕСНЫЙ ОТЧЕ, К
ИСПРАВЛЕНИЮ НАШЕМУ, - БУДЕТ ВОЛЯ ТВОЯ. ТОКМО МАЛОДУШЕСТВО НАШЕ
ВСЕМОГУЩЕЙ РУКОЙ ТВОЕЙ ПОДКРЕПИ; ВСЕМ БЛАЖЕННЫМ ПОДВИГОМ ВО НЕМО-
-ЩАХ НАШИХ, ОСЛАБЛЯЕТ ДЕЙСТВИЕ. СИЛА ТВОЯ БУДЕТ У НАС.

Heavenly Father, you are all-powerful, you want to give us everything
good: save us from our plain past sins, from future downfalls; You
also know all our leaning¹ to sin, to great [sin]; by sea, by land²
they are stirred up(?); misfortunes, disasters; the flesh is content
with goods, the world - with charms, devil's cunning, yet you do not
prompt us to fall into the abyss of our despair. If You allow, heavenly
Father, for our amendment - Your will be [done]. Also, our faintheart-
-edness, strengthen [that] by Your almighty hand; by all silly onsets
in our weakness, [our] deeds are weakened. Your strength be with us.

1. or, inclination.

2. unclear; omitted by translator.

Psalm 247.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The psalmist complains to the Lord, who replies that there is a powerful party on his side. The psalm is typical in its two-part structure: a question to the Lord and an answer from Him, the answer usually shifting the implied crisis from the present to the future, when all will be set right.

ВЛАДЫКО МОЖ СВЕТА ГОСПОДИ, ПОВЕДАЙ БОГ ПЕЧАЛЬ МОЮ, ПЕЧАЛЬ МОЮ ВЕЛИКУЮ.
ПЕЧАЛЮЩЬ Я ТЕБЕ, ГОСПОДИ, КОГО СОШЛЕШЬ В ПОМОЩНИКИ: АНГЕЛА ИЛИ АРХАНГЕЛА?
АЛИ САМ ГОСПОДИ С НЕБЕС СОИДЕШЬ К НАМ? РЕЧЕТ ГОСПОДЬ И ГЛАГОЛЕТ: НЕ
УНЫВАЙ, ДУША МОЯ, УПОВАЙ НА ГОСПОДА, НА ЦАРЯ НЕБЕСНОГО, НА МАТЦ БОЖЬЮ,
ПРЕСВЯТУЮ БОГОРОДИЦУ, НА ВСЕХ СВЯТЫХ ЕГО.

1

Sovereign of my life, Lord, hear, God, my sorrow, my great sorrow. I
complain to you, Lord, whom do you send in aid: angels or archangels?

2

Or, Lord, yourself, do you come down from heaven to us? The Lord speaks
up and says: do not lose heart, my soul, trust in the Lord, in the
heavenly king, in the mother of God, the Most Holy Bearer-of-God, in
all his saints.

1. lit., tell.

2. whom do you send...to us: omitted by translator.

3. remainder omitted by translator.

4. Idiom; ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА is a standard phrase to be encountered often.

5. or, holy ones.

Psalm 251.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is recited by Doukhobors before going to bed." It is typical of a number of short prayers and charm-prayers, used perhaps exclusively as private devotions.

УСЛЫШЬ, ГОСПОДИ, МОЛИТВУ МОЮ, СОЗДАЙ ГОСПОДИ, МИЛОСТЬ СВОЮ. МОЛИТВА
С ПОСТОМ, БОГ С ПОМОЩЬЮ; АНГЕЛ НА ОТВЕРЖЕНИЕ, РАБУ БОЖЬЕМУ НА СПАСЕНИЕ.

Hear, Lord, my prayers, create, Lord, your mercy. Prayers with fasting,
God with help; an angel for [this] outcast, for God's servant in salvation.

1. confirmation, Cheveldayoff. but, "in this exile"???

Psalm 252.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from A.A. Sats. Recorded by Peacock in Saskatoon, Sask., July 1964. Recorded at Grand Forks, 23/5/71, by editor.

Compare with Psalm LIV, O.T., from which this psalm is slightly adapted. Popoff notes: "A psalm that Doukhobors both sing and recite at regular prayer meetings. This psalm is also sung by the Molokans, and probably originated with them." The final comment may derive either from the Molokans' scriptural fundamentalism, or from the style of the psalm itself.

БОЖЕ, ВО ИМЯ ТВОЕ, СПАСИ МЕНЯ. БОЖЕ, УСЛЫШЬ МОЛИТВУ МОЮ. ВНУШИ ГЛАГОЛЫ
УСТ МОИХ, ЯКО ЧУЖДАЛ ЗЕМЛЯ ВОЗСТАША НА МЕНЯ. КРЕПКО ВЗЫСКАША ДУШУ МОЮ.
НЕ ПРЕДЛОЖИ ЛИ БОГА ПРЕД СОБОЮ, СЕЙ БО БОГ НАШ ПОМОГАЕТ И ДАРУЕТ.
ГОСПОДЬ ЗАСТУПНИК ДУШИ МОЕЙ ОТВОРОТИ ВСЕХ ЗЛЫХ ВРАГОВ МОИХ, ВСЕХ
СТУЖАЮЩИХ О ДУШЕ МОЕЙ. ВОЛЕЙ ПОЙДУ К ТЕБЕ, ГОСПОДИ; ИСПОВЕДУЕМСЯ МЫ
ИМЕНЕМ ТВОИМ, ГОСПОДИ, ЯКО БЛАГ, ЯКО ОТО ВСЯКОЙ ПЕЧАЛИ ИЗБАВИЛ МЕНЯ
ЕСИ ГОСПОДИ.

God, in Your name, save me. God, hear my prayer. You fill my mouth
1
with words, for a strange people have risen up against me. [They are]
attacking my soul strongly. They do not put God before themselves,
[yet] that God always aids us, and gives us grace. Lord, guardian of my
soul, turn away all my wicked enemies, all that hunt after my soul. I
2
wish to come along to you, Lord; we confess Your name, Lord, as blessed,
3
for from every sorrow, Lord, have you freed me.

-
1. Take heed of what pours forth from my lips, Popoff.
 2. In Thy name I have my communion, Popoff.
 3. or, 'so'.

Psalm 254.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Brilliant, July 1963.

Popoff notes: " Sung and recited at funerals and prayer meetings." Cf. Psalm CXLII, O.T., from which this psalm is derived. The text is difficult; presumably the dialect is corrupt.

ГЛАСОМ МОИМ КО ГОСПОДУ ВОЗЗВАХ, ГЛАСОМ МОИМ КО ГОСПОДУ ПОМОЛЮСЯ.
ПРОЛЮЮ ПРЕД НИМ МОЛЕНИЕ МОЕ, ПЕЧАЛЬ МОЮ ПРЕД НИМ ВОЗВЕШУ, НЕГДА
ИСЧЕЗАЕТ ОТ ДУХА МОЕГО. ТЫ ЕСИ ПОЗНАЛ СТЕЗИ МОИ НА ПУТИ СЕМ, ПО
НЕМУ ХОДЯША, С КРЫШИ СЕЙТНЕЕ? СМОТРАХ ОДЕСНУЮ. ВОЗГЛЯДА НЕ БЕЗ
ЗНАМЕНАЯ, ПОГИБНУТ ОТ МЕНЯ ВСЕ БЕДСТВИЯ; НЕ ВЗЫСКАЙ ДУШУ МОЮ, ВОЗЗ-
-ВАХ ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ, РЕК; ТЫ ЕСИ УПОВАНИЕ МОЕ, ЧАСТЬ МОЯ ЕСИ НА ЗЕМЛИ
ЖИВЫХ, ВОМНИ МОЛЕНИЕ МОЕ, ЯКО СМЕРИХСЯ ЗЕЛО; ИЗБАВЬ МЯ ОТ ГОНЯЩИХ,
ЯКО УКРЕПИША ПАЧЕ МЯ; ИЗВЕДИ ИЗ ТЕМНИЦЫ ДУШИ МОЮ, ИСПОВЕДУЮСЯ КО
ИМЕНИ ТВОЕМУ. МЕНЯ ЖДУТ ПРАВЕДНИЦЫ, ДОНДЕЖЕ ВОЗДАСТ МЯ.

I raise my voice to the Lord, with my voice I pray to the Lord. I
pour out before him my prayer, I proclaim my sorrow before him, my
spirit disappears into nothing. You know my path to be on your own
way, I walked in it, with a cover () watchers (). I
look out with no sign [of help], they all perish away from me in dis-
-tress, do not punish my soul, I pray to you, Lord, again(?): You are
my hope, my share [that] is in the land of the living, hear my prayer,
for I am (); -save me from [those that] hunt after [me, for they
are] more strong than I; bring my soul out from the dungeon, I will
profess Your name. Righteousness waits for me, [goodness] is shown to me.

-
1. that is, the Lord's way??
 2. obscure words.
 3. obscure.

Psalm 256.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch Bruevich.

A collection of general petitions,

УСЛЫШЬ, ГОСПОДИ, МОЛИТВУ РАБОВ СВОИХ; ВОЗЬМИ, ГОСПОДИ, РАБОВ ОТ ВРАГОВ
ИХ ОСКОРБЛЯЮЩИХ; ПОСТАВЬ, ГОСПОДИ, РАБОВ СВОИХ ПРЕД ЛИЦОМ ТВОИМ. НЕ
ОТВРАТИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОТ РАБОВ ТВОИХ ПРЕЧИСТОГО ЛИЦА СВОЕГО. НЫНЧЕ
ПРИЗРИ, ГОСПОДИ, С НЕБЕСИ РАБОВ СВОИХ: УПОВАЕМ МЫ НА ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ,
И ПРОЛИВАЕМ СЛЕЗЫ НАД ТОБОЮ. ЯВИ НАМ, ГОСПОДИ, МИЛОСТЬ СВОЮ С ПРЕ-
СВЯТЫМИ СВОИМИ АНГЕЛАМИ: СЕДИНИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ВО СВЯТОЙ ТВОЕЙ
ЦЕРКВИ; УПОКОЙ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, СО СВЯТЫМИ СВОИМИ. ИЗБАВИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ,
ОТ МУКИ ВЕЧНОЙ, ПОДАИ НАМ, ГОСПОДИ, ВЕЧНОГО ЖИВОТА СВОЕГО.

Hear, Lord, the prayers of your servants; save, Lord, [your] servants
from the enemies outraging them: raise up, Lord, your servants in
their[enemies'] faces. Lord, do not turn Your face away from your
servants. Today, Lord, look down (?) from heaven upon your servants;
we trust in You, Lord, and we shed tears before you. Show us, Lord,
your mercy with your holy angels; reunite us, Lord, in Your holy
church: [give]¹ rest to us, Lord, with your saints. Deliver us, Lord,
from torment eternal, give us, Lord, your eternal life.

1. or, holy ones.

Psalm 257.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Psalms of this type may be used privately, in occasional devotions, during field work, or other occupation. (Field notes, 3/7/71).

ПРОШУ Я У БАТЮШКА ЦАРЯ НЕБЕСНОГО ПРОЩЕНИЯ, ДУШИ НА СПАСЕНИЕ, НАУЧИ
МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, РАЗУМЕТЬ ДЕЛА БОГА НАШЕГО.

1

I ask, Father, heavenly king, for your forgiveness, for the soul's
salvation, teach me, Lord, to understand the works of our God.

1. Affectionate form.

Psalm 258.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

A prayer apparently suited for use when bad news is expected.

КОРМИЛЕЦ ТЫ НАШ, ГОСПОДИ, СОШЛИ НАМ ОТВЕТ ДОБРЫЙ, ПО СТРАШНОЙ СУДЬБЕ,
ПО ХРИСТОВОЙ ЛЮБВИ. АЗ ЕСМ КОРЕНЬ, РОД ДАВИДОВ, ЗВЕЗДА УТРЕННЯЯ,
СЕННИЦА ЕГО.

1
You our bread-winner, Lord, send us a good answer, on the dreadful
2 3 4
[Day of] judgement, through christly love. For you are the root,
the kin of David, the star of the morning, its daybreak.

1. or, foster-father; idiom.
2. 'Dies Irae'; ecclesiastical term.
3. ? Christ's love, Cheveldayoff.
4. Cf. Isaiah LIII,3.

Psalm 260.

Translated by Eli Popoff, who also supplied current text. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Grand Forks, July 1963.

Compare with Psalm LXIV, O.T., from which this psalm is derived. Popoff notes: "Recited and sung at prayer meetings." The present text is revised from the archaic form in Bonch-Bruevich.

ЫСЛЫШЬ, БОЖЕ, ГЛАС НАШ, КОГДА МОЛИМСЯ МЫ К ТЕБЕ ОТ СТРАХА ВРАЖЬЕГО. ПРИМИ ДУШУ МОЮ И ЗАЩИТИ ЕЕ ОТ СОНМИИ ЛУКАВЫХ, ОТ МНОГО ДЕЛАЮЩИХ НЕПРАВДУ, КОТОРЫЕ ИЗОСТРИЛИ ЯЗЫК СВОЙ КАК МЕЧ, НАПРЯГЛИ ЛУК СВОЙ - ЯЗВИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО, ЧТОБЫ ВТАЙНЕ СТРЕЛЯТЬ НЕПОРОЧНОГО. ВНЕЗАПНО СТРЕЛИЮТ И СОВЕЩАЮТСЯ СКРЫТЬ ЦЕТЬ СВОЮ. ОНИ ГОВОРЯТ: КТО НАС УЗРИТ? ДЕЛАЮТ РАССЛЕДОВАНИЕ, А В РАССЛЕДОВАНИЯХ ДОХОДЯТ ДО ГЛУБИНЫ СЕРДЦА, ДА НЕ ДОПУСТИТ ИХ БОГ ДО ПОХИЩЕНИЯ НЕВИННОГО, ОНИ УМЕР-ШВЛЕННЫ БУДУТ ЯЗЫКОМ СВОИМ. ВСЕ ВИДЯЩИЕ ПРАВЕДНИКА УРАЗУМЕЮТ, ЧТО ЭТО ДЕЛО БОЖЕЕ, А ПРАВЕДНИК ВОЗВЕСЕЛИТСЯ И ВОЗРАДУЕТСЯ И БУДЕТ УПОВАТЬ НА НЕГО, И ПОХВАЛЯТСЯ ВСЕ ПРАВЫЕ СЕРДЦЕМ.

Hear, O God, our voice, when we pray to you, from fear of the enemy [keep us]. Care for my soul and defend it from the crowd of [those that] lie, from the many workers of falsehood, who sharpen their tongues like a sword, and bend their bows - biting words - so that they may secretly shoot at the pure. Suddenly they shoot, and hold¹ counsel with a hidden snare. They say: Who sees us? They make a² search, and in [their] search they reach the depths of the heart.³ But God does not allow them to steal the innocent, they will be destroyed by their own tongues. All shall look at the righteous and shall see, that this is the work of God, but the righteous will be merry and rejoice, and will set their hopes on Him, and all the upright in heart will boast [of Him].

1. lit., made counsel with a hidden net.

2. They search out iniquities, Popoff.

3. ravish, Popoff.

Psalm 262.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that this psalm is commonly sung on the festival of the Annunciation. Cf. Psalm CXIX, O.T., sections he, lamed, and koph.

БЛАГОВЕСТВУЙ, ЗЕМЛЯ, РАДОСТЬ ВЕНИЮ; ХВАЛИТЕ НЕБЕСА БОЖЬЮ СЛАВУ; МЫ, РАБЫ ТВОИ, ВОСПОЕМ ПЕРЕД НИМ. АЗ, Я РАБ ТВОЙ, И ВСЕ СЫНЫ - РАБЫ ТВОИ; ВОЗНЕНАВИДЕЛ ЕСИ ХРАНЯЩИХ СУЕТЫ; О ПУТЕ ТВОЕМ, ГОСПОДИ, СКАЖЕ МНЕ; СВЕТ СТЕЗЬМ - СЛОВО ТВОЕ, ГОСПОДИ: НАУЧИ МЕНЯ НА ИСТИНУ ТВОЮ; НАСТАВЬ И НАУЧИ МЕНЯ, ЯКО ТЫ ЕСИ БОГ НАШ И СПАС НАШ; ПО ТЕБЕ ТЕРПЕЛ ВЕСЬ ДЕНЬ; ПОМЯНУ ЩЕДРОТЫ ТВОИ; МИЛОСТЬ ТВОЯ ОТ ВЕКА СУТЬ СВЕИЛЬНИК НОГАМ МОИМ; САКОН ТВОЙ - СВЕТ СТЕЗЬМ МОИМ, СЛОВО ТВОЕ, ГОСПОДИ; КОГДА ВНИДЕТ ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ ВО УСТА МОИ, ТОГДА Я РАЗУМЕЮ ПУТИ ТВОИ, ГОСПОДИ, ОТ ВЕЛИКОГО ГРЕХА ОЧИЩУСЯ, ЧТОБЫ НЕ ОБЛАДАЛ МНОЮ ВСЯКОЕ БЕЗЗАКОНИЕ. ТОГДА И НЕПОРОЧЕН БУДУ; ПРЕБУДУТ С ТОБОЙ, ГОСПОДИ, ВО ВЕК.

1

Shout news, earth, [of] great joy: praise, heavens, God's glory; we, your servants, sing[praise] before him. For, I am your servant, and all the sons - [they too are] Your servants; I hated those who followed vanity; of Your path, Lord, tell me; light for my way - Your word, Lord: bring me up in Your truth: set me [aright] and teach me, for You are our God and our salvation; for You I waited all day; I will remember Your bounty; Your mercy is from the beginning a light for my feet; Your law - the light for my way, Your word, Lord; when wisdom enters my mouth, then I understand Your path, Lord, from great sins I am cleansed, lest lawlessness [might] ever have possessed me. Then I will be pure; I will dwell with You, Lord, for ever.

1. lit., Ring out.

Psalm 264.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

БОГ НАШ, А МЫ ТВОИ. МЫ ПРИЙДЕМ К ТЕБЕ, А ТЫ ПОМИЛУЙ НАС.

Our God - O, we are Yours. We come to You, O have mercy on us.

Psalm 266.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruевич notes that the psalm was sung on the festival of Michael the Archangel. The psalm has two parts: the first a petition for the deliverance of a single speaker, the second, praise after the deliverance of a group.

ГОСПОДИ БОЖЕ МОЙ, СПАСЕНИЕ МОЕ, СПАСИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, СПАСЕНИЕМ СВОИМ ВЕЧНЫМ. ГОСПОДИ ЗАТВОРИ ОТ МЕНЯ ВРАТА НЕПРИЯЗНЕННЫЯ. ГДЕ БО ЕСТЬ ЗЕМЛЯ ТЕМНАЯ И МРАЧНАЯ, НА НЕЙ НЕТЫ СВЕТЫ, НИЖЕ ЖИЗНИ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ. ГОСПОДИ, ОТВОРИ МНЕ ВРАТА ВЕЧНЫЯ, ВОСТОЧНЫЯ. АЗ Я ВНИДУ В НИХ СО ОТРОКАМИ ТВОИМИ. ВОСХВАЛЮ ИМЯ ТВОЕ, ГОСПОДА, БОГА СВОЕГО В ПЕСНЯХ. ГОСПОДИ БОГ ЖИВ МОЙ, ВСЕДЕРЖИТЕЛЬ, ИЗВЕЛ ЕСИ НАС ОТ ТЕМНИЦЫ ВЕЧНЫЯ. ПОСАДИЛ ЕСИ НАС В ОДЕСНУЮ ПРЕСТОЛА СЛАВЫ СВОЕГО. ИСЦЕЛИЛ ЕСИ НАС С ЛИЦОМ СВОИМ ВО ВЕК ВЕКУ.

Lord my God, my salvation, save me, Lord, with your eternal salvation.

Lord, close off from me the gates of hatred. There the land is dark and indistinct, on it no light shines, nor [is there] any life for man [there]. Lord, open for me the eternal gates, in the East. For I will come in through them with Your children. I will praise Your name, Lord, in hymns about God himself. My living Lord God, Almighty, you delivered us from eternal dungeons. You seated us on the right [-hand side] of your throne of glory. You healed us with your presence for ever and ever.

1. lit., between.

2. lit., boys, lads.

3. lit., face. This sentence omitted by translator.

Psalm 267.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from A.A. Sats.

Compare the opening with that of psalm 161, which describes a pre-sect-arian world replaced by the accomplishments, sufferings and promises, of religious experience. This psalm specifically summarizes eschatology that replaces ignorance. The living book motif also may be noted.

САМИ МЫ НЕ ЗНАЕМ, ЛЮДИ НАМ НЕ СКАЗУТ КАК НАМ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ЖИТЬ-ПРОЖИТЬ.
СКАЗАЛИ НАМ; УМРИТЕ, ВО ГРОБЕ ЛЕЖИТЕ, ТРУБНОГО ГЛАСА ЖДИТЕ. КОГДА
ТРУБЫ ВОСТРУБЯТ, ВСЕ МЕРТВЫЕ ВОЗСТАНУТ, НА СУДЕ БУДУТ СТОЯТЬ, ОТВЕТ
БОЖИЙ ДЕРЖАТЬ, НЕ ПРЕДАЙ НАС, ГОСПОДИ В ЮДЕИСКІЯ РУКИ, САПИШИ НАС,
ГОСПОДИ, В ЖИВОТНУЮ КНИГУ, ИЗБЕРИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ИЗБРАННЫМИ СВОИМИ.

We ourselves did not know, people do not tell us, how we should spend
our life [here] on earth. We have [now] been told: die, lie in coffins,
wait for the call of the trumpet. When the trumpet sounds, all the dead
will rise up, they will stand on trial, to make an answer to God; do not
give us, Lord, into the hands of Judas, write us down, Lord, in the
living book, deliver us, Lord, with your chosen.

1. ?; the betrayer, Cheveldayoff.

2. or, elect.

Psalm 268.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Another two-part petition, the first part seeking deliverance and the conclusion giving thanks for its accomplishment.

ОЖИВИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ПРАВДОЮ СВОЕЮ, ИЗВДИ ДУДУ МОЮ ОТ ПЕЧАЛИ; ПОТРЕБИ
ВСЕХ ВРАГОВ МОИХ, ВСЕХ СТУЖАЮЩИХ О ДУШЕ МОЕЙ; Я ИДУ К ТЕБЕ ГОСПОДИ
ВОЛЕЮ, ИМЕНЕМ ТВОИМ, ИСПОВЕДУЮСЬ, ЯКО БЛАГ, ЯКО ОТО ВСЯКОЙ ПЕЧАЛИ
ИЗТАВИЛ МЕНЯ ЕСИ.

Revive me, Lord, with your truth, deliver my soul from sorrow;
swallow up all my enemies, all bitter frosts ¹ (?) of my soul; I
come to you, Lord, willingly, Your name do I confess, for [you are]
² good, for from all sorrows have you delivered me.

1. obscure; omitted by translator.

2. omitted by translator.

Psalm 271.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

A devotion characterizing a spiritual life as a response to Christ's will, and asking for greater understanding and for purity.

БУДЦ ЖЕ ОБРАЗ С ВЕРНЫМ СЛОВОМ, ЖИТИЕ ЛЮБОВНОЕ. ВЕРУЙ ДУХОМ И ДУХОВНОЙ
ЧИСТОТОЮ, БЫСТЦ ИИСУСОВА МОЛИТВА; ИДУ Я ЗА ХРИСТОМ, ЗА ЖИВОТОРЯЩИМ
ХРИСТОМ. ПРОШУ Я У БАТЮШКИ, У ЦАРЯ НЕБЕСНОГО МИЛОСТИ, ПРОЩЕНИЯ,
ГРЕХАМ СВОИМ ОСТАНОВЛЕНИЯ; НАУЧИ МЕНЯ ГОСПОДИ ДЕЛА ТВОИ СНАТИ, ДЕЛА
БОГА НАШОГО, СВЕТА ГОСПОДНЯГО, ДЫХАНИЯ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКОГО.

Be an example with a faithful word, a loving life. Believe with
[your] spirit and in spiritual honesty, [this] is Jesus' prayer.

I follow Christ, the life-giving Christ. I ask, Father, Heavenly
king, [for] your pity, pardon, forgiveness for my own sins; help me,

Lord, to know Your works, the works of our God, the light of the

2

Lord, the life of mankind.

1. or, deeds.

2. or, breath.

Psalm 276.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

The opening sentences of the psalm are unclear, yet appear to frame a prophetic address. The central reference to pearls and pigs is conflated from the Gospel of Matthew, VII, 6. The final sentence, too, may derive from Exodus XXXV, 4-29, in which the Israelites bring gifts for the adornment of the Tabernacle; this has since been applied as a homily on both dedication to the Lord and support of church institutions.

НАВИДНЫЙ ЧЕЛОВЕК В НЫНИИ. ЗАПОЕТ ЧЕЛОВЕК К БОГУ. ПРОЛЬЕТ ЧЕЛОВЕК СЛЕЗЫ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ПРОСВЕТИ МОИ ОЧИ, УШИ, СЕРДЦЕ; ДАЙ ЖЕ МНЕ ГОСПОДИ ВСЕ ЗНАТЬ И РАЗУМЕТЬ, МАЛОЕ И ВЕЛИКОЕ, ПО ТВОЕЙ ВЕЛИКОЙ ВЕРЕ. КАК В ЧЕЛОВЕКЕ ЦВЕТЫ ЦВЕТУТ, ТАК РАЗЦВЕТАЮТ ДРУЗЬЯ МОИ, СЕСТРЫ, БРАТЬЯ. НЕ СЫПЬТЕ БИСЕР ПЕРЕД СВИНЬЯМИ, ОНИ ЕГО НЕ ПОДБЕРУТ, ЛИШЬ ТРОНУТ. ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЧТО ЕСТЬ БИСЕР? НЕ ТОТ ТОЛИ БИСЕР, ЧТО СЛОВО БОЖЬЕ? ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЧТО ЕСТЬ СВИНЬИ? НЕ ТОТ ТОЛИ СВИНЬИ, ЧТО НЕРАЗУМНЫЕ ЛЮДИ, КОТОРЫЕ ДЕНЬ И НОЧЬ СПЯТ, ОНИ БОГУ НЕ СПОКАЮТСЯ, НА ИСТИННЫЙ ПУТЬ НЕ ВОЗВРАЩАЮТСЯ. САМИ В ПУТЬ-РАЙ НЕ ИДУТ, ХОТЯЩИМ ПУТЬ ЗАГРАЖДАЮТ. ВСТАНЬТЕ БЫ СПЯЩИЕ, ПРОБУДИТЕСЬ ОТО СНА БЕЗЗАКОННОГО, ПРИНЕСИТЕ К БОГУ ТАЛАНТ С ДОРОГИМ СО ВЫКУПОМ.

1

A man will appear in despair. A man will begin to sing to God. A man will shed tears: Lord, Lord, enlighten my eyes, ears, and heart; grant now to me, Lord, to know and to understand everything, small and great,

2

according to your great faith. As among the people flowers bloom, so my friendship opens forth, sisters, brothers. Do not put pearls before swine, they will not pick them up, they will only touch[them]. Lord, Lord, what are the pearls? Are not they those pearls, which are the words of God? Lord, Lord, what are the swine? Are not they those swine, that are the senseless people, who sleep day and night, they have no concern for God, they do not return to the true path. They them-

1. Omitted by translator.

2. motif of spiritual wisdom.

-selves do not walk on the paradise-path, [but] they block it for
[those who] yearn for [it]. Arise, you that sleep, awaken from your
lawlessness, bring to God [your] gift with costly [things], with a
ransom.

3. or, feign sleep.

4. or, a talent.

Psalm 277.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

A detailed petition for divine aid, nurture, and inspiration. The psalm does not follow a logical development, but is formed by accreting a series of petitions and adorations about the central theme of God's will.

ВОЗЗРИ ЦАРЬ ВЕЧНОЙ СЛАВЫ, СЕИ ЩЕДРЫЙ СПАСИТЕЛЬ НАШ, И СЖАЛСЯ НАД
 НЕСЧАСТНЫМИ ДУШАМИ НАШИМИ, ИБО МЫ ЗАБОТАМИ ВСЕГО СВЕТА ОСЛЕПЛЕНЫ;
 НЕ ЧУВСТВУЕМ ЧЕГО ЗАСЛУЖИВАЕМ: БЕЗКОНЕЧНОГО, НАШЕГО ЖИТИЯ. ОВЫ
 СОЛНЦЕ - СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТЬ ПРОСВЕТИ НАШ РАЗУМ, СПУСТИ СЕРДЦА НАШИ, ЛУЧ
 ТВОЕГО СИЯНИЯ, КОТОРЫЙ ДА РАЗГОНИТ ТЕМНОТЫ ДУШ НАШИХ. ВОЗДВИГНИ
 СЕРДЦА НАШИ, ЧТОБУ НЕПРЕСТАННО СЛУЖИЛИ ТЕБЕ, ОТКРОЙ ГЛАЗА НАШИ,
 ЧТОБЫ ОНИ СТРЕМИЛИСЯ К ТВОЕМУ СИЯТЕЛЬНОМУ ПРЕСТОЛУ; ОТЫМИ МЫСЛИ
 НЕПОЛЕЗНЫЯ КУШАМ НАШИМ; КАК ПТИЦ, ЗАБЫВШИЯ СЛОВО БОЖЬЕ, ОТГНИ ИХ
 ОТ НАС СИЛОЮ ТВОЕЮ. БЛАГИЕ ЧУВСТВА ДУШАМ НАШИМ РАЗМЫШЛЯТЬ О ТВОЕЙ
 СВЯТОЙ ВОЛЕ. НАУЧИ ЯЗЫК НАШ, ЧТОБЫ ВОЗВЕЛИЧИТЬ ТВОЮ СИЛУ; ПРЕВРАТИ
 ВСЕ ЖЕЛАНИЯ НАШИ ВО ТВОЮ СВЯТУЮ ВОЛЮ, ЧТОБЫ МЫ ТЕБЯ НЕ ПРОСИЛИ О ТОМ,
 ЧТО НЕПОЛЕЗНО ДУЕАМ НАШИМ. ГОСПОДИ, БОЖЕ МОЙ, МЫ ТЕПЕРЬ ПО СВОЕЙ
 СЛАБОСТИ И НЕМОЩИ НЕ МОЖЕМ ЗНАТЬ ТОГО, ЧТО НАМ НУЖНО ДЛЯ ВЕЧНОГО
 НАШЕГО СЧАСТЬЯ. СОЗДАТЕЛЬ ТЫ НАШ, ДЕЙСТВУЙ НАМИ, ВСЕМИ НАШИМИ ДВИ-
 -ЖЕНИЯМИ, А ЕЖЕЛИ ТЫ СИЛОЙ СВОЕЮ НЕ БУДЕШЬ НАМ ПОМОГАТЬ, ТО МЫ НЕ
 ИЗБЕГНЕМ ВЕЧНОЙ МУКИ. ГОСПОДИ БОЖЕ НАШ, МЫ ВСЕ МИРНО ЖЕЛАЕМ ДОСТИ-
 ГНУТЬ ТОГО, ЧТОБЫ ТЫ ВНУТРЕННО БЕСЕДОВАЛ С НАМИ, НО НЕ ИМЕЕМ СЕБЕ
 ТАКИХ СИЛ, БЕЗ ТВОЕГО НАСТАВНИКА, ДУХА ТВОЕГО СВЯТОГО. СПАСИТЕЛЬ
 НАШ ДЛЯ ПОМОЩИ СПАСЕНИЯ НАШЕГО, ПРОЛИЛ СВОЮ ДРАГОЦЕННУЮ КРОВЬ, ЧТОБЫ
 ДАТЬ СИЛЫ ДУШАМ НАШИМ. ТЫ САМ ПРЕЧИСТЫМИ УСТАМИ ИЗРЕК, ЧТО ИЗ НАС
 КАЖДЫЙ, ДЕЛАЮЩИЙ ГРЕХ, ЕСТЬ РАБ ГРЕХА. АЩЕ СЫНА ОСВОБДЯТ, ВОИСТИННУ
 СВОБОДНЫ БУДУТ. ТАКО И МЫ К ТЕБЕ ГОСПОДИ ПРИБЕГАЕМ: НЕОТРИНИ НАС ОТ
 ЛИЦА СВОЕГО, СОТВОРИ НАС, ОБИТЕЛЯМИ ТВОИМИ, ОТЦУ И СЫНУ И СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ.

1

Behold, king of eternal glory, this wonderful Saviour of ours, and have
 mercy upon our unfortunate souls, for we are blinded by all [this]

2

world's worries; we do not realize what we have coming: our lives are
 without end. O you Sun - righteousness, enlighten our understanding,
 let down into our hearts beams of Your light, that scatter the darkness
 of our souls; raise higher our hearts, that they [may] unceasingly serve

1. omitted by translator.

2. or, deserve.

You, open our eyes, that they [may] look to Your shining throne; take away thoughts useless to our souls; like birds, forgetful of the word³ of God, drive them away from us by Your power. [It is] a good feeling for our souls to ponder over Your holy will. Teach our tongues, that they [may] glorify Your power; change all our desires into Your holy will, so that we do not ask You for that which is useless for our souls. Lord, my God, we by our weakness and infirmity cannot now know that, which we need for our eternal happiness. You our Creator, work upon us, [upon] all our movements; yet if You will not help us by Your power, then we will not escape eternal torment. Lord, our God, we wholeheartedly want⁴ to attain this, that you would speak with us inwardly, but we ourselves do⁵ not have such power, without Your guide, Your holy spirit. Our Saviour, for our help [and] salvation, spilt His precious blood, that he [might] give strength to our souls. You yourself said solemnly with [your] most⁶ pure mouth, that every one of us, [that] does sin, is the servant of sin,⁷ if then the Son makes [us] free, [we] shall be free indeed. So we come to You, Lord: do not turn us away from your face, make us Your citizens, -⁸
-to Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. or, intent.

4. motif of divine inspiration as personal direction, defining an experience highly valued by Doukhobors, and repeatedly cited by many.

5. or, teacher.

6. may refer either to the words of Christ, or to Christ as God's means of expression.

7. Cf. John VIII, 34, 36.

8. Ecclesiastical formula. May the psalm have been derived from some sermon?

Psalm 281.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "A psalm of prayer, sung on various occasions." The psalm is derived from Psalm XXVII, O.T.. Significant elements include petition for deliverance from oppressors, parental guidance in youth, the Lord's path and law (or word), and praise after deliverance. All these elements appear in psalms of Doukhobor origin; there is little in Doukhobor psalms that is heterodox.

ГОСПОДЬ СПАСИТЕЛЬ, МОЙ СВЕТ, КОГО Я УБОЮСЯ? ГОСПОДЬ САМ ЖИЗНЬ МОЮ СОБЛЮДЕТ. КОГО Я УСТРАШУСЯ? ХОТЯ ВО ЗЛОБЕ ПЛОТЬ МОЮ ПОЖРУТ, - ПРО-ТИВНИКИ ПОСТРАМЯТСЯ. ПУЩАЙ ВРАГИ ВОЗДВИГНУТ БРАНЬ НА МЕНЯ, А Я НЕ УЖАСАЮСЯ. ХОТЬ И ПОЛК ПРОТИВ МЕНЯ ВОЗСТАНЕТ - Я НА БОГА СПОЛОЖУСЯ. ОСТАВИЛ МЕНЯ ОТЕЦ И МАТЬ ЕЩЕ В МОЛОДЕНЧЕСТВЕ, ВОСПРИНЯЛ МЕНЯ ТВОРЕЦ, ДАЛ МНЕ ЖИЗНЬ, ИШЕЛ В БЛАГОДЕНСТВИИ. НАСТАВЬ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, НА ПУТЬ СВОЙ СВЯТЫМ СВОИМ ЗАКОНОМ, ЧТАБЫ НЕ МОГ МЕНЯ ВРАГ ПОКОЛЕБАТЬ. УКРЕП-ЛЮСЬ Я НА ОНУЮ БИЗНЬ; В ЦЕЙ ЖИЗНИ НЕ ПРЕДАЙ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ЛЮДЯМ БЕЗБОЖНЫМ, ПОКРЫ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, ДЕНИЦЕЮ СВОЕЮ ОТ КЛЕВЕТНИКОВ ЛОЖНЫХ. СΙΑ НЫНЕ ВОЗНЕСАЮ, ЗОВУ ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ, В ПСАЛМАХ ТВОИХ СОГЛАСНЫХ. ДУХОМ, СЕРДЦЕМ УКРЕПЛЮСЬ, ДЕЙСТВИЯ НЕ КОЛЕБЛЮСЬ, Я НА БОГА СПОЛОЖУСЯ:

Lord, [you are] my Saviour, my light, whom shall I fear? The Lord
¹
 himself keeps my life - of whom shall I be frightened? Though[my]
 enemies in [their] malice eat up my flesh - they will cover themselves
 with shame; let [my] enemies raise war against me - I will not be in
 awe. Though a regiment rise in arms against me - I trust in God. My
 father and mother taught me in youth, my Creator accepted me and gave
²
 me a life of prosperity. Set me, Lord, on your path by your holy law,
³
 that my enemies may not shake me. I am strengthened in the future life,

1. in awe, Popoff.

2. or, equally, Teach me, Lord, your way....

3. unsettle, Popoff.

but do not deliver me in this life, Lord, to the godless crowd, keep
me, Lord, by your right hand, from the falsity of slanderers; I now⁴
lift up my head in the mercy of the Lord, I offer a sacrifice to God
and call to You, Lord, in my harmonious psalms. In spirit and in
heart I am strengthened, in deeds I do not waver, I trust in God.

4. clause omitted by translator.

Psalm 286.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Compare Psalm XIII, O.T., from which this psalm is derived.

ДОКОЛЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ЗОБУДЕШЬ МЕНЯ ДО КОНЦА? ДОКОЛЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ОТВРАЩАЕШЬ
ЛИЦО СВОЕ ОТ МЕНЯ? ДОКОЛЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ПОЛОЖИЛ СОВЕТ В ДУМЕ МОЕЙ?
БОЛИТ СЕРДЦЕ МОЕ ДЕНЬ И НОУЬ. ДОКОЛЕ ВОЗНЕСЕТСЯ ВРАГ МОЙ НА МЕНЯ?
ПРИЗРИ И УСЛЫШИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, БОЖЕ МОЙ. ПРОСВЯТИ ОЧИ МОИ, ДА
НИКОГДА НЕ УСНИ ВО СМЕРТЬ. КОГДА РЕЧЕТ ВРАГ МОИ НА МЕНЯ - УКРЕПЛЮСЬ
НА НЕГО. СТУДЖАЮЩИЙ МЕНЯ ВОЗРАДУЕТСЯ, АЩЕ ПОДВИЖУСЬ; Я ЖЕ НА
МИЛОСТЬ ТВОЮ, ГОСПОДИ, УПОВАЮ; ВООЗРАДУЕТСЯ СЕРДЦЕ МОЕ О СПАГЕНИИ
ТВОЕМ И ВОСПОЮ ГОСПОДУ, БЛАГОДЕЯВШЕМУ МНЕ И ПОЮ ИМЕНИ ГОСПОДУ БОГУ
ВЫШНЕМУ.

How long, Lord, will you forget me at the end? How long, Lord, will
you turn your face away from me? How long, Lord, [since] you gave
counsel to my soul? My heart aches day and night. How long will my
enemy rise up against me? [Take] care and hear me, Lord, my God,
lighten my eyes, and I will never fall asleep in death. When my
enemy speaks against me - I will be strong against him. Those hunting
me [down] are pleased, if I [should] stir; yet I will trust in your
mercy, Lord; my heart rejoices in Your salvation and I will praise the
Lord, [who is] the giver-of-all-good-things to me and I will praise
the name of the Lord God all-highest.

1. move, Cheveldayoff.

2. idiomatic word.

Psalm 294.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich suggests comparison of this text with a prayer, "The eyes of all are one you, Lord...." published privately in 1890. He notes that "this prayer is said by Doukhobors before eating." The line "you give us food in good time" matches the request, in the Lord's Prayer, for daily bread, and also appears in the prayer Father of All. The blessing of bread and salt would - since these are fundamental foods - include anything else present to be eaten.

ГОСПОДИ, БЛАГОСЛОВИ, НА ТЕБЯ, ОТЧЕ, УПОВАЕМ; ТЫ ДАЕШЬ НАМ ПИЩУ ВО
БЛАГО И ВРЕМЯ, ОТВЕРЗАЕШЕ ЩЕДРОЮ РУКОЙ СВОЕЙ, НАПОЛНЯЕШЬ ВСЕ
ДУШЕВНОЕ БЛАГОВОЛЕНИЕ. БЛАГОСЛОВИ, ГОСПОДИ, ХЛЕБ - СОЛЬ КУШАТЬ.

Lord, blessed [One], in You, Father, we trust; You give us food in
good time, you open your hand bountifully, you fill all our spirits
with good-will. Bless, Lord, the bread - salt for eating.

-
1. ...fill all our spiritual needs to satisfaction, Cheveldayoff.
 2. omitted by translator.
 3. lit., to eat.

Psalm 299.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is read by Doukhobors in the morning." The speaker gives thanks for care through the night and for the morning in the first part of the psalm, concluding with a petition for help and direction through the day.

ГОСПОДИ, БЛАГОДАРИЮ ТЕБЯ ОТ ВСЕГО СЕРДЦА МОЕГО, ЧТО ТЫ МЕНЯ ЗДРАВОО И НЕВРЕДИМО ВОЗДВИГ ОТ СНА МОЕГО; РАЗОГНАЛ ТЕМНОТУ НОЧНУЮ; ОСИЯЛ МЕНЯ РАДОСТНЫМ СВЕТОМ ДНЯ СЕГО; МОЛЮ ТЕБЯ УСЕРДНО МОЕЙ ВЕРОЙ, ПРОШУ ТЕБЯ, РАЗГОНИ ТЕМНОТУ НЕВЕДЕНИЯ МОЕГО. ОТ СТРАСТЕЙ МОИХ ПРОСВЕТИ МОЙ УМ И ВОЛЮ СВЕТОМ ТВОИМ, СВЯТОЙ ТВОЕЙ БЛАГОДАТЮ. ОДАРИ МЕНЯ; ГОСПОДИ, РАБА ТВОЕГО, ЧТОБЫ Я НА ДЕЛО, ОТ ТЕБЯ НАЗНАЧЕННОЕ МНЕ, ПОСПЕШИЛ БЫ Я С ПОЛНОЙ ОХОТОЙ МОЕЙ, ВЗЫСКИВАЛ БЫ ЯВ ТАЙНОМ СВЯТОМ ЗАКОНЕ ТВОЕМ; ВСЕГДА ПРИЗЫВАЛ БЫ Я ТАЙНОЕ СВЯТОЕ ИМЯ ТВОЕ И ЗАКОН ТВОЙ; СПОДОБИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, НА ЦЕЙ ДЕНЬ БЕЗ ГРЕХА.

Lord, I thank You with all my heart, that You have brought me forth
¹
 healthy and unharmed from my sleep; you undid the darkness of the
 night; You shone about me the cheery light of the day; I pray to You
 in my zealous faith, I beseech you, undo the darkness of my ignorance.
 From my passions enlighten my thoughts and will by Your light, Your
 holy blessing. Grant to me, Lord, Your servant, that I will hasten
 about the task, set by You for me, that I [do so] with my entire will,
²
 [and that I] will demand the holy secrets of Your law; this day I will
 call upon the holy secret of Your name and Your law; favour me, Lord,
 in this day [to be] without sin.

1. lit., unbent.

2. clause omitted by translators.

Psalm 300.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock July 1963, Grand Forks, during presentation of the play Vassili Bokov and the Icons. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Popoff notes: "This psalm is usually sung at the close of evening meetings." Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is said by Doukhobors before going to sleep. The tri-partite cross formula is common in folk prayer, and recurs in North America in such diverse places as the Folk-Medical chapbooks Pow-wows or Long Lost Friend (Hohmann, n.d., reprint of ed. of 1820) and the Albertus Magnus (n.d.), whose roots extend back beyond the Middle Ages; and in the Anglican hymnal, in the form of the ancient Celtic text known as St. Patrick's Breastplate (Hymn Book, Toronto 1971, # 68).

АНГЕЛ МОЙ ХРАНИТЕЛЬ, ХРАНИ МОЮ ДУШУ, КРЕПИ МОЕ СЕРДЦЕ, ВСЕПОМЫШЛЕНИЕ;
ДАЙ ЖЕ МНЕ БЛАДЫКО, НА СОН ГРЯДУЩИЙ, ТЕЛО НА УПОКОЙ, ДУШУ НА СПАСЕНИЕ,
УСТА НА МОЛЕНИЕ ЕЖЕ ПЕТЬ ТВОЮ ПРЕСВЯТУЮ БОГОРОДИЦУ. СВЯТ ГОСПОДИ
ПОМИЛУЙ НАС; ВРАГ САНА ОТКАЧНИСЯ ОТ МЕНЯ, НЕТ ТЕБЕ ДЕЛА ДО МЕНЯ, НА
МНЕ СПАСА РУКА, БОГОРОДИЦКИЙ ЗАМОК; КРЕСТ НА МНЕ, КРЕСТ ВО МНЕ, КРЕСТ
ПЕРЕДО МНОЙ, - ГОСПОДЬ БОГ СО МНОЙ.

My angel, guardian, keep my soul, strengthen my heart and all [my]
1 2
thoughts; give to me, Sovereign, in [my] coming sleep, a body in peace,
3
a soul in salvation, a mouth in prayer always to sing to Your Most-
4
-holy Bearer-of-God. Holy Lord, forgive us; the enemy Satan springs
5
upon me, but your work is before me, [your] hand [is] Salvation for
me, a fortress for God's servant; the cross on me, the cross about me,
the cross before me - the Lord God with me.

-
1. power of will, Popoff.
 2. Almighty, Popoff.
 3. lips ever ready for prayer, Popoff. The version in current use ends at this point.
 4. that is, the Holy Virgin.
 5. lit., swings aside against us.

Psalm 301.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bunch-Bruevich notes: "This Doukhorbor psalm is said on going to bed." It is possibly also used at the outset of journeys; certainly similar prayers may so be used (Field notes, 6/5/71). Going to bed and setting out on a journey are both transitional states or events, such as may have a doubtful outcome: one may not awaken, or may awaken to a changed world; one may not arrive. Such circumstances are suitable for apotropaic prayer: the threat is here opposed by the propitious Baptism of Christ, itself also a transitional event.

ИДУ Я, РАБА БОЖЬЯ, ПО ПУТЬ ГОСПОДНЕМУ, ВО ИМЯ ХРИСТОВО, А ТЫ ВРАГ-САТАНА, ОТКАЖИСЯ ОТ МЕНЯ, У МЕНЯ ЕСТЬ ОБОРОНА ОТ ТЕБЯ. САМ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ НАРОДИЛСЯ, ВО ИОРДАНЕ КРЕСТИЛСЯ. КРЕСТ НЕ МНЕ И КРЕСТ ВО МНЕ, КРЕСТ ПЕРЕДО МНЕ, САМ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ СО МНОЙ.

I, a servant of God, am walking on the Lord's path, in the name of
Christ, if you, enemy-Satan, spring out against me, for me there is
a defense against you. The Lord God himself was born, in Jordan he
was baptized. The cross on me and the cross about me, the cross be-
fore me, the Lord God himself with me.

1. enemy, Cheveldayoff.
2. lit., swerve aside.
3. The Lord, Cheveldayoff.

Psalm 303.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that this psalm also is said before sleep. Compare with the almost identical prayer among the Healing Psalms, To Bring Sleep - II. The term СЧАСТЬЕ almost means 'good luck':

СПОКОЙНОЙ НОЧИ, ПРЕКРАСНЫХ МЫСЛИ, РАДОСТНЫХ ВЕСТИ. ДАЙ БОГ СНУ,
СЧАСТЬЯ, ТАЛАНУЯ ИСПУЩУ СВОЙ ДУХ ВО СВЯТЫЯ РУКИ.

1

Peaceful night, beautiful thoughts, joyful news. Give, God, sleep,

2

good fortune, ability; I give my spirit into your holy hands.

1. or, excellent.

2. (?) talent, gift? happiness, Cheveldayoff.

Psalm 304.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that this also is a prayer before sleep. Popoff notes: "This is one of the first psalms that is taught a Doukhobor child. It is often learned by a child when only 2 or 3 years old.

This psalm is a classic example of how Doukhobor psalms have been, from time to time, updated. Up to our time this psalm was read as: 'You are my God, and I am Your slave,' etc.. In the 1950's, when considerable work was being done in preparation of Sunday School material, John J. Verigin suggested that 'slave' be altered to 'faithful believer'. The Sunday School Committee accepted this recommendation and henceforth it was printed and taught in this manner." The authority for this change is clearly supplied by Psalm 6, Variant, clause (20). The current text is followed here.

ТЫ БОГ МОЙ, А Я ВЕРУЮЩИЙ ТВОЙ. ТЫ МЕНЯ НЕ ПОКИНЕШЬ И Я ТЕБЯ НЕ
ЗАБУДУ. ВО ВЕК С ТОБОЙ ЖИТЬ БУДУ.

1

You are my God, and I [am] your faithful believer. You will never
forsake me, and I will never forget you. For ever shall I live with
2
You.

-
1. lit., not; but verb forms are perfective, suggesting a state already certain, not conditional.
 2. This phrase does not appear in Bonch-Bruevich' text.

Psalm 305.

Translated by editor. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that this is a prayer before sleep.

ЛОЖИТЕСЬ СПАТЬ ОТ ДУХА С^ВЯТОГО, ПЕЧАЛЬ Г^ОСПОДНЯ, РУКА ОТ
КРЕПКОГО ЗАМКА.

Lying down to sleep [away] from the Holy Spirit, [is] a sorrow to the
Lord, [to be away] from [his] hand, the strong fortress.

Psalm 306.

Translated by Editor. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is always used for morning prayer." It provides an important median text between psalm 300 and the Healing Psalm Prayer to the Lord, When a Person Lies Down to Sleep. Possibly the more material themes of this psalm reflect the more material concerns of the day; just as by night, in sleep, one's consciousness is in a different world, so psalm 300 concerns itself with more clearly spiritual matters.

АНГЕЛ МОЙ ХРАНИТЕЛЬ СОХРАНИ И ПОМИЛУЙ ВО ВСЯКИЙ ВЕНЬ, ВО ВСЯКИЙ ЧАС
ОТ НАГЛОСТИ, СКОРОПОСТИЖНОЙ СМЕРТИ, ОТ СКОРБИ, БОЛЕЗНИ, ОТ БЕДЫ, ОТ
НАПАСТИ, ОТ ПАРАСЛИНЫ, ОТ ВОЛЬНОЙ ПОЖОГЕ, ОТ ВОДЯНОГО ПОТОПА, ОТ
БЫЙНОГО ВЕТРА, ОТ ЗВЕРЯ ЛЮТОГО, ОТ ХУДОГО РАЗУМА, ОТ ХУДОГО ПОМЫШЛЕНИЯ
ГОСПОДИ СОХРАНИ МЕНЯ И ПОМИЛУЙ.

Angel my guardian, keep watch over [me] and pity [me] in all the day,
in all the night, against the insolent, [against] swift-striking death,
against sorrow, illness, against misfortune, against disaster, against
foolish tales, ¹ against familiar (²), against water in floods,
against uproarious winds, against beasts' ferocity, against ill reason-
³ -ing, against ill-thinking, Lord watch over me and pity [me].

1. lit., a lot of nonsense: idiomatic word.

2. obscure word. ??free-running fire?

3. or, ill-dreaming.

Psalm 307.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes that this too is a prayer before sleep. Compare also with the preceding psalms 300 and 306, and notes.

АНГЕЛ БОЖИЙ, СТОРОЖ ДОБРЫЙ, СТЕРЕГИ МЕНЯ ДО ПОЛНОЧИ, А ПРЕЧИСТАЯ МАТЬ
ДО СВЕТА, А ХРИСТОС НЕБЕСНЫЙ ДО ВЕКА.

1

Angel of God, good guardian, watch over me till midnight, and most

2

pure mother till dawn, and heavenly Christ for ever.

1. omitted by translator.

2. that is, the B.V.M.

Psalm 311.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich, with Cheveldayoff, notes that the psalm is used as a grace before eating. Bonch-Bruevich further suggests comparison with a prayer, "We bless you, Christ our God," published anonymously in 1890. He also notes that "the phrase 'the Makers of Mercy' was inserted into their prayers by Doukhobors in 1897, by those, who, persecuted and banished to the auls [villages] of the Caucasus, began to receive 'Mercy' - contributions - from the unknown people who sympathized with them." This portion of the grace and the following phrases have since, Cheveldayoff regretfully notes, passed out of current use.

СЛАВА ТЕБЕ, ГОСПОДИ, СЛАВА ЦАРЮ НЕБЕСНОМУ. БЛАГОДАРУ ТЕБЯ ГОСПОДИ
ХРИСТЕ БОЖЕ НАШ, ЯКО ТЫ, ГОСПОДИ, НАСЫТИЛ НАС СЕМЬМИ СВОИМИ БЛАГАМИ;
НЕ ЛИШИ МЕНЯ, ГОСПОДИ, НЕБЕСНОГО СВОЕГО ЦАРСТВИЯ. СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ ЗА
ХЛЕБ, ЗА СОЛЬ, ЗА МИЛОСТЬ БОЖЬЮ ТРУЖДАЮЩИХ, ПИТАЮЩИХ, МИЛОСТЬ
ТВОРЯЮЩИХ, СТРАЖДУЩИХ ЗА ИМЯ ГОСПОДНЕ, ЗА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА,
ЗА СЛОВО БОЖИЕ. СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ.

1

Glory to You, Lord, glory to the heavenly King. I thank You, Lord

2

Christ our God, for You, Lord, satisfied us by Your earthly blessings;

do not leave me, Lord, [out] of your heavenly kingdom. Thank the

Lord, because of bread, because of salt, because of God's worker of

3

mercy, for nourishment, for the makers of mercy, for [those] suffering

for the name of the Lord, for witnesses of Jesus Christ, [and] because

4

of the word of the Lord. Thank the Lord.

1. Omitted by translator.

2. filled, Cheveldayoff; but the sense is not the same.

3. or, creators.

4. This formula is customarily used by Doukhobors in the sense: Thank you [in the name of the Lord]; also sometimes as: Excuse me.

Psalm 313.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock from the recitation of children, Grand Forks, July 1963. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Popoff notes: "A basic children's psalm - Our Haven of Refuge is also recited by elders almost on all occasions of any undertaking. It does have a melody and is sung by young and old alike." Compare with the charm For a Safe Journey in the section of Healing Psalms. Cheveldayoff notes that the 'blessed home' cited is the human body itself; cf. I Corinthians VI, 19-20. Here it is seen as a common abode for both the soul of the believer, and the spirit of Christ.

ДОМ НАШ БЛАГОДАТНЫЙ, УПОБАНЬЕ БОЖЬЕ, ПРИБЕЖИЩЕ ХРИСТОВО, ПОКРОВИТЕЛЯ
СВЯТОГО ПРИ ПУТИ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ.

Our blessed home,¹[is] trust in God, Christ's refuge, a holy protector
along the way, for with us [is] God.

1. Holy Spirit, translators.

Psalm 316.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961.

This psalm again demonstrates a two-part structure, the first part listing divine qualities in a series of exuberant affirmations, the latter part apprehending a deepening mystical approach to God.

КАК НЕ ИМАЮТ ТЕБЯ ЛЮБИТЬ, ГОСПОДА БОГА МОЕГО? ТЫ БО ЕСИ ЖИВОТ МОЯ
 ТЫ БО ЕСИ СПАСЕНИЕ МОЕ ВЕЧНОЕ СОКРОВИЩЕ; ТЫ БО ЕСИ БОГАТСТВО МОЕ,
 СЛАВА И ПОХВАЛА; ТЫ БО ЕСИ ПРИБЕЖИЩЕ МОЕ, УПОВАНИЕ МОЕ; ТЫ БО ЕСИ
 МОЕ РАДОВАНИЕ, ВЕЧНЫЙ УПОКОЙ. ЛУЧШЕ ЛИ МНЕ ЛЮБИТЬ ВЕЩЬ СУЕТНУЮ,
 ИЛИ ВЕЩЬ БЕЗВЕСТНУЮ, ПРЕВРАТНУЮ, ИЛИ ВЕЩЬ ПОГИБЕЛЬНУЮ ЛОЖНУЮ, НИ
 ЕЖЕЛИ ТЕБЯ ИСТИННОГО ЖИВОТА МОЕГО? А ТЫ БО ЕСИ ЖИВОТ, ТЫ БО ЕСИ
 СПАСЕНИЕ МОЕ; СЕГО РАДИ ВСЯ НАДЕЖДА МОЯ, ВСЕ УПОВАНИЕ МОЕ, ВСЕ
 ЖЕЛАНИЕ МОЕ, ВСЕ ВОЗДЫХАНИЕ МОЕ. К ТЕБЕ ЕДИНУМУ ПОЛАГАЮ, ГОСПОДУ, -
 - ВСЕМ СЕРДЦЕМ МОИМ, ВСЕЮ ДУШОЮ ВОЕЮ, ВСЕМ ПОМЫШЛЕНИЕМ МОИМ. К
 ТЕБЕ ЕДИНУМУ БОУГЛУБЛЕНИЕ ИМАЮ, ВСЯ ВНУТРЕННЯЯ МОЯ; ЧЛЕНАМИ МНОЗИ
 Я К ТЕБЕ ЕДИНУМУ ВОЗЛЮБЛ. БУДУ Я ВСЕ В ТЕБЕ, А ТЫ ЖЕ ВО МНЕ.
 НЕ ВЕМ, ОПОЗНАЮ ТЕБЯ ВО ИСТИНУ ЕДИНОГО ИСТИННОГО БОГА МОЕГО; ЕГО
 ЖЕ ПОСЛАХ ИИСУСА ХРИСТА ВО СВЕТЕ ТВОЕМ УЗРИМ СВЕТ БЛАГОДАТЮ ТВОЕГО
 ПРЕСВЯТОГО ДУХА.

How may they not love You, Lord my God? For You are my life; You
 are my salvation [and] eternal treasure-house; You are my riches,
 glory, and praise; You are my (¹), my home; You are my gladness,
 [my] eternal rest. It is better for me to love vain things, or
² unhe^zrd-of(?) things, misunderstandings, or perishable things, false-
 -hoods, not more than You my true life? But you are my life, You
 are my salvation; your joy [is] all my hope, all my longing, all my
³ hunger, all my breath-of-life. On You alone I rely, Lord, - [with]
 all my heart, all my spirit, all my thoughts. Into you alone will I

1. obscure word; clause omitted by translators.

2. ? unheralded ?

3. lit., air.

go deeper, [with] all my inward [mind]; (⁴).

I will be wholly in You, and You in me. Shall I not see (?), know
You [to be] in truth my one true God; who sent Jesus Christ; in Your
⁵
light we behold the light of Your blessed most holy Spirit.

4. obscure phrase; sentence omitted by translators.

5. or, life.

Psalm 320.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963, during performance of Vassili Bokov and the Icons.

Popoff notes: "This is an old time psalm, not too clear in its meaning, but is interpreted by most Doukhobors as pointing to the origin of psalm singing itself at John the Apostle's time and from the group around him. It is sung at regular prayer services, has a vibrant melody and is quite extensively preserved among all age groups." Bonch-Bruevich despairs at two points: the syntax appears to break down, or perhaps to be displaced, perhaps by cause of an exuberant influx of feeling in the text. The psalm is held together by two motifs rather than by logic of linear development: about 'thunder' are clustered the Judgement trumpets, the apostle John (son of Zeb-edee and 'son of Thunder'), and the voice of God himself. About 'beauty' stand the church service, worship in heaven, and the salvation and resurrection that give meaning to both. The mediating phrase is at the centre of the psalm: "Our God spoke thunderously... [yet] beautifully."

ТРУБЫ ГРОМНОГЛАСНЫ, ПОЗЛАЩЕНЫ КРАСНО. ОТ ИОАННА БОГОСЛОВА; ОТ ГРОМОВА СЫНА. ЛЕЙСТВЕННИКА, НАПЕРСТНИКА, УЧЕНИКА ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННОГО, АПОСТОЛА БЛАЖЕННОГО, ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ ЕВАНГЕЛЬСКОЕ. ПРИЙДЕМТЕ ВО БЛАГА, САХВЕРНОГО (?) ВОСХВАЛИМ. ПО СРЕДИ ЦЕРКВИ ПОЮЩИХ СТАНЕМ ЦЕРКОВЬ СТУШЕ (?). ПРОСТОТА, КРАСОТА ЦЕРКОВНАЯ; ЦЕЙ БОГ ГРОМНОГЛАСНО ВОЗГРЕМЕЛ ПРЕКРАСНО, ЯКО В НАЧАЛЕ ЕСТЬ БОГ СЛОВО, СПАСТИ ПОД ДОМ ГОТОВО; ЧУДЕН РАДОСТИ ВЕЧНО, ПЕСНЯ ЛАДЬЖНА: СВЯТ, СВЯТ, САМ ОТ НИХ НА НЕБО ВЗЯТ, СО АНГЕЛАМИ СПОРОСЛАВЛЕН. ОТКРЫЛ НАМ ГЛУБИНУ, ВСЕ ТАЙНИКИ ЕДИНО, ПОКАЗАЛ СВЕТ ЦЕЛОМУ МИРУ; ВОЗЖЕГШИ ТЕРПЕНИЕ И БОГ БОГА СЛАВИМ И.

The trumpets speak with thunder, [they are] gold-encased and beautiful. From[the time of] John the speaker-of-God, from [the time of] the Son
1
of Thunder. The active[preacher], the friend [of Christ], well-beloved
2
disciple, blessed apostle, Evangelist of the gospel. We come, [we]

1. Mark III, 7.

2. John XIII, 23; hence the insertion in the previous phrase.

³
 faithful ones, /Sapphire?/ we sing praise. -In the middle of the
 church we stand, singers standing in the church. Simplicity, beauty
⁴
 of the church; Our God spoke thunderously, with the voice of thunder,
 [yet] beautifully, for in the past the word of God was, salvation for
⁵
 the family reading in [their] house; wonderful joy everlasting, sing-
⁶
 -ing of the Sovereign; holy, holy, he went up from them to heaven,
 with the glorious angels. He opened to us the depths, all hidden
 unity, He showed the pure light to the world; he rose by patience(?)
 and [our] God has God's Word with him.

-
3. corrupt: Bonch-Bruevich' reading. ?honey-eater?; omitted by Popoff. (But cf. Matthew III, 5, of John the Baptist: "and his meat was...wild honey.").
 4. Popoff: This then is the beauty, the beauty, the real church beauty.
 5. ? Cf. Exodus XII, 11-13.
 6. Acts I, 9-11.

Psalm 321.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Brilliant, July 1963.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "Compare 'memories of deliverance of the Russian Orthodox Church from the Gallic invasion: God is with us, etc.', published in Prayers (anonymous), 1890." Popoff notes: "This is one of the original olden time psalms with a very olden type melody, still used for prayer worship services. Its intricate melody can hardly be mastered at present so it remains only among the olden age group singers." The psalm is a collection of Old Testament reassurances bound together with the refrain 'for God is with us'; some seem to be patterned on the pious boasts of the earlier Psalms, but the first and last thirds of the psalm are excerpted from the prophecy of Isaiah, VIII, 9-14, and IX, 1, 5-7, as Bonch-Bruevich notes.

С НАМИ БОГ, РАЗУМЕЙТЕ ЯЗЫЦИ И ПОКОРЯЙТЕСЬ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ГЛАСОМ
ВОПИЕМ ЯСНО ГЛАГОЛЮЩИМ СЯЕ ЕДИНОМУ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. МОГУЩИЕ ПОКО-
-РЯЙТЕСЬ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. УСЛЫШИТЕ ПОСЛЕДНЕЕ ОТ ЗЕМЛИ, ЯКО С НАМИ
БОГ. АЩЕ ПАКИ ОНИ ВОЗМОЖУТ, ПАКИ ПОБЕЖДЕНЫ БУДУТ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ.
АЩЕ ОНИ СЛОВО ВОЗЛАГОЛЯТ, ДА НЕ ПРЕДБУДЕТ У НИХ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; АЩЕ
ОНИ СОВЕТ СОВЕЩАЮТ, ДА РАЗОРИТ ИХ ГОСПОДЬ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ, МЫ БО
СТРАХА ИХ НЕ УБОИМСЯ, НИЖЕ СМУТИМСЯ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ГОСПОДЬ НАШ
СПАСЕТ НАС, ДА БУДЕТ НАМ БОЯЗНЬ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. УПОВАЮЩИЕ НА НЕГО,
ТЕ СВЕ СПАСУТСЯ ЕГО РАДИ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. СЯЕ АЗ ДЕТИ МОИ, ТО И
ДАСТ НАМ ГОСПОДЬ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ЛЮДИ, ХОДЯЩИЕ ВО ТЬМЕ, ПО СЕРЕДИ
СЕНЕЙ СМЕРТНЫХ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ВИДЕХОМ, СВЕТ ВОЗСЯЕТ ВЕЛИЕ НА ВЫ,
ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; А ЖИВУЩИЕ В СТОРОНЕ СМЕРТНОЙ - СВЕТ НА НИХ ВОЗСЯЕТ,
ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ОТРОЧЕ ПОДИСЬ НАМ ВСЕМ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ. ЕМУ ЖЕ
НЕСТЬ ПРЕДЕЛА ЕГО, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; ЕГО БО ВЛАСТЬ НА РАБЕХ ЕГО, ЯКО С
НАМИ БОГ. ИМЯ ЕМУ НАРИЬАЕМОЕ АНГЕЛ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; ВЕЛИКИЙ СОВЕТ
АНГЕЛ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; ЧУДНЫЙ СОВЕТНИК, - ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; ОТЕЦ '
БУДУЩЕГО ВЕКА, - ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ; ЛЮДЯМ СВЕТЛЬНИК, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ.

1

God is with us, know [ye, all] peoples and be humbled, for God is with
us. We lift up [our] voices, we shout clearly [that] this is the One-
-and-only, for God is with us. Hear the last [words] on earth, for God
is with us. If again they grow strong, again they will be overcome, for
God is with us. If they speak with [many] words, yet it will not avail

2

them, for God is with us; if they hold [sinister] council, yet the Lord will ruin them, for God is with us. We shall not be destroyed by fear of them, for God is with us. [They that] trust in Him, all that [are His] servants are saved by Him, for God is with us. The people, [who were] walking in darkness, overshadowed by death³, for God is with us. We see, a great light shines upon you, for God is with us. He has no limits for himself⁴, for God is with us. He [is] in authority over all his servants, for God is with us. His name [is] called angel, for God is with us; great angel[of] council, for God is with us; wonderful councillor, -for God is with us; Father for future ages, - for God is with us; a light for the people, for God is with us.

2. so Popoff inserts.

3. lit., under a canopy in the midst of death.

4. His wisdom has no boundaries, Popoff.

Psalm 324.

Translated by Eli Popoff, who also supplied current text. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Brilliant, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "An original Doukhobor psalm sung at regular prayer services and at other time of rejoicing. Still quite extensively sung by old and younger age groups. This hymn is also quite extensively read at prayer meetings." The psalm uses what is mostly apocalyptic imagery, especially from the first few verses of Apocalypse XXI. The number 'seventy-seven' as a motif appears here. The current text offers some dialect adjustments, and is given here.

НЫНЕ ОТКРЫВАЕТСЯ ТАЙНА И НЕБЕСИ, ПРОСЛАВЛЯЕТСЯ ГОРА СИОН, УКРАШАЕТСЯ
РАЗНЫМИ ЗРАЧНЫМИ ЦВЕТАМИ; НА НЕЙ ЖЕ ЯВЛЯЕТСЯ ГОСПОДЬ БОГ САВАОФ. В
СУДЕ СОЗЫВАЕТ ВСЕ ЯЗЫЦИ В НОВЫ ИЕРУСАЛИМ, НА БРАК. ОН ЖЕ ПРОГОТОВИЛ
ТРУБЫ РАЗНОГЛАСНЫЕ. ВОСПОЕМ ЖЕ ПЕРЕД НИМ ПЕСНЮ НОВУЮ, В ТИМПАНАХ ДУХО-
-ХВАЛЬНЫХ. АНГЕЛ ГРЯДЕТ, СТИХИ ПОЕТ: БОГ НАШ ИЗБАВИТ НАС И ПОКЛОНЯТСЯ
ЕМУ ВСЕ СЫНЫ - ВЫШНЕМУ, СИДЯЩЕМУ НА ОБЛАКАХ НЕБЕСНЫХ, ГРЯДУЩЕМУ НА
СЕМИДЕСЯТИ СЕМИ ГРОМАХ; В ТРИБАХ РАЗНОГЛАСНЫХ ПЕРЕД НИМ ЯВИТСЯ НЕБЕСТА
ЕГО, ОБЛЕЧЕНА В ВИССОН БЕЛЫЙ, ЧИСТЫЙ И СВЕТЛЫЙ, ОКРУЖЕНА ОТРОКОВИЦАМИ
СВОИМИ, ГРЯДЕТ ВО СЛЕД ЖЕНИХА ХРИСТА. УЗРЯТ ЕГО ЦАРИ, ПРЕДСТАНУТ
КНЯЗЬЯ И ПОКЛОНЯТСЯ ЕМУ ЗА ИСПОЛНЕНИЕ СЛОВА ГОСПОДНЕГО.

Today a secret is revealed from heaven, the mountain of Zion is made
glorious, [it] is adorned with hosts of flowers, pleasant to the eye;
on it shall appear the Lord God Sabaoth. In judgement he will gather
all nations into the New Jerusalem, for the marriage [feast]. He has
made ready different-sounding trumpets. We will sing before him a
new song, with timbrels praising the spirit (?). An angel will approach,
singing hymns; our God will deliver us and all sons [of men] will bow
down to him - the Most High, seated on the clouds of Heaven, drawing

-
1. of Hosts, Popoff, following the Hebrew.
 2. lit., tongues.
 3. lit., discordant.
 4. horizons, Popoff.

5

near in seventy-seven thunders; with different-sounding trumpets, his bride will appear before him, dressed in white robes, pure and shining, encircled by her handmaidens, she will follow the steps of the bride-

6

-groom Christ. The kings will look upon him, the princes will stand before him and bow down to him on account of the fulfillment of the words of the Lord.

5. as with the rumble of, Popoff inserts. Cf. Apocalypse X, 1-7.

6. Cf. Apocalypse VII, 9-17; XIV, 4-5.

Psalm 328.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

A short prayer of adoration and petition.

ТЫ ЕСИ, ГОСПОДИ, УПОВАНИЕ МОЕ И ЖЕЛАНИЕ МОЕ, ПРИБЕЖИЩЕ МОЕ, ПОКРО-
-ВИТЕЛЬ МОЙ, УТЕШИТЕЛЬ ДУШИ МОЕЙ. Я ИДУ К ТЕБЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ПО МИЛОСТЬ
ПО ТВОЕЙ, ПО ЖЕЛАНИЮ СВОЕЙ, ВО СЛЕД ОТРОКА СВОЕГО, ДЛЯ ОПРАВДАНИЯ
ДУШИ СВОЕЙ, ДЛЯ ПРЕЧИСТОГО, ДЛЯ ПРЕСВЕТЛОГО ЖИТИЯ СВОЕГО, ДЛЯ
ВЕЧНОГО СОКРОВИЩА.

You, Lord, are my hope and my desire, my refuge, my protector, my
soul's comforter. I come to You, Lord, through Your own mercy,
through my own desire, in the steps of your son, for my soul's
justification, for the sacrament, for a shining life, for the
eternal treasure-house.

1. Omitted by translator.

2. pure, calm life, Cheveldayoff.

3. motif of identity with God's mind.

Psalm 329.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm, which is unlike any other, is customarily learnt by the very young children."

ОТЧЕ НАШ, БОГ ПРЕДВЕЧНЫЙ, СУДЬЯ ПРАВЕДНЫЙ.

Our Father, [is] God eternal, the righteous judge.

Psalm 330.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Another very brief devotional prayer.

БОГ БОГОВ, ГОСПОДЕНЬ ГЛАГОЛ, СИЛЕН И КРЕПОК, ВСЕМУ МИРУ НАЧАЛЬНИК.

God of Gods, the Lord's word, [is] mighty and firm, chief in all
the world.

-
1. supreme, Cheveldayoff.
 2. Thy, Cheveldayoff.
 3. creator of the universe, Cheveldayoff.

Psalm 334.

Translated by D.S.C. committee. Published in "Doukhobors, their Teachings, Organization, and Present Condition, in Old Russia, (LXXXVII, 1896), and in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961.

The psalm begins with an excerpt from O.T. Psalm CXXXIX, esp. 7-10, and slowly moves to conclude with Christ-centred devotions of rather mediaeval terminology.

К КОМУ ПОЙДУ ОТ ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДА МОЕГО, ОТ ЛИЦА ТВОЕГО К КОМУ УБЕГУ?
 АЩЕ ВЗЫДУ НА НЕБО, ТЫ ТАМО ЕСИ; СНИДУ ВО АД, ТАМ ЕСИ. АЩЕ ВЗЬМИ
 КРЫЛЬЯ МОИ РАНО, ВСЕЛЮСЬ В ПОСЛЕДНИЕ МОРЯ, ТАМО РУКА ТВОЯ НЕ ОСТАВИТ
 МЕНЯ И УДЕРЖИТ МЕНЯ ДЕСНИЦА ТВОЯ. К МОУ ПОЙДУ И ГДЕ ОБРЯШУ ВЕНЫЙ
 ЖИВОТ? АЩЕ НЕ В ТЕБЕ - СОЗДАТЕЛЕ МОЕМ? К КОМУ ПОЙДУ И ГДЕ ОБРАЩУ
 УТЕШЕНИЕ, РАДОСТЬ, ПРИСТАНИЩЕ, ПОКОЙ ДУШИ МОЕЙ? К КОМУ ПОЙДУ ОТ
 ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ, БОЖЕ МОЙ, ТЫ БО ГЛАГОЛЫ ЖИВОТА ИМАШИ В СЕБЕ? ТЫ ЕСИ
 ИСТОЧНИК ЖИВОТА ПОДАТЕЛЬ ВСЕХ БЛАГ ТВОИХ. ВОЗЖАЖДА К ТЕБЕ ДУША МОЯ,
 ВОЗЖАЖДА К ТЕБЕ СЕРДЦЕ МОЕ, БОЖЕ ЖИВОТА МОЕГО! УСЛАДИМСЯ ПРЕСВЯТОГО
 ТВОЕГО ИМЕНИ, ПРЕСЛАДКОГО ГОСПОДА МОЕГО ИИСУСА; ДА РАНЕНА БУДЕТ ИМ
 ДУША МОЯ, ДА УЯЗВЛЕНО БУДЕТ МОЕ СЕРДЦЕ, ДА НИЧТО ЖЕ БУДЕТ МНЕ ЛЮБЕЗ-
 НЕЙШЕ ВО ВСЕМ ЖИТИИ МОЕМ, ПАЧЕ ПРЕСВЯТОГО ТВОЕГО ДУХА. БУДУТ
 СЛАДКИ СЛОВЕСА ТВОИ ГОРТАНИ МОЕЙ УСТАМ МОИМ, ПАДЕ МЕДУ ОПРАВДАНИЯ
 ТВОЯ; ВОЖДЕЛЕННЫ МНЕ БУДУТ, ГОСПОДИ, ПАЧЕ ЗЛАТА; КАМЕНЯ ЧЕСТНА,
 МНОГОСЛАЩЕ ПАЧЕ МЕДА И СОТА.

To whom shall I go from You, my Lord, from Your face, to whom shall
 I run off? If I go up to heaven, You are there; if I go down to hell,
 You are there. If I rose up on my wings in the morning, and settled
 down by the uttermost sea, there Your hand will not abandon me and
 Your right hand will not let me go. To whom shall I go and where
 shall I turn for eternal life? If not to You - my Maker? To whom
 shall I go off, and where shall I turn for comfort, joy, a haven,
 peace for me soul? To whom shall I run off from You, Lord, my God,
 You who have the words of life in you? You are the wellspring of life,
 You[are the giver of all good [things]. My soul thirsts for you, my

heart thirsts for You, God of my life! We rejoice in Your most-holy name, my most-sweet Lord Jesus; let it wound my soul, let it sting my heart, let nothing be loved more by me in all my life, more than Your most-holy spirit. May your words be sweet in my throat [and] my mouth, more [sweet] than honey, Your justification; may [this] be longed-for, Lord, more than gold; the rock of honesty, more sweet than honey and the honey-comb.

Psalm 340.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "Compare this psalm with 'Spiritual Hymn - The Birth of our Saviour' (Vol. IV of P. Bezsonov's Wandering Cripples [Beggars], (n.d.))". The middle passages of the psalm draw from the Gospels of Matthew, II, 11, and Luke, II, 8-14. Also Cf. text II/A/1 in R.B. Klymasz' Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada, (Ottawa 1970), which selects the same motifs. (The work cited and ascribed to Bezsonov may deal with the lowest order of Russian beggars, those neither hale nor established in a given parish area, who had to wander, and who encouraged charity by, among other skills, the singing of spiritual songs.)

НАРОДИЛСЯ НАШ СПАСИТЕЛЬ, ВСЕМУ МИРУ ПРОСВЕТИТЕЛЬ. ПОЙТЕ ЕМУ, ВОС-
-ПОЙТЕ; ВСЕ ЛИКИ ВО ВЕКИ ТОРЖЕСТВУЙТЕ, ЛИКУЙТЕ ПРОРОКИ ПРЕДУВЕДАНИЯ,
СУЩИЕ С КЛЯТБОЙ В РАЗДЕЛЕНИИ! ГРЯДЕТ СПАС В ПОСЛЕДНИЙ ЧАС. ПОЙТЕ
ЕМУ, ВОСПОЙТЕ РАДОСТНО, СЛАДОСТНО; ВОСПЕВАЙТЕ, ИГРАЙТЕ! ЗВЕЗДА
ГРЯДЕТ ОТ ВОСТОКА К НОВОПОЖДЕННОМУ ПРОРОКУ. АНГЕЛЫ СОГЛАСНО ПОЮТ
ВЕЛИИ ГЛАСЫ ЛЮБИИ; ЗВЕРИ ПОЮТ ВЕЛИИ ГЛАСЫ ПАСТЫРЯМ ЧУДО ЯВИЛОЦЬ;
ХРИСТОС. ЯСНО ПОВЕДША, ТРИ ЦАРЯ НЕСЛИ ПРЕДОРОГИЕ ДАРЫ: ЛАДОН, СМИРНУ
И ЗЛАТО. ДАРУЕТ ВАС БОГАТО ОТЕЦ БУДУЩЕГО ВЕКА, ПРИШЕЛ ЗДЕСЬ СПАСИТИ
УБОГИХ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ; БОГ ПРЕЖДЕ ВЕКА ВОПЛОТИЛСЯ И РОДИЛСЯ.

Our Saviour was born, an enlightener for all the world. Sing to him,
1
sing praises; let all peoples be triumphant for ever, rejoice, prophets
[,you that] told [it] beforehand, truth with vows of separation! (?)

2
A Saviour draws near, in the last hour. Sing to him, sing praises joy-
-fully, sweetly; sing, play [instruments]! A Star comes from the East
to the new-born prophet. The angels sing harmoniously with great

3
voices of love; to beasts great voices sang, to shepherds the miracle
appeared; Christ was clearly pointed out, Three kings brought most
costly gifts: frankincense, myrrh, and gold. The Father gives richly

1. lit., faces.

2. lit., watch.

3. Omitted by translator; the reference is probably to the shepherds' sheep.

to us of future ages, he came here to save God-loving people; God
[from] before creation⁴ became incarnate and was born.

4. lit., the first age; theological affirmation of the eternal existence of the Son.

Psalm 341.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Recorded by Bonch-Bruevich from M.N. Prokopenko.

The psalm is based upon the Gospel of Luke, II, 4-14. It is expressed in a naively fresh and lively style.

НОВЫЙ ГОД БЕЖИТ, ВО ЯСЛЯХ ЛЕЖИТ. ОХ, ТО ОТРОЧЕ БЛАЖЕ НАМ НЕБО ДАХ,
ЧУДО, КАК ВРЕМЯ БЫЛО - МЕСТА НЕ БЫЛО РОДИТЬ ЧИСТОЙ ДЕВОЙ БОГОРОДИЦЕ,
И ГДЕ - В ВИФЛЕЕМЕ-ГРАДЕ - В НИЗШЕМ ДОМЕ СПОДОЙНОМ; ИДИТЕ ПРЯМО,
УКАЖУТ ВАМ. ОХ, ТО ИОСИФ СТАРЕНЬКИЙ, БОГУ МАЛЕНЬКИЙ, ПУТЬ СКАЖЕ
ПАСТУШКАМ СВОИМ. ПАСТУШКИ ЕГО ПЕРЕД ТВОРЦОМ СВОИМ СМИРЯЮТСЯ, АНГЕЛЫ
ПОЮТ, ЦАРЯ ВЫДАЮТ, ДАРЫ СОБИРАЮТ. СПОЕМ ПЕСНЬ ХРИСТОВУ НОВИЮ: БУДЕШЬ
ПОХВАЛЛЕН ОТ ВЕКА, БУДЕШЬ ОТ СВЕХ ПРОСЛАВЛЕН, С МАТЕРЬЮ-ДЕВОЙ, СО
ПРЕЧИСТОЮ, КТО НЕ ГНУШАЛСЯ, ЧЕЛОВЕКОМ ОСТАЛСЯ НА ВЕК.

A new year hurries [on], [He] lies in a manger. O, this lad [is] a
blessing given from heaven. O, a marvel, suddenly it was time - there
was no room for the Purest maiden Bearer-of-God to give birth, except
there - in Bethlehem-town - in the lowliest of peaceful dwellings;
come at once, you'll see! O, elderly Joseph, show the shepherds the
way to the infant God. The shepherds were humble before their creator,
the angels sang, the kings offered, gave gifts. Let us sing new songs
to Christ: You shall be praised for ever, you shall be glorified by
all, with the virgin-mother, with the most-pure, who was honoured by
[all] people for the rest of time.

1. or, when.

2. worshipped, Cheveldayoff.

3. remainder omitted by translator.

4. lit., not despised.

5. lit., of the age. For this sentence, cf. Gospel of Luke, I, 48.

Psalm 342.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff and Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "Compare this psalm with the hymn 'O birth of Christ' in V. Varentsov's Collection of Russian Spiritual Hymns, St. Petersburg 1860." The psalm is based upon the Gospel of Matthew II, 2-3, 16-18. Popoff notes: "A very old and basic Doukhobor psalm commemorating the birth of Jesus Christ. It is perhaps the most widely preserved Doukhobor psalm sung by children's and youth groups as well as older folk. It is sung on other commemorative occasions as well as on Christmas. It is also used at general meetings and often sung at funerals, since it touches on the lamentable time of the mass slaying of the infants by order of King Herod during the first years of Christ's life on earth." Bonch-Bruevich's text is followed here.

ВЫСОКО ЗВЕЗДА ВОСХОДИЛА. МАТЬ МАРИЯ ХРИСТА СПОРОДИЛА. РОДИЛСЯ БОГ, ВСЕМ БОГАМ БОГ. НАРОДИЛСЯ ЖАРЬ, ВСЕМ ЦАРЯМ ЦАРЬ. ИРОД ЦАРЬ ВОЗМУЩАТЬСЯ СТАЛ. НЕУСДЫРИЛ ВЕНЦЫ ЗОЛОТЫЕ: ВСЕМ СЕРДЦАМ, ВСЕМ МОЛОДЕНЦАМ, ВСЕМ ВСОВАМ. А ВЫ ВДОВЫЕ НЕ ПЛАЧЬТЕ, НЕ РЫДАЙТЕ - ВАШИ МОЛОДЕНЦЫ У ХРИСТА ПОД КРЫЛЫШКОМ СТОЯТ.

High above, the star rose. Mother Mary gave birth to Christ.

1

God was born, God of all Gods.

2

A king was brought forth, a king of all kings.

Herod the king was troubled.

3

[Christ] brought gifts, crowns of gold:

4

To all hearts, to all the children, to all the widows.

- But do not weep, you widows, do not wail -

- Your children live under the wing of Christ.

1. Divine, Cheveldayoff.

2. Supreme, Cheveldayoff.

3. Crowns are traditionally associated with martyrs.

4. patriarchs, Popoff reads, following the amended word СТАРЦАМ, old men.

Psalm 343.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is sung by the Doukhobors in prayer meeting on the festival of the Birth of Christ (Christmas Day). Compare this psalm with the 'spiritual hymn' 'On the Day of Christ's Birth' (in Vol. IV of Bezsonov's Wandering Cripples). The psalm is not a very cheerful one, and frames the massacre of the Innocents in strongly emotional language.

В ДЕНЬ ХРИСТОВА РОЖДЕНИЯ ВЕСЕЛИМСЯ МЫ ЗДЕ, - БЛАГО НАМЕ ВЕЗДЕ. ХВАЛУ БОГЫ ПЕТЬ НАЧНЕМ, ПОЛУНОЧЬ - ЗВЕЗДЕ. АНГЕЛ ПАСТЫРЯМ ВОЗВЕСТИЛ ВНОВЬ НОВОРОЖДЕННОГО БОГО НАШЕГО. ЦАРЬ-ЖЕ ИРОД, ЦАРЬ ВОЗЗЛИЛСЯ - МОЛОДЕНЦЕВ УПОБИЛ. БИЛИСЬ, СЕКЛИСЬ И РУГАЛИСЬ, С МАТЕРЬМИ СОВОКУПЛЯЛИСЬ, ЯКО УБИЙЦЫ - ЗЛЫЕ РАЗБОЙНИКИ. КРИЧАТ ДЕТКИ, ПЛАЧУТ МАТКИ, ЯКО НА СМЕРТ-НИЩЕ, ОТ ПРЕСЕЙ ОТРЫВАЛИ, РАЗСЕДАЛИ И ТОПТАЛИ. ЖАЛЬ-ТО МНЕ МАЛЫХ, ЖАЛОСТНЫЕ МОИ МАТКИ И ВСЕ МОИ ДЕТКИ; ЛЯГУТ БАРАШКИ, ЯКО НА ПОЛЕ СНОПКИ. МАТКАМ РУЦИ ЗАЛОМАЛИ И ВОЛОСЬЯ ДЕРУТ, А ОНЕ ОБМИРАЮТ. НЕБО ГЛАСОМ ВОПИЕТ: СЕРДЕЧНЫЕ К БОГУ ВОЗОПИЮТ.

On the day of Christ's birth we rejoice everywhere, - everywhere we are blessed. We begin to sing God's praise, at midnight - the star [appears]. The angel heralded to the shepherds our newly-born God. Herod-the-King, [that] king was enraged - he killed children. They fought, slashed and swore at the gathered mothers, like murderers - wicked cutthroats. Children cry, mothers weep, for to a place of death [the children] were dragged from their mothers' breasts, [they were] hewn in two and trampled. I sorrow - these my little ones, my piteous sorrowing mothers, and all my children: they fall as lambs, like sheaves on the field. Mothers wring their hands and tear their hair, and they fall faint. Heaven rings with the uproar: from the heart, they cry to God.

1. lit., yells.

2. lit., voice or word.

Psalm 344.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This Doukhobor psalm is said over dead young twins or girls, and also in prayer meeting on the day of the festival of the Assumption of the B.V.M.." Popoff notes: "Recited and sung at funerals and commemorating occasions, also prayer meetings." Apparently either the psalm has been more widely applied in recent years, or Bonch-Bruevich was incompletely informed. The psalm takes its content from the Gospel of John, XIX, 26, and ends with a specific reference to the doctrine of the Assumption.

ЧИСТАЯ ДЕВА МАРИЯ ИЗО ВСЕХ РОДОВ БЛАГОЧЕСТНАЯ! РОДИЛА СЕБЕ СЫНА
ИИСУСА; САМА МАТИ БЛАГОДАТИ, В РОЖЕСТВЕ ТВОЕМ ХРИСТЕ - БОГ НАШ.
БЕЗПРЕСТАННО МАТЬ РЫДАЕШЬ, ЖАЛОСТНЫЙ СВОЙ ГЛАС СПУЩАЕШЬ; ОВЫЙ СЫН
ТЫ МОЙ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ, ПРЕСЛАДКИЙ ТЫ МОЙ ЕСТЬ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС, НА КОГО
ТЫ МЕНЯ, МАТИ ПОКИДАЕШЬ; КОМУ В ДОЗОР ОТДАВАЕШЬ; КОМУ ; СКЛОНЮ
ГОЛОВУ СВОЮ, КТО УТЕШИТ ПЕЧАЛЦ МОЮ, ПЕЧАЛЬ МОЮ ВЕЛИКУЮ? ИИСУС НА
КРЕСТЕ ПРОРЕЧЕТ, ИОАННА ЗА СЫНА НАРЕЧЕТ. НАРЕКАЮ Я ТЕБЕ, МАТИ,
ИОАННА ЗА СЫНА. ОН ДО ВРЕМЯ ТЕБЕ НЕ ПОКИНЕТ; НЕ ЗЛОВИВЫЙ ЕСТЬ И
БЫСТЬ. НЕ РЫДАЙ, МОЯ МАТИ, НЕ ПОМЫШЛЯЙ МЕНЯ В МЕРТВЫХ; Я НЕ ТРЕТИЙ
ДЕНЬ ВОСКРЕСНУ, НА НЕБЕСА ВОЗНЕСУСЯ, С АНГЕЛАМИ БУДУ ЦАРСТВОВАТЬ,
А С ПРАВЕДНЫМИ ЛИК ЛИКОВАТЬ. КОГДА ТЫ, МОЯ МАТИ, БУДЕШЬ УСПЕННА
Я НЕ АНГЕЛА ПО ТЕБЯ ПОШЛЮ, А САМ МАТИ К ТЕБЕ СОЙДУ, САМ ТВОЮ ДУШУ
СПОВЕДАЮ.

1

2

Pure Maiden Mary blessed by all generations! She bore Jesus Himself
for her Son; the mother herself[is] blessed, in your birth, Christ -
-our God. Unceasingly you weep, mother, you lament with piteous
voice: Alas [for] you, my beloved son, you are my sweet son Jesus
Christ, wherein do you abandon me, [your] mother; to whom do you
leave me for care; on whom shall I lean my head, who will soothe my
grief, my great grief? Jesus speaks from the cross,³ he names John

1. Chaste, Popoff.

2. Cf. Luke I, 48.

3. lit., on.

as [her] son. I name for you, mother, John as son. He will at no
time abandon you, he is and shall be good.⁴ Do not weep, my mother,
nor reckon me among the dead: I will rise up on the third day, I
shall go up into heaven, I shall reign with the angels, and rejoice⁵
with the righteous people. When you, my mother, shall be ready, I
shall not send an angel to you, but I will come to you, mother, myself,
I shall take your soul myself.⁶

4. lit., not occasionally evil is he and was he

5. lit., faces.

6. to heaven, Popoff reads.

Psalm 345.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "This psalm is recited in prayer meeting on the day of the festival of the Baptism of Christ." (Jan. 6, Epiphany octave in the Western Church), and "Compare this psalm with the 'spiritual hymn' 'By the waters of Jordan', in P. Bezsonov's work Wandering Cripples (n.d.), Vol. IV." The psalm is based upon the Gospel of Matthew, III, 13-17, but adds some comment, culminating in the bitter prayer of the last sentence, which may be compared with the instruction noted in psalm 140.

К ВОДАМ ИОРДАНКИМИ, ГОСПОДИ, ПРИВЕДША, ДУХ СВЯТОЙ НА НЕГО НАШЕДШИ;
СВЬМЕ ГЛАС ГЛАГОЛЕТ: В СЕЙ ДЕНЬ ВОЗ'ЯВЛЕННЫЙ КРЕСТИТЬСЯ ХОЩЕТ СЫН
МОИ ВОЗЛПБЛЕННЫЙ. ГРЯДИ ЖЕ, ИОАННЕ, СКОРО КРЕСТИТИ МЕНЯ КРЕЩЕНИЕМ:
ХОЩЕТ ЗЕМЛЮ ПРОСВЕТИТИ. РЕЧЕТ ЖЕ ИОАНН: НЕ СМЕЮ, ВЛАДЫКО, ПОНЕЖЕ
ТЕБЯ ЗНАЕМ БОГА ПРЕВЕЛИКА. КАК ВОЗЛОЖУ РУКУ НА ГОСПОДА МОЕГО? ТЫ
ЕСИ СОДЕЯЛ ЗНАМЕНА МНОГО: ОТ ТЕБЯ ВСЕ ТРЕПЕЩУТ, НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЯ, ВЕСЬ
РОД ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКИЙ ОТ РОДУ АДАМА, УВИДЕВШИЙ МОРЕ БЕДСТВИЙ, ОБРАТИСЯ.
ТОГДО ЖЕ ИОРДАН-РЕКА ВСПЯТЬ ВОЗРАТИСЯ, СЧАСТЛИВЫЕ СТРУИ РЕКИ ИОРДАНА,
В ОНОЙ ЖЕ КРЕСТИЛСЯ БОГ ОТ ИОАННА В ВОДАХ ИОРДАНСКИХ, В СТРУЯХ ПРЕС-
-ТОЯЩИХ. ИОАНН, СЛАВЯ БОГА, КРЕЩАША. СКЛОНИЛ СВОЮ ГЛАВУ ПРЕДТЕЧЕ
ПОД РУКУ. МЫ МОЛИМ ТЕБЯ, БЛАЖЕ, НЕ ПОШЛИ НАС В МУКУ; ПРОСИМ ТЕБЯ,
ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕЩЕДРОГО ТУТ ПЕКЛО ОТБЫТИ, РОДУ ХРИСТИАНСКОМУ В ЦАРСТВИЕ
ПРИБЫТИ.

To the waters of Jordan, Lord, you came, the Holy Spirit came down
upon him, from above a voice spoke out: In this day [is] the event,
my well-beloved son wishes to be baptized. Come forward, then, John,
quickly baptize me with your baptism: I desire to enlighten the
earth. Then John speaks: I dare not, master, for we know you[to be]
God almighty. How [shall] I lay hand upon my Lord? You have made
many signs; before you all tremble, the heavens and the earth, all
generations of men from the family of Adam, appearing in a sea of

1. Cf. I Samuel, XXIV, 7.

2

disaster, will turn. Then the river Jordan will run backwards, the fortunate streams of the river Jordan, in which God was baptized by John, in the waters of Jordan, in the most-honoured streams. John, glorifying God, baptized [Him]. [Christ] bowed his head beneath the hands of the Fore-runner.³ We pray to you, blessed one, do not send us into torment; we ask you, Lord, all-bountiful one, [let us] finish [our] Hell here, [and] come with the christian family into your kingdom.

2. be converted? obscure clause.

3. that is, John the Baptist; an ecclesiastical term.

Psalm 349.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich.

Bonch-Bruevich notes: "Compare this psalm with the 'Hymns of Repentance' in V. Varentsov's Collection of Russian Spiritual Hymns, St. Petersburg 1860." The psalm is derived from the Gospels of Matthew, XXVI, 49, XXVII, 34-35, and John, XIX, 34. Note that the protest of Mary and reply of Christ are very similar to those in psalm 344 - a floating element??

НЕКИЙ БЫЛ ЗЛОДЕЙ ИУДА; ПРЕДАЛ ХРИСТА НА РАСПЯТИЕ, ЗЛОБНОМУ СУДБИЩУ И СТРАШНОМУ ДРЕВУ КУПАРЕСНОМУ НА КРЕСТЕ ЕГО ВОЗЛОЖИЛИ. РУЧКИ, НОЖКИ РАСПЯЛИ. РИЗЫ НА НЕМ ВОЗДРАЛИ, ПО ЖЕРЕБЬЯМ РАЗМЕТАЛИ; КОПИЕ В РЕБРО ПАДОША, С РЕБРА СВЯТАЛ КРОВЬ ПОТЕКОША. УСЛЫШАЛА МАТИ МАРИЯ, РЕЧЕТ КО ХРИСТУ С СЛЕЗАМИ: СЫН ТЫ МОЙ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ! БЕЗВИННУЮ МУКУ ТЕРПИШЬ, НАПРАСЛИННУЮ СМЕРТЬ ПРИНИМАЕШЬ. НЕ ПЛАЧЬ ТЫ, МАТИ МАРИЯ, НЕ ПОМЫШЛЯЙ МЕНЯ В МЕРТВЫХ, Я НА ТРЕТИЙ ДЕНЬ ВОСКРЕСУСЯ, НА НЕБЕЦА ВОЗНЕУСЯ; С АНГЕЛАМИ БУДУ ЦАРСТВОВАТЬ, С ПРАВЕДНЫМИ ЛЮДЬМИ ЛИК ЛИКОВАТЬ. ДОЖДАВШИ ХРИСТОВО ВОСКРЕСЕНИЕ, ТОГДА ВЕСЬ МИР УЖАСНЕТСЯ, ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ЗАТВОРЫ РАСТВОРЯТСЯ НА ДВОЕ; ТОГДА СОЛНЦЕ-МЕСЯЦ ПОМРАЧИТСЯ, ТОГДА НЕБО-ЗЕМЛЯ ПОТУСКНЕЕТ, ТОГДА БЕЗ ГОСПОДА НЕБЕЦА ЗАПУСТЕЮТ.

Judas was a worker of evil; he betrayed Christ to be crucified, to a wicked destiny and to the terrible dreadful tree, they laid him on the cross. Hands, feet, they nailed. They stripped the robe off him, they gave it away by lot; a spear [being] thrust into his side, from his side flowed holy blood. Hearing of the, Mother Mary said the Christ, in tears, You [are] my beloved son, in innocence you undergo torment, you accept a meaningless death. Do not you weep, Mother Mary, do not reckon me among the dead, on the third day I will rise up, I shall go up into heaven; I shall reign with the angels, and rejoice with the righteous people.

[The life] of Christ[was] rendered up on Sunday, then all the

1. lit., awarded.

2. lit., faces.

3. Since the events described are those of Good Friday, textual corruption must be assumed. Cheveldayoff reads: "Seeing the fulfillment of Christ's resurrection...." which still does not fit the chronology.

world was fearful, the church veil was torn in two; then the sun -
-moon grew dark, then heaven - earth grew dim, then without the Lord
4
the heavens became desolate.

4. or, neglected.

Psalm 352.

Translated by Mercedes Cheveldayoff, and by Peter Legebokoff with Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July 1963.

The psalm is based on the Gospel of Luke XXIV, 1-6, with some added material, including the obscure central phrase that defies direct translation (a probable but not positive misreading is suggested below). Popoff notes: "Sung at prayer meetings and especially on days of celebration, as Easter, Birthday of Christ [Christmas], etc." The psalm is exuberant in style.

НЕС ХРИСТОС НОВЫЕ СТАНИЯ; АНГЕЛ ВОПИЕТ, А АДАМ ЛИКУЕТ; В СВЕТЛЫЙ НАМ ПРАЗДНИК РОД АДАМСКИЙ ДНЕСЬ ТОРЖЕСТВУЕТ О НЕМ. ВЧЕРА СОЛНЦЕ ПОМРАЧИЛОСЬ, НЫНЕ СОЛНЦЕ В МИРЕ РАЗГОРАЕТСЯ, РАДНОСТНО И СОГЛАСНО ПЕСНЮ ХРИСТУ ПОЮТ. ВЧЕРА ВЕСЬ МИР В БЕСЕДЕ БЫЛ, ДНЕСЬ РАДУЕТСЯ И ВЕСЕЛИТСЯ. ПАСХА НОВАЯ, ХРИСТОС, БОГ НАШ, ХРИСТОС БОГ ВОЗСТАЛ И УТРЕННЕЙ ЗАРЕЯ СМЕРТЬ ПОПРАВИЛ СИРОТСТВОМ; ЕГО ТЕЛЕСНЫЙ КИМВАЛ, СЛОВЕСНЫЙ КИМВАЛ ИЗЦЕЛИЛ СЕРДЕЧНЫЙ ОРГАН. ЖЕНЫ РАНО МИРОНОСИЦЫ, ОНИ ИСКОНИ ХОДИЛИ, ХРИСТА ИСКАЛИ, СВЕТЛОЕ ТЕЛО ВО ГРОБЕ ЦЕЛО ЗРЕТИ ХОТЯЩИЕ, СВЕТЛЫЙ АНГЕЛ К НИМ ГЛАГОЛЕТ: АЗ ВАМ ВОПИЮ РАДОСТЬ ВЕЛИЮ, СЫН БОЖИЙ ВОЗСТАЛ, АДАМ ВОЗЗВАЛ, С ПРАВЕДНЫМИ ЛИКАМИ ЛИКУЕТ В ПРЕСВЕТЛОМ РАЮ. АПОСТОЛЫ ВСЕ ЧТИТЕ, НЕСЯ НАМ МИР; ЯВИЛСЯ ВЕСЬ МИР, ВЕЛЕЛИЛСЯ, НЕСЯ НАМ БЫТИ В НЕМ И ЖИТЬ ВО ВСЕМ МИРЕ ПРАВДЕ И СВЕТЕ.

1

2

Today Christ [is] newly risen; the angel shouts, and Adam rejoices.

On our bright holiday, the race of Adam celebrates to this day with us.

Yesterday the sun was darkened; today the sun shines brighter in the

3

world, joyfully and in harmony they sing a hymn to Christ. Yesterday

4

all the world was in a turmoil, today it rejoices and makes merry. The

5

new Passover, Christ, our God, Christ-God arose at dawn in the morning;

1. Christ brought a new era, Cheveldayoff.

2. See note 10 below.

3. lit., song.

4. ? all the world debated, argued?

5. Cf. I Corinthians, V, 7.

he won back victory⁶[over]death; the symbol of his body, the symbol of
 his words, healed the heart. The women came early, they came at⁷[day's]
 beginning, they sought for Christ, desiring to look at the pure body⁸
 in the grave, a shining angel speaks to them: I tell you to rejoice⁹
 loudly, the Son of God rose up, he called forth Adam, he rejoiced with¹⁰
 the righteous folk in bright paradise. Do honour, all apostles,¹¹
 peace is brought to us; peace was shown to all, [they] rejoiced; [he]
 brought us to be with him and to live in all the world, in truth and¹²
 light.

-
6. Bonch-Bruevich - followed by Cheveldayoff and Legebokoff - may
 misread КИМБАЛ, cymbal, for СИМВОЛ, symbol.
 7. An obscure image; lit., perhaps ' his bodily symbol, his verbal
 symbol healed the heart organ.' Legebokoff reads: "All his related-
 -ness - temporal symbal and verbal tympan, do not corrupt, but heal
 the heart." Cheveldayoff glosses the phrase: "In this case I guess
 it means Christ's death was so victorious it rung throughout the
 world."
 8. carrying Myrrh, Legebokoff.
 9. or, tend?
 10. Eastern Church resurrection iconography stresses the almost forcible
 awakening of the First Parents during Christ's Harrowing of Hell.
 11. Floating phrase - cf. psalms 344, 349.
 12. or, to live in all peace, truth, and light.

Psalm 359.

Translated by Eli Popoff. No data in Bonch-Bruevich. Recorded by Peacock at Mossleigh, Alta., June 1964. Recorded at Grand Forks, 23/5/71.

Popoff notes: "A very old type of psalm which seems to be neither prose nor poetry. It probably is connected with ancient legends that remained with the Greek Orthodox Church pertaining to the time shortly after Christ's crucifixion. It is classed as a children's psalm and is usually sung for Easter. Although most psalms have not been corrected to us 'Hebrews' or 'Israelites' for the Russian translation of 'Jews', yet in this psalm, the word used to refer to them in derision is still used: "jidi". The origin of this word seems to be obscure, although some older people claim it started from the fact that most of the Jews did not accept Christ to be the Messiah, but said, "we must still wait." In Russian 'wait' is 'jidi'." The psalm is remarkable for a very precise linguistic and semantic rhythm. Each line contains three main elements, two usually a repetition; three holy personages are named; three events are included - the wandering of the Virgin, the erection of the mystical church, and the disposition of the three tombs therein. The psalm has little resemblance in style or matter to any other in this collection, but might profitably be compared with the English carol, All Bells in Paradise (esp. the 19th-Century version of a 15th.-Century text as given in the Oxford Book of Carols (London 1964), # 184); mystical is by no means too strong a term for these two texts. One might even argue a further tertiary structure: christian history is overlaid by legend, which itself is further overlaid by the erection of symbols. The present text followed here is that of Bonch-Bruevich; Popoff supplies a contemporary text, which ends at the indicated point but is otherwise largely similar, differences being noted; some corrections are supplied.

ХОДИЛА, ХОДИЛА СВЯТАЯ ДЕВА; ИСКАЛА, ИСКАЛА ИИСУСА ХРИСТА. НА ВСТРЕЧУ
ДЕВЫ ЖИДОВ СКОЛЬКО ИДЕТ. ВЫ ЖИДЫ, ВЫ ЖИДЫ - ХРИСТА РАСПЯЛИ. ТО НЕ МЫ,
ТО НЕ МЫ, А ОTCОВЫ НАШЕ. ТУТ БЫЛА, ТУТ БЫЛА КРУТАЯ ГОРА; НА ТОЙ, НА
КРУТОЙ ГОРЕ ТРИ ДРЕВА СТОЯТ; ЭТИ ДРЕВЫ ПОРУБЛЕНЫ, ИЗ ТЕХ, ИЗ ДРЕВЫ
БРУСЬЯ ТЕСАНЫ, ИЗ ТЕХ, ИЗ БРУЦЕВ ЦЕРКОВЬ СТРОЕНА. ВО ТОЙ, ВО ЦЕРКВИ
ТРИ ГРОБА СТОЯТ, В НИХ СВЯТЫЕ ЛЕЖАТ. ВО ПЕРВОМ ГРОБУ САМ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС;
ВО ВТОРОМ ГРОБУ - ИОАНН ПРЕДТЕЧА; ВО ТРЕТЬЕМ ГРОБУ СВЯТАЯ ДЕВА. НАД
ИИСУСОМ ХРИСТОМ АНГЕЛИ ПОЮТ. НАД ИОАННОМ НАД ПРЕДТЕЧЕО ЯСНЫЕ СВЕЧ ГОРЯТ.
НАД СВЯТОЙ ДЕВОЙ ЛОЗА РАСЦВЕЛА. НА ТОЙ, НА ЛОЗЕ ТРИ ПТАШКИ СИДЯТ. ОНИ
ПОЮТ СТИШКИ ЖЕРУВИМСКИЕ, ИЖЕ СЕРАФИМСКИЕ, АЛЛИЛУИЯ, ЯКО С НАМИ БОГ.

She walked, she walked - the holy Maiden,

She sought, she sought for Jesus Christ.

1

To meet the maiden, many Jews did come.

You Jews, you Jews, you crucified Christ.

2

Not us, not us, but our fathers [did that].

Here was, here was, a steep mountain;

On this, on this steep mountain, three trees grew tall;

3

These trees were hewn down;

from these, from the trees, squared beams were hewn,

From these , from the beams, a church was raised.

4

In this, in the church, three tombs stood,

5

In these lay holy ones.

In the first tomb - Jesus Christ himself;

6

In the second tomb - John the Forerunner;

7

In the third tomb - the holy maiden.

Over Jesus Christ the angels sang.

8

Over John, over the Forerunner candles glowed.

9

Over the holy maiden a vine bloomed.

On that, on the vine, three [small] birds sat.

They sang a song of Jerusalem, of the Seraphim,

Alleluia, for God is with us.

-
1. ЖУДОВЫ ДЕТИ, Jewish Children, in current text.
 2. forefathers, Popoff.
 3. line absent from current text.
 4. of, coffins.
 5. In current text, this and the following line are transposed, and appear in corresponding order in the following triad.
 6. that is, John the Baptist.
 8. At the head of, Popoff.
 9. willow, Popoff. The verse regarding Christ follows, and the psalm ends, in the contemporary version. Note eucharistic allegory: coffins as altar, on which candles are set; Christ the sacramental wine (John XV, 1-17); about which move singing clergy.

Psalm 361 - Variant.The Dream of the Most-Holy Bearer-of-God.

Translated by editor, with Anna Gattinger. MS loaned by Elaine Verigin: typescript on onion-skin paper. Related, especially in the second part, to a text in Bonch-Bruevich 'copied for me from a manuscript "prayer-book", belonging to the Doukhobor Gregory Reibin.'

Bonch-Bruevich says of this class of texts: "in spite of this, that all who speak of this 'Dream of the Most-Holy Bearer-of-God' report variants of [one] well-known apocryphal legend, we nevertheless agree that it is necessary to set down and publish all of them, since the Doukhobors themselves strictly reject one variant for another and consider each of these and independent 'Dream of the Most-Holy Bearer-of-God.' It is useful to compare with these writings those legends published in the work of P. Bezsonov, Wandering Cripples (n.d.), vol. IV." The present text is yet another variant. The Dream is unusual in a number of ways. It is currently said to be highly valued by many older Doukhobors but -for reasons not hard to understand - to be in low repute with many younger people. The psalm appears here in two very distinct parts. The first is an account of the passion and resurrection in the form of a somnium. The Virgin dreams, and is questioned by Christ. Her account is largely conformable to that in the Gospel of Luke, XXII, 47 - XXIV, 11, with the omission of the trials before Pilate and Herod - Pilate is mentioned only as a government official. The angel's instruction is conflated, the Harrowing of Hell is described in some detail, and a subsidiary dogmatic legend is added, a dialogue between the resurrected Elijah and the Good Thief. The dream-motif appears only in the opening frame and as an insertion between the death of Christ and the piercing of His side. The whole has an early-apocryphal character. While no connection can be shown, the appearance of a similar tension between a present and an other time, and the curious prohibition on utterance, can be noted in the apocryphal Gospel of Bartholemew, III (tr. James, 1950). The existence of many Slavonic apocrypha is also noteworthy. The second part of the text is utterly different: it is a long set of formulae and qualifications on the use of the preceding section as an amulet. It will defend the bearer and reciter against personal misfortune, will protect his home, lands, and beasts, will give him good fortune before superiors and safety during travel. The mother in childbirth will be fortunate, as will her child; and the dying will be sped to paradise, if only they use this Dream constantly and in faith. These prescriptions may be compared with those found passim in Hohman's Pow-Wows or Long Lost Friend and the Albertus Magnus, both chapbooks circulating on this continent. It is not very rewarding to attempt to account for the movement of a text such as this into amuletic use; but it may not be amiss to presume that its powerful and appealing account of the passion and resurrection may have given it a devotional popularity that the simply pious applied to mundane things.

Translation required certain paleographic techniques, as the text is in corrupt Old Church Slavonic, and the MS itself, from long use and repair, is damaged and further corrupted. It should be noted that the word speak is rendered in the first section by РЕЧИТЬ and in the second by ГОБОРЯТЬ. Both words occur, sometimes intermingled, in other psalms, and РЕЧИТЬ is archaic; but whether this can be taken to affirm a distinctly later date for the second section of the psalm is unknown to me. The text as given here is as accurate a copy as possible of the MS, including such (apparent) errors as have been noted in the translation.

СОН ПРЕСВЯТОЙ БОГОРОДИЦЫ

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ:

ВО ИМЯ ОТЦА И СЫНА СВЯТОГО ДУХА!

СЕЙ СОН ПРЕСВЯТО БОГОРОДИЦЫ БЛАДЫЧИЦЫ - БЛАГОРОДИЦЫ, ПРИСНОЙ ДЕВЫ МАРИИ. КТО ХОЧЕТ ЧИТАТЬ ИЛИ СЛУШАТЬ, ДОЛЖЕН СВЕРХОЙ, СО ВНИВАНИЕМ И УСЕРДИЕМ.

ОПОЧИВАЛА ЕСИ ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА ПРИСНАЯ ДЕВА МАРИЯ, В МАРТЕ МЕСЕЦЕ ВО СВЯТОМ ГРАДЕ ВИГЛОЕМО ИУДЕЙСКОМ, ПРИИДЕ К НЕЙ ГОСПОДЬ НАШ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС, СПАСИТЕЛЬ МИРА ВСЕГО, И РЕЧЕТ К НЕЙ ГОСПОДЬ НАШ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС: О, МАТИ МОЯ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННАЯ, ОТ ВСЕХ РОДОВ БЛАГОСЛОВЕННАЯ, ПРЕСВЯТАЯ ГОСПОЖА-ВЛАДИЧИЦА БОГОРОДИЦА, ПРИСНАЯ ДЕВА МАРИЯ. ОПОЧИВАЛА ЕСИ ТЫ ВО СВЯТОМ ГРАДЕ ВИФЛИЕМЕ ИУДЕЙСКОМ И, ЧТО ВО СНЕ ВИДЕЛА ЕСИ? И РЕЧЕТ К НЕМЫ ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА СО СТЕЗАМИЯ: - О, ЧАДО МОЕ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННОЕ И СЛАДЧАЙШИЙ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС. СПАЛА Я И ВИДЕЛА ЕСИ СОН ВЕЛИКИ СТРАЖЕН, И НЕМОГУ ТЕБЕ ПРОГЛАГОЛИТЬ. ОТ ЧЕГО УТРОБА МОЯ ЯЗВИЛАСЬ.

И ЛЮТОЕ ОРУЖИЕ ЖЛЕТ В СЕРДЦЕ МОЕМ. ОБЪЯВЛЯЮ О ТЕБЕ ВАЖНЫЕ СТРАСТИ, О, СЛАДЧАШИЙ ЧАДО МОЕ. БУДТО ВЫ ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДА МОЕГО, УЧЕНИК ИУДА ИСКАРИОТСКИЙ ЗА ТРИДЦАТЬ СЕРЕБРЯНИКОВ ПРОДАША АРХИЕРЕЯМ ЖИДОВСКИМ. И ПОВЕДОДА ТЕБЯ К ПОНТИУ ПИЛАТУ ИГЕМОНУ. О ПО ВЕЛЕША АРХИРЕИ СПЛЕСТИ ТЕРНОВЫЙ ВЕНЕЦ НАГЛАВУ ТВОЮ СВЯТУЮ. И ТРОСТИЮ ПО ТЕБЕ НЕ ГЛОВЕ ТВОЕЙ СВЯТОЙ БИША. НА ЛИЦО ТВОЕ СВЯТОЕ ПЛЕВАШЕ. ВО УСТА ТВОИ СВЯТЫЕ ЖЕЛЧЬЮ НАПОИША. И МНОГО-МНОГО НА ТЕБЯ ГОСПОДА МОЕГО ПОРУГАША.

И СДЕЛАША КРЕСТ ИЗ ТРЕХ ДРЕВ, КИПАРИСА, ПЕВГИ И КЕДРА. И НА ВСЯ ОНЖЕ НА РАМЕНА ТВОЕ СВЛТЫЕ И ПОВЕЛЕША НЕСТИ ЕГО. И ТЫ, СЫН МОЙ ВОЗЛЮБЕННЫЙ, ИЗНЕМОГ НЕСЯ ЕГО. СТОМ КРЕСТОМ ПАДЕ НА ЗЕМЛЮ ОТ БИЕНИЯ ЖИДОВСКОГО. И ТУТ ИДУЩИ НЕКОТОРОМУ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ ИМЕНЕМ СЕМЕОН, ПОДНЯЛ КРЕСТ СЕЙ, КОТОРЫЙ ОН ПРИНЯЛ С ЧЕСТИЮ, ПОНЕС И ПОСТАВИЛ ЕГО НА ЛОБНОМ МЕСТЕ ГРАДА ИЕРУСАЛИМА НА ГОРЕ ГОЛГОФЕ. И ТУТ ТЕБЯ ГОСПОДА МОЕГО ЖИДОВСКИЕ АРХИЕРЕИ ПРИ ПОНТЕЙСКОМ ПИЛАТЕ ИГЕМОНУ РАСПЯША. И С ТООЮ ДВУХ РАЗБОЙНИКОВ. ОДИН ПОЛУЧИЛ ОТ ТЕБЯ ПРОЩЕНИЕ ЗА УВЕРОВАВШЕЕ К ТЕБЯ СЛОВО, И РЕК: ВО ИСТИННУ ТЫ ГОСПОДУ БЕЗВИНО СТРАДАЕШЬ, НАМОСУЖДЕННЫМ ПО ДЕЛАМ НАШИМ. ПОМЯНИ МЕНЯ ГОСПОДИ, КОГДА ПРИИДЕШЬ ВО ЦАРСТВИЕ СВОЕ. А ДРУДОЙ ПОГИБ ЗА НЕ УВЕРОВАВШЕЕ К ТЕБЕ СЛОВЕ. И ТУТ ТЫ, СЫН МОЙ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ, В СИЕ ВРЕМЯ НА КРЕСТЕ УМЕР. Б СИЕ - ЖЕ ВРЕМЯ ПРЕИДОША ОДИН ОТ ВОИНОВ, И В РЕБРО ТВОЕ СВЯТОЕ КОПИЕМ ПРОБЬЕША. ОТ ЧЕГО ИЗИДОША КРОВЬ И ВОДА, НА ИСЦЕЛЕНИЕ ХРИСТИАНАМ, НА СПАСЕНИЕ ДУШАМ ГРЕШНЫМ.

А ТО-ЖЕ ВРЕМЯ ЗАНАВЕС ЦЕРКОВНЫЙ РАЗОДРАЛСЯ НА ДВОЕ, ОТ ВЕРНЕГО КРАЯ И ДОНИЗУ. И БЫСТЬ ТЬМА ПО ВСЕЙ ЗЕМЛЕ ОТ ШЕСТОГО ЧАСА И ДО ДЕВЯТОГО. ВСЕ ЗЕМЛЯ ПОТРЕЯСА. СОЛНЦЕ ПОМЕРКНУЛО. ЛУНА В КРОВЬ ПРЕДВАРИЛОСЯ.

ТОГДА ЖИДИВЫ АРХИЕРЕИ РЕКШИ САМИ ПРОМЕЖДУ СОБОЮ: - "МЫ НЕ ЧАЯЛИ СЫНА БОЖЬЕГО, А МЫ ЧАЯЛИ ПРОРОКА"... ТОЖЕ ВРЕМЯ НОЧЬЮ ПРИДОША БЛАГОБРАЗНЫЙ ИОСИФ С НИКАДИМОМ И ПРИСТУПИША К ПОНТИЙСКОМУ ПИЛАТУ И ПРОСИША УНЕГО, ДАБЫ ПОЗВОЛИЛ ИМ ВЗЯТЬ СВЯТОЕ ТЕЛО СЫНА БОЖЬЕГО НАГОЕ И НЕ ПОГРЕБЕННОЕ. ПИЛАТ УСТУПИЛ ИМ И ДОЗВОЛЕЛ ВЗЯТЬ ТЕЛО ТВОЕ СВЯТОЕ. ОНИ СНЯША СО КРЕСТА; ПЛАЩЕНИЦЮ ЧИСТОЮ ОБВИВШИ, И РАЗНЫМИ БЛОГОУХАНИЯМИ ОКУРИША. ТОГДА ЖИДОВИ АРХИЕРЕИ ВЕЛИК КАМЕНЬ К ГРОБНИЦЕ ПРИВАЛИША, И СТРАЖУ ПРИСТАВИША, РИМЛЯН И ИУДЕИВ. И ТУТ УТРОМ РАНО ПРИДОША ЖЕНЫ - МИРО-
НОСИЦЫ, МАРФА И МАРИЯ, СЕСТРЫ ЛАЗАРЕВЫ, КО ГРОБУ ТВОЕМУ: ПОМАЗАТ СВЯТОЕ ТЕЛО ТВОЕ, И КУПИША ДРАГОЦЕННОЕ ОТ АРОМАТ СОСУД МИРО. И ГОРКО МЛАКОЛИ У ГРОБА ТВОЕГО СВЯТОГО. ГДЕ УВИДИША АНГЕЛА И УЖАСОШАСЯ. ГЛАС ОТ НЕГО УСЛЫШАСЯ. И РЕЧЕТ ИМ АНГЕЛ: - "ЖЕНЫ, ЧТО ВЫ ИШИТЯ, И ЖИВОГО В МЕРТВЫХ ПОМИШЛЯЕТЕ, И ПОЧЕТАЕТЕ ТЛЕННОГО? ВЫ ПОЙДИТЕ В ГАЛИЛЕЮ И ПРО-
-ПОВЕДУЙТЕ УЧЕНИКАМ ЕГО, ЯКО В ТРЕТИЙ ДЕНЬ ВОСКРЕС ХРИСТОС."

ТОГДА АГЕЛЫ И ФЕРУИМЫ ЗАПЕЛИ НА ОБЛАЦАХ НА НЕБЕСНЫХ: "ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!" И ВСЕ ПРОЧИЕ ПОДНЯЛИ РАДОСТЬ НЕБЕСНЫХ ЧИНОВ И ВСЕГО ХРИСТИАНСКОГО РОДА: "ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!" ТЫ ДОРОВАЛ ЖИВОТА ВЕЧНОГО И ВЕЛИЮ МИЛОСТЬ. ТОГДА ТЫ СЫН МОЙ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ ПОШЕЛ В ПРЕИСПОДНЮЮ АДА ДВЕРИ И ВРАТА ЖЕЛЕЗНЫЕ ОДНУМ СЛОВОМ СОКРУШИША, СИЛУ ДЬЯВОЛОВУ РАЗОГНАЛ. САТАНУ СВЯЗАЛ НАВЕКИ. И ПОСТАВИЛ АНГЕЛОВ БОЖЬИХ БЕЗОТХОДНО СО ОРУЖИЕМ КРЕСТОМ ОХРОНЯТЬ. ВСЕХ ГРЕШНЫХ И СВЯТЫХ ОТ БОЛЬ И ПРОРОКОВ - ПРАОТЦЕВ АДАМА И ЕВУ ОС-
-ВОБОДИША. РУКОПИСАНИЕ АДАМУВО РАЗЕДРАЛ. ВСЕ ПРАВЕДНЫЙ ДУШИ ТЫ ВЫВЕЛ ВОИ. И ВОЦАРСТВИЕ НЕБЕСНОЕ С РАЗБОЙНИКОМ В РАЙ ПОСЛАЛ. И ТАМ ПРОРОК ИЛЬЯ ГЛАГОЛЕТ РАЗБОЙНИКУ: - "НЕ ТЫ ЛИ БЛАГ, ВЕЛИКИЙ ЗЛОДЕЙ И МЫТАРЬ, А В РАЙ ИДЕШЬ ПРЕЖДЕ ВСЕХ. ТОГДА ОТВЕЧАТ ЕМУ РАЗБОЙНИК: - "О, СВЯТОЙ ПРОРОКА ВОЖЕЙ, ИЛЬЯ, ТОГО РАДЕ ГОСПОДЬ НАШ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС ПРИШОЛ НА ВОЛЬНУЮ СТРАСТЬ, НЕ РАДИ ОДНИХ ПРАВЕДНЫХ, НО РАДИ И НАС ГРЕШНЫХ. ОНЪДЕ С НЕБЕС СВЯТЫМ ДУХОМ И ВО ПЛОТИЛЯ ВОУТРОБУ ПРЕС-
-ВЯТОЙ БОГОРОДЕЦЫ, И РОДИНЕЯ ОТНЕЕ РАДИ НАШЕГО СПАСЕНИЯ." ТОГДА ЗАМОЧАЛ ИЛЬЯ ПРОРОК, ОТТВОРИЛ РАЙ И (НЕВЕНЕН?) ВСЕХ ПРАВЕДНЫХ ВО ЦАРСТВИЕ НЕБЕСНОЕ. ВНЕДОШАИ ТЫ, СЫН МОИ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ И ЧЕТЫРЕ ДЕСЯТНЕЦЫ СО АНГЕЛОМИ ВОЗНЕССЯ НА НЕБЕСА И СЕРАФИМЫ СИДЯ НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ НЕБЕСНУЮ ОТЦА И СЫНА И СВЯТОГО ДУХА. НЫНЕ И ПРИСНА, ВОВЕКИ ВЕКОВ.

БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА.

И РЕЧЕТ К НЕЙ ГОСПОДЬ НАШ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС, СПАСИТЕЛЬ МИРА ВСЕГО: - "О, МАТИ МОЯ ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННАЯ, ОТ ВСЕХ РОДОВ БЛАГОСЛОВЕНН-АЯ, ПРЕСВЯТАЯ ПРИСНАЯ, БЛАДЫЧИЦА БОГОРОДИЦА, ПРИСНАЯ ДЕВА МАРИЯ. ВО ИСТИНУ СОН ТВОЙ НЕ ЛОЖЕИ, И СПРАВЕДЛИВ ОСТЬ. ВСЕ ТВОИ СВЯТЫЕ ВИДЕШЬ МНОГО ЗБУДУТЬСЯ. И ГЛАГОЛЮ ТЕБЕ: - АЩЕ КТО ЗАХОЧЕТ СОН ТВОЙ БОГОРОДИЦЫ ИМЕТЬ, И СТАНЕТ В ДОМУ СВОЕМ ДЕРЖАТЬ В ЧИСТОТЕ, ТО ИН КАКАЯ ЗЛАЯ НАПАСТЬ ВРЕДИТЬ НЕ МОЖЕТ. ТОТ ЧЕЛОВЕК ОТ ГРОМУ, ОТ МОЛНИИ, ОТ ОГНЯИ И МЕЧА, ОТ НА ПОДЕНИЯ БРАГОВ, ОТ НАПРАСНОЙ СМВЕРТИ, ОТ СМЕРТЕНЕСНЫЙ ЯЗВЫ, И ОТО ВСЯКОГО ЗЛОГО

ДУХА СОХРОНЕН БУДЕТЬ. ТОТ ДМ С-КОТОМ И СЕМНЫМИ ПЛОДАМИ, И БСЯКОЮ БЛАГОСТЬЮ ГОСПОДНЕЮ НАПОЛНЕН БУДЕТЬ. И В ТОМ ДОМЕ СКОТ ОТ ЗВЕРЯ И ОТ ЗЛОГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА СОХРАНЕН БУДЕТЬ. ЗА СОН ТВОЙ БОГОРОДИЦЫИ И ЗА СТРАСТИ МОИ ХРИСТОВЫ. АЩЕ КТО ПОЙДЕТ В ПУТЬ, К ТОМУ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ В ПУТЕ ЗДОРОВЬЕ, И ЛЕГКО В ДОМ СВОЙ ВОСВРАТИТЬСЯ СО СЧАСТИЕМ И ПРИБЫТКОМ. В РАБОТЕ И ВО ВСЕХ ДЕЛАХ ПОЛУЧИТ СКОРОЕ СЧАСТИЕ.

АЩЕ КТО ПОЙДЕТ ПРЕД ЦАРЯ ИЛИ ПРЕД ГОСПОДИНА, А СЕЙ СОН С СОБОЮ ИМЕТЬ БУДЕТ, ТО ОТ ЦАРЯ ПОЖАЛОВАН БУДЕТ. ОТ СУДЕЙ ИЛИ ОТ ГОСПОДИНА ПРОШЕЛ БУДЕТ ВО ВСЯКИХ НАПРАСНЫХ НАГОВОРАХ. ИЛИ КТО ВСТУПИТ В ЗАКОННЫЙ БРАК, А СЕЙ СОН ПРИ СЕБЕ ИМЕТЬ БУДЕТ, ТО В ДОРОГЕ И НА РАСПУТИЯХ ОТ ЗЛЫЙ ЛЮДЕЙ САХРАНЕН БУДЕТ. АЩЕ (ЗАМУЖНАЯ ЖЕНЩИНЫ РОДИТ, ТО ЖЕНЩИНА...?) СЕЙ СОН ПРИ СЕБЕ ИМЕТЬ, ТО ОТРОЧЕ РОДИТСЯ ЛЕГКО И БЕЗ ВСЯКИХ МУК, И МЛОДЕНИЦ ТОТ ОТ МЕНЯ ВЕЛИКИМ СЧАСТЬЕМ НА ДЕНЕН БУДЕТ.

ТАК ДОЛЖНО КАЖДОМУ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ ПРИ СЕБЕ СОН БОГОРОДИЦЫИ ИМЕТЬ. И БУДЕТ КАЖДУЮ НЕДЕЛЮ ЧИТАТЬ ИЛИ СЛУШАТЬ, ТО ВЕЕ ГРЕХИ ЕМЫ ПРОШАТСЯ. АЩЕ КОТОРЫЙ ЧЕЛОВЕК ПРИ СМЕРТИ СВОЕЙ СЕЙ СОН БОГОРОДОЦЫИ ВОСПОМНИТ, ИЛИ КОГО НАПРОСИТ ПРОЧИТАТЬ, А САМ С ВЕРОЮ ПОСЛУШАЕТ, ТО ОТПУЩЕНИЕ ГРЕХОВ ПОЛУЧЕТ. ТО ПОШЛЕТСЯ ОТ МЕНЯ АНГЕЛ ГОСПОДЬНИЙ, И ВОЗЬМЕТ ДУШУ ЕГО ОТ ТЕЛА, И ПОСЛАНА БУДЕТ СНИМ ПРАВЕДНЫМ В НЕДРА НА ЛОНО АВРААМОВО, ИСАКОВО И ИАКОВА В РАЙ ВЕЧНО. И БУДЕТ ТАМ ВСЕЛОТЦСЯ ВО ЦАРСТЕИ НЕБЕСНОМ ВО НЕИЗРЕЧЕННОЙ РАДОСТИ. ЗА СОН ТВОЙ БОГОРОДИЦЫИ, И ЗА СТРАСТИ МОИ ХРИСТОВЫ, ВО ВЕКИ ВЕКОВ.

БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА.

В.Ф.М.

In the name of the Father, and Son[and] Holy Spirit!

1

This[is]the dream of the Most-Holy Bearer-of-God - Mistress - Bearer-of-blessing, most-choice Maiden Mary. He who wishes to read or to listen, ought to keep [it] with care in [his] heart.

She dreamed it, the Most-holy Bearer-of-God, the most-choice Maiden

2

3

Mary, in the month of March, in the holy town of Bethlehem of Judea, to her comes our Lord Jesus Christ: O, my beloved Mother, blessed by all

1. or, sleep; but dream is obviously the correct term here.

2. note, before Easter.

3. ?- the practice of Incubation - sleeping in an auspicious site where true dreams may be expected.

4
generations, Most-holy Lady - Mistress Bearer-of-God, Most-choice Maiden
Mary, what did you dream in the Holy town of Bethlehem of Judea, what
did you see in the dream? And to Him she spoke, the Most-holy Bearer-
-of-God, with tears: O, my beloved child, and sweetest Jesus Christ. I
5
slept and I saw in the dream great terrors, and I am not able to tell
6
you, whereby my womb is stricken.

7
And a sharp sword will burn my heart. I declare to you a mighty 8
passion, O, my sweetest child. It was as if, my Lord, the disciple
Judas Iscariot, for thirty silver-pieces, sold you out to the High-
-priest of the Jews. And [he] betrayed you to Pontias Pilate the Gover-
-nor. And at the order of the High-priest [they] knotted a crown of
thorns about Your Holy head. And with reeds [they] lashed you about
Your holy head. Upon Your Holy face they spat. For Your Holy mouth
they gave [you] gall to drink. And much-much against You, my Lord, did
9
they curse.

10
And they made a cross from three trees, Cypress, (), and
Cedar. And all this they loaded on Your Holy shoulders and got you to
carry it along. And You, my beloved Son, were wearied with carrying it
along. With that Cross you fell to the ground because of the beatings
11
of the Jews. And here another person named Simeon, he picked up the
cross, the other [man] took it with honour, he carried it along and de-
-livered it to the execution ground of the city of Jerusalem on Mount

4. formula from the Magnificat, Luke I, 48.

5. or, I dreamt.

6. lit., bitten, stung.

7. Cf. Luke II, 34-35.

8. lit., important suffering.

9. lit., scold, quarrel with.

10. obscure word, ПЕВГИ.

11. Should be Simon, Luke XXII, 26.

Golgotha. And here You, my Lord, by the High-priest of the Jews, in the presence of Pontias Pilate the Governor, were crucified. And with You [were] two brigands. One received pardon from You because of [his] coming to believe in Your word, and he said: Indeed, You, Lord, suffer without guilt, [but] we are judged for our deeds. Remember me, Lord, when you come into Your Kingdom. But the second perished, for he did not come to believe in Your word. And there You, my beloved Son, I saw in the dream, did die on the cross. In the dream - I saw there¹² came one of the soldiers, and Your Holy chest he pierced with a lance. From that there came forth blood and water for the healing of Christians, for the salvation of the souls of sinners. Also I saw the curtain of¹³ the Church torn in two, from the very edge to the end. And there was darkness on all the earth from the sixth watch even to the ninth. All the earth was shaken. The sun grew dim. The moon [was covered] in blood, as was foretold.

Then the Jews' High-priest himself spoke to those with him: "We¹⁴ did not look for the Son of God, but we looked for a Prophet"... Then I saw approach the good ruler Joseph with Nicodemus and they set off to Pontias Pilate and begged him, to grant them leave to take the Holy¹⁵ body of the Son of God openly and bury it. Pilate yielded to them and gave them leave to take Your Holy body. They took [it] down from the cross, wound [it] round with a clean shroud, and embalmed[it] with

12. lit., rib.

13. should be Temple, of course.

14. apocryphal.

15. This reading requires that the Russian become:

...БОЖЬЕГО И НЕ НАГОЕ ПОГРЕБЕННОЕ.

various spices. Then the Jews' High-priest leaned a great stone up
 against the tomb, and set guards, Romans and Jews. And there early in
 the morning came up the women - Peacebearers, Martha and Mary, the
 Sisters of Lazarus, to Your tomb to anoint Your Holy body, and they
 bought a precious vessel of myrrh for balm. And they wept bitterly at
 Your Holy tomb. There they saw an Angel and they were terrified, and
 they listened to his voice. And the Angel spoke to them: "Women, what
 do you look for, and do you reckon the living[to be] among the dead,
 and do you honour [what is] perishable? Get you to Galilee, spread
 the news to His disciples, that on the third day Christ is risen."

Then the Angels and the Cherubim sang in throngs in the heavens:
 "CHRIST IS RISEN!", and all the rest lifted up their joys, the Heaven-
 -ly host and all the Christian generations: "Christ Is Risen!" You
 granted to the living eternal and mighty mercy. Then You, my beloved
 Son, shook open the entrance of hell and shattered [its] iron gates
 with one word, the power of the Devil was flattened. Satan you bound
 for ever. And you set the Angel of God to keep everpresent watch over
 the cross with a sword. All the sinners and saints from pain - and the
 prophets - our Forefathers Adam and Eve were set free. With your beaut-
 -iful arm you roused up Adam and Eve. All the righteous spirits you

16. Holy Saturday has been omitted.

17. Possibly a misreading for [Mary] Magdalen?

18. by reading МИППА for МИПО, which yields Chrism (blessed oil).

19. Obscure word; Gattinger reads: in heavenly clouds.

20. by reading ДАРОВАЛ for ДОРОВАЛ.

21. lit., neverdeparting.

22. Cf. the parallel angel guarding Eden, Genesis III, 24.

23. Corrupt passage. Gattinger reads: "You tore up Adam's handwriting", or, Adam's sins. My reading requires considerable distortion of the text, which is already imperfect.

raised out of [hell]. And into the kingdom of Heaven, with the brigand, into paradise you sent [them]. And there the prophet Elijah will say to the brigand: "How is it that you are not good, [but] a most evil and troublesome [man], but you come into paradise before all [the rest]?"

Then the brigand will answer him: "O, holy prophet of God, Elijah, for
 24 the sake of this slave our Lord Jesus Christ died in great suffering, not for the sake of only the righteous, but for slaves and we sinners.

He came from heaven through the Holy Spirit and took flesh in the womb of the most-holy Bearer-of-God, and was born of her for the salvation of us slaves." Then Elijah the prophet fell silent, paradise opened

25

up, and all the righteous [passed] into the Kingdom of Heaven. Outside, You have finished, my beloved Son, and by four dozens of angels [you are] lifted up into heaven with the Seraphim and [you] are seated on the heavenly throne. [In the name of the] Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Now and always, for ever and ever.

Glory to Our God.

And to her speaks our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the whole world: O, my beloved Mother, blessed by all generations, Most-holy, Most-choice Mistress - Bearer-of-God, Most -choice Maiden Mary. Indeed Your dream does not lie, and is correct. [In] all Your Holiness [you]
 26 saw much [that] will be. And I say to You: Whoever wishes to have Your dream, Bearer-of-God, and stands in his house to keep it in purity, not any sort of evil will be able to assault [him], to harm him. The man

24. or, servant.

25. MS damage at this point.

26. note replacement at this point of РЕЧИТЬЬЮ ГЛАГОЛЯТЬ, a more modern verb.

will be safe from thunder, from lightning, from fire and the sword,²⁷
 from enemies in daytime, from unjust death, from death-dealing stings,²⁸
 and from every evil spirit. That cattle-barn and farm field and all²⁹
 will be blessed. And in the Home the cattle will be safe from wild
 beasts and evil men. Because of your dream, Bearer-of-God, and because
 of the passion of My Christ. Whoever goes out on the road will greet
 that man along the way, and he will easily return to his Home, with good
 fortune and prosperity. At work and in all doings he will quickly re-
 -ceive good fortune.

Whoever comes before the Czar or before the Lady, yet will have
 this dream with him, the same will be paid by the Czar. From judges³⁰
 and from the Lady he will gain pardon for all vain gossip. Or whoever³¹
 comes upon a lawless enemy, yet will have this dream with him, the
 [same] will be safe from evil people on the road and in the season-of-³²
 -bad-roads. Whatever married woman gives birth, the woman that [will]
 have this dream with her, the[same] will be delivered of the young
 easily and without any pangs, and the infant will have great fortune
 in his doings from Me.

Thus every man ought to have with him the dream of the Bearer-of-
 -God. And he [who] will every week read and listen [to the dream], the

27. or, bites. Of serpents, or of mad dogs?

28. lit., fruit; in a general sense of farm produce.

29. The charm would have been applicable especially to beeves before the
 establishment of the vegetarian rule in the last decade of the 1800s,
 but remains relevant to the cattle or herds which Doukhobors presently
 maintain for dairy purposes.

30. lit., slander.

31. by reading БРАГ for БРАК, marriage: if lawless, to be feared, but not
 in good context with the rest of the sentence.

32. MS damaged, but reading may be as inserted.

[same], all sins will be taken away from him. Whatever other man on the point of his death remembers this dream of the Bearer-of-God, or who begs to [have it?] read out, and who listens to it with faith, the
 33
 [same] will receive absolution from sin. The Lordly Angel will be sent from Me and his spirit will come from his body and will be taken [by
 34
 the Angel] to the rest of the faithful in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the eternal paradise. And he will there be settled into the Kingdom of Heaven in unknown joy. Because of Your dream, Bearer-of-God, because of the passion of My Christ. For ever and ever.

35

V. Ph. M.

33. ecclesiastical term.

34. lit., sleep.

35. These may be either a formula; or the initials of the giver of the text, or of the recipient, or of a putative author, or other source. Several holograph versions prepared by Anastasia Golubova and given by her one request are still in existence, none presumably more recent than c. 1940.

Psalm 384.A Talk.

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Published by Bonch-Bruevich from the writings of Peter Vasilievich Verigin. Published by Eli Popoff in his PACCKA3, Grand Forks 1956, 1966, and Historical Exposition, Grand Forks 1964.

Associated by Bonch-Bruevich with Psalm 144, q.v.. Popoff notes that the Talk is part of the content of a letter sent from prison in 1896 by Verigin to the leaders of the Major Party Doukhobors in the Caucasus. Woodcock and Avakumovic (1968, pp. 88-90) point out, as do Bonch-Bruevich and Popoff before them, that the bulk of the Talk is taken directly from passages from Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You. Verigin does not acknowledge his debt to Tolstoyan thought and texts; this Woodcock and Avakumovic interpret in a perhaps incautiously negative manner, implying motives of insecurity and vanity on Verigin's part. Such may, of course, be the case; but it must also be borne in mind that Doukhobor tradition already -like most European folk traditions - practiced borrowing from established sources without citation; this should be evident by now. To argue that Verigin presented the Talk as his own composition or revelation solely to suit his personal needs is to neglect several facts. Firstly, the inclusion of citations would interrupt and jar a familiar style of presentation. Secondly, it would injure the rhetorical necessity: inspired utterance needs no citation, since it all ultimately comes from God. Thirdly, there seems no reason to suppose that Verigin was particularly familiar with the Western convention of giving citations, or of the Western values attached to the practice. Furthermore, the force of 'official' letters within the Doukhobor community (as perhaps for many Russians) still is different from our own essentially private experience of correspondence: a letter is a far more public, universal document, a ding an sich to which response must be offered separately from any response offered the writer. Of the Talk, Bonch-Bruevich notes: "When I visited the Doukhobors in Canada, they did not associate this with the psalms, but valued it extremely as a teaching. They told me more than once, that this Talk more than the psalm [144]...they considered the chief basis of their present-day world-view." The main matter of the Talk is an affirmation of Christian freedom from mere worldly legality, and of faith and pacifism under oppression. Through the citation from Tolstoy, it has also been one of the means for bringing the Garrison Declaration (Boston, 1838) into Doukhobor consciousness.

ВОЗЛЮБЛЕННЫЙ БРАТЕЦ, В ГОСПОДЕ, ИИСУСЕ ХРИСТЕ, ЖЕЛАЮ ПОБЕЛЕДОВАТЬ С ТОБОЮ, ДОРОГОЙ БРАТЕЦ! В ЧЕМ ЗАКЛЮЧАЕТСЯ ТВОЯ ВЕРА? ИСПОВЕДУЮ ЗАКОН ГОСПОДА МОЕГО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА И ПОМИНАЮ О НЕМ НЕ ВНЕШНЕ, А ВНУТРЕННЮ. КОГДА МЫ ЖИВЕМ В ВОЛЕ ОТЦА, ГОСПОДА БОГА НАШЕГО, ТО И ГОСПОДЬ ЖИВЕТ В НАС, ОЖИВОТВОРЯЯ НАС, ПРОСВЕЩАЕТ ЛУЧЕЗАРНЫМ СВЕТОМ РАЗУМ НАШ. ЖЕЛАЮЩИЕ ИСПОЛНИТЬ ВОЛЮ ОТЦА НЕБЕСНОГО ДОЛЖНЫ ПОКОРИТЬ СЕРДЦА СВОИ ПОД ВЛАСТЬ ГОСПОДА. ГОСПОДЬ ГЛАГОЛЕТ НАМ: "ВЫ КУПЛЕНЫ ДОРОГОЮ ЦЕНОЙ, НЕ ДЕЛАЙТЕСЬ РАБАМИ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ." "ПОЗНАЙТЕ ИСТИНУ, И ИСТИНА ОСВОБОДИТ ВАС." ПРИНИМАЯСЬ ЗА ЭТО ВЕЛИКОЕ ДЕЛО, МЫ ВПОЛНЕ ДОЛЖНЫ СОЗНАТЬ, ЧТО НАША ИСКРЕННОСТЬ МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ПОДВЕРГНУТА ЖЕСТОКИМ ИСПЫТАНИЯМ; ЭТА ЗАДАЧА НАША МОЖЕТ НАВЛЕЧЬ НА НАС ОСКОРБЛЕНИЯ, ОБИДЫ, СТРАДАНИЯ, ДАЖЕ СМЕРТЬ. НАС ОЖИДАЮТ: НЕПОНИМАНИЕ, ЛОЖНЫЕ ТОЛКОВАНИЯ, КЛЕВЕТА, ПРОТИВ НАС ДОЛЖНА ПОДНЯТЬСЯ БУРЯ ГОРДОСТИ, ФАРИСЕЙСТВА, ЧЕСТОЛЮБИЯ, ЖЕСТОКИЕ ПРАВИТЕЛИ, ВЛАСТИ, - ВСЕ ЭТО МОЖЕТ СОЕДИНИТЬСЯ, ЧТОБЫ УНИЧТОЖИТЬ НАС; ТАКИМ ОБРАЗОМ ПОСТУПИЛИ С НАШИМ ГОСПОДОМ БОГОМ, ИИСУСОМ ХРИСТОМ, КОТОРОМУ МЫ СТРЕМИМСЯ ПОДРАЖАТЬ ПО МЕРЕ СИЛ СВОИХ. НО НАС НЕ ДОЛЖНЫ ПУГАТЬ ЭТИ УЖАСЫ, МЫ НЕ НАДЕЕМСЯ НЕ НА ЛЮДЕЙ, А НА ВЕМОГУЩЕГО ГОСПОДА. ЕСЛИ МЫ ОТКАЖЕМСЯ ОТ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНОГО ЗАСТУПНИЧЕСТВА, ЧТО ЖЕ МОЖЕТ ПОДДЕРЖАТЬ НАС, КАК НЕ ОДНА ВЕРА, ПОБЕЖДАЮЩАЯ ВСЕЯ МИР? МЫ НЕ БУДЕМ УДИВЛЯТЬСЯ ТЕМ ИСПЫТАНИЯМ, КОТОРЫМ МЫ ПОДВЕРГНУТЫ, А БУДЕМ РАДОВАТЬСЯ ТОМУ, ЧТО ИДОСТОИЛИСЬ РАЗДЕЛИТЬ СТРАДАНИЯ ГОСПОДА НАШЕГО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА. ВСЛЕДСТВИЕ ВСЕГО ЭТОГО, МЫ ПЕРЕДАЕМ ДУШИ СВОИ БОГУ И ВЕРИМ ТОМУ, ЧТО СКАЗАНО, ЧТО ТОТ, КТО ОСТАВИТ ДОМ СВОЙ, БРАТЬЕВ И СЕСТЕР, ОТЦА, ИЛИ МАТЬ, ИЛИ ДЕТЕЙ, ИЛИ НАЖИТОЕ СВОЕ, РАДИ ГОСПОДА, ТОТ ПОЛУЧИТ ВО СТО РАЗ БОЛЬШЕ, И ВО ЦАРСТВИИ НЕБЕСНОМ НАСЛЕДУЕТ ЖИЗНЬ ВЕЧНУЮ. ИТАК, ТВЕРДО ВЕРУЯ, НЕСМОТРИ НА ВСЕ ТО, ЧТО МОЖЕТ ВООРУЖИТЬСЯ ПРОТИВ НАС, В НЕСОМНЕННОЕ ТОРЖЕСТВО ПРАВДЫ, МЫ НАДЕЕМСЯ НА РАЗУМ И СОВЕСТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТВА, А БОЛЕЕ ВСЕГО НА СИЛУ БОЖЬЮ, КОТОРОЙ ДОЛЖНЫ ВРУЧИТЬ СЕБЯ. ХРИСТИАНИНУ ОБЕЩАТЬСЯ В ПОВИНОВЕНИИ ЛЮДЯМ ИЛИ ЗАКОНАМ ЛЮДСКИМ, ВСЕ РАБНО КАК НАНЯВШИЙСЯ К ХОЗЯИНУ РАБОТНИК ОБЕЩАЛСЯ БЫ ВСМЕТСЯ С ТЕМ ИСПОЛНЯТЬ ВСЕ ТО, ЧТО ЕМУ ПРИКАЖУТ ЕЩЕ И ЧУЖИЕ ЛЮДИ. НЕЛЬЗЯ СЛУЖИТЬ ДВУМ ГОСПОДАМ. ХРИСТИАНИН ОСВОБОЖДАЕТСЯ ОТ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКОЙ ВЛАСТИ ТЕМ, ЧТО ПРИЗНАЕТ НАД СОБОЙ ОДНУ ВЛАСТЬ - БОГА И ЗАКОН, КОТОРЫЙ ОТКРЫТ ЕМУ ГОСПОДОМ, ИИСУСОМ ХРИСТОМ. ОН СОЗНАЕТ ЕГО В САМОМ СЕБЕ И ПОДЧИНЯЕТСЯ ТОЛЬКО ЕМУ. ЖИЗНЬ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКАЯ ЗАКЛЮЧАЕТСЯ В ТОМ, ЧТОБЫ ТВОРИТЬ НЕ СВОЮ ВОЛЮ, А ВОЛЮ БОГА. ХРИСТИАНИН МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ПОДВЕРГНУТ ВЕЧНОМУ НАСИЛИЮ И МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ ЛИШЕН ТЕЛЕСНОЙ СВОБОДЫ, И МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ СВОБОДЕН ОТ СВОИХ СТРАСТЕЙ. ДЕЛАЮЩИЙ ГРЕХ ЕСТЬ РАБ ГРЕХА. ХРИСТИАНИН СМИРЕН И КРОТОК, НИ С КЕМ НЕ СПОРИТ, НИ НА КОГО НЕ НАПАДАЕТ, НИ ПРОТИВ КОГО НЕ УПОТРЕБЛЯЕТ НАСИЛИЯ, А НАПРОТИВ ТОГО, САМ БЕЗПРЕКОСЛОВНО ПЕРЕНОСИТ НАСИЛИЯ И ТЕМ ПОБЕЖДАЕТ ЗЛО.

1

[My] beloved brother, in the Lord, Jesus Christ, I wish to talk with you,

2

dear brother! In what does your faith consist? I profess the law of my

Lord Jesus Christ and I do not think of this in an outward [manner], but

1. in the sense of 'old friend'.

2. and follow, adds Popoff.

[as] inward. When we live within the will of the Father, our Lord God,³ then the Lord lives within us, enlivening us, he enlightens our reason [as] with radiant light. [Anyone] wishing to carry out the will of the Heavenly Father ought to surrender his heart under the Lord's rule.

The Lord tells us: "You are bought at a costly price, do not give your-⁴selves as slaves to men." "Know the truth, and the truth will set you

⁵free." Starting on this great work, we should fully understand, that our sincerity may be put to severe tests. This task of ours brings upon us insults, injuries, suffering, even death. We [may] expect:

⁶misunderstanding, false interpretation, slander; against us shall rise ⁷up a storm of the proud, the pharisaical, the ambitious, the cruel gov-
-ernors [and] rulers - all these may join together, so as to destroy

us; in that way did they deal with our Lord God, Jesus Christ, whom we strive to imitate according to the measure of our strength. But we

ought not to fear these horrors, [for] we do not rely upon men, but ⁸upon the all-mighty Lord. If we refuse the protection of men, what is ⁹able to sustain us, except the one faith, conquering the whole world?

We will not wonder at these trials, which we undergo, but we will re-
-joice in them, which made us worthy to share in the suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ. In consequence of all this, we entrust our souls to God and we believe that, as has been said, that one, who leaves his home,

3. innermost Reason, Popoff: the spiritual attribute.

4. I Corinthians VII, 23.

5. John VIII, 32, as given by Tolstoy in The Kingdom (Bonch-Bruevich).

6. misrepresentation, Popoff.

7. tumult, Popoff.

8. or, defense; intercession.

9. that Faith alone, Popoff.

10

brother and sister, father, or mother, or children, or his living,
for the Lord's sake, the same will receive again a hundredfold greater,
and will inherit eternal life in the kingdom of heaven. And so,
firmly believing (in spite of all that, which may rise up in arms

11

against us) in the unquestionable triumph of truth, we count upon the
reason and conscience of mankind, but above all upon the power of God,

12

into which we ought to deliver ourselves. For a Christian to promise
[himself] in obedience to men or human laws, is all the same as if a

servant hired himself out to [one] master [and] obliged himself at the
same time to perform all that, also, which quite different people

13

ordered of him. One cannot serve two lords. A Christian is freed
from the mastery of men, who recognizes the one master over him - God,

and the law, which is revealed to him by the Lord, Jesus Christ. He

15

is aware of it within himself and he obeys it alone. Life for man
consists in this, for whoever does not do his own will, but the will
of God. A Christian may undergo continual violence and may be robbed
of bodily freedom, yet he may be free from his own passions, Whoever

10. worldly goods, Popoff.

11. ultimate, Popoff.

12. From "starting on this great work..." above to this point, is cited from Tolstoy's The Kingdom... "All this pertains to the account of the Garrison declaration, published in 1838 in Boston...and titled: 'Basis proclamation, adopted by the members of the union, of the foundation for union between peoples of the entire world.' This 'Declaration' in its entirety [is] given in Tolstoy's aforementioned book". (Bonch-Bruevich).

13. other, Popoff.

14. Cf. Matthew VI, 24.

15. From "For a Christian to promise..." to this point, is cited from Tolstoy's The Kingdom... (Bonch-Bruevich).

does a sin is the servant of sin. A Christian is humble and meek. he does not quarrel with any, nor does he attack any, nor does he use force against any, but contrary to this, he bears violence without
16
fighting back and thereby overcomes evil.

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16. From "A Christian may undergo..." to this point, is cited from Tolstoy's The Kingdom... (Bonch-Bruевич).

In the Garden of Gethsemane.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968, (41/2). Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963; by editor in Grand Forks, 22/5/71.

Popoff notes: "This is a rhythmic kind of psalm having its own special category. It is attributed by many Doukhobors to Peter Lordly Verigin, but it seems more likely that he came across it in some old Russian folk verse, (which, however, does not seem to be preserved elsewhere) and adapted it slightly to conform with Doukhobor thought. He gave it to a group of singers, headed by Sam A. Gritchin, to give it an appropriate melody. That year (somewhere around 1920) there was a disastrous fire on community timber property. Several lives were lost and very extensive material losses were suffered. The community temperament was sad and martyr-like. The tone of feeling is clearly reflected in the melody of this psalm. Peter Lordly Verigin loved it, and had it always high on the priority list of the musts at all regular and special prayer meetings. It remains as a must for every age group singing to this day." The psalm is a dramatization of the Passion in the Garden, from the Gospel of Mark, XIV, 26-44. To this expanded narrative is added a penitential devotion. The Russian text is organized in rhyming quatrains of ABBA schema in ballad rhythm with frequent irregularities, the latter usually cued by the irregular insertion of 'In the garden of Gethsemane...'

В САДЫ ГЕФСИМАНСКОМ СТОЯЛ ОН ОДИН
 ПРЕДСМЕРТНОЮ МУКОЙ ТОМИМЫЙ;
 ОТСУ ВСЕБЛАГОМУ В ТОСКЕ НЕСТЕРПИМОЙ
 МОЛИЛСЯ СТРАДАЮЩИЙ СЫН:
 "КОГДА ТО ВОЗМОЖНО,
 ПУСТЬ, ОТЧЕ, МИНУЕТ МЕНЯ ЧАША СΙΑ.
 ОДНАКО, ДА СБУДЕТСЯ ВОЛЯ ТВОЯ!"
 И ШЕЛ ОН К АПОСТОЛАМ С ДУМОЙ ТРЕВОЖНОЙ.
 НО СКОВАННЫЙ ТЯЖКОЙ ДРЕМОЙ,
 АПОСТОЛЫ СПАЛИ ПОД ТЕНЬЮ СЛИВЫ.
 И ТИХО СКАЗАЛ ОН ИМ: "КАК НЕ МОГЛИ ВЫ
 ЕДИНОГО ЧАСА ПОТРУДИТЬСЯ СО МНОЮ?
 МОЛИТЕСЬ, ПЛОТЬ НЕМОЩНА ВАША."
 И ШЕЛ ОН МОЛИТЬСЯ ОПЯТЬ:
 "НО ЕСЛИ НЕ МОЖЕТ МЕНЯ МИНОВАТЬ,
 НЕ ПИТЬ ЧТОБЫ, ЭТУ ЧАШУ,
 ПУСТЬ БУДЕТ, КАК ХОЧЕШЬ, ТЫ, ОТЧЕ."
 И ВНОВЬ ОГ, ЯЛ ЕГО УЖАС СМЕРТЕЛЬНЫЙ,
 И ПОТ ЕГО ПАДАЛ НА ЗЕМЛЮ, КАК КРОВЬ,
 И ЖДАЛ ОН В ТОСКЕ БЕСПРЕДЕЛЬНОЙ.

И СНОВА К АПОСТОЛАМ ОН ПОДХОДИЛ,
 НО СПАЛИ АПОСТОЛЫ СНОМ НЕПРОБУДНЫМ,
 И ТЕ ЖЕ СЛОВА ОН ОТЦУ ГОВОРИЛ,
 И ПАЛ НА ЛИЦО, И СКОРБЕЛ И ТЬЖИЛ,
 СМУЩАЯСЬ В БОРЕНИИ ТРУДНОМ.
 О ЕСЛИБ Я МОГ,
 В САД ГЕФСИМАНСКИЙ ЯВИТЬСЯ С МОЛЬБАМИ,
 И ВИДЕТЬ СЛЕДЫ ОТ БОЖЕСТВЕННЫХ НОГ,
 И ЖГУЧИМИ ПЛАКАТЬ СЛЕЗАМИ!
 О ЕСЛИБ Я МОГ,
 УПАСТЬ НА ХОЛОДНЫЙ ПЕСОК
 И ЗЕМЛЮ ЛОБЗАТЬ ТУ СВЯТУЮ,
 ГДЕ ТАК ОДИНОКО СТРАДАЛА ЛЮБОВЬ,
 ГДЕ ПОТ ОТ ЛИЦА ЕГО ПАДАЛ КАК КРОВЬ,
 ГДЕ ЧАШУ ОН ЖАДЛ ПОКОВУЮ!
 О, ЕСЛИБ В ТУ НОЧЬ КТО НИБУД,
 В ТУ СТРАШНУЮ НОЧЬ ИСКУПЛЕНИЯ,
 СТРАДАЛЬЦУ В ИЗНЫВШУЮ ГРУДЬ,
 ВЛИЛ СЛОВО ОДНО УТЕШЕНИЯ!
 НО БЫЛО ВСЕ ТИХО ВЕ МРАКЕ НОЧНОМ,
 АПОСТОЛЫ СПАЛИ ТЯГОСТНЫМ СНОМ,
 ЗАБЫВ, ЧТО ГРОЗИТ ИМ НЕВЗГОДА.
 А В САД ГЕФСИМАНСКИЙ С ДРЕКОЛЬЕМ, С МЕЧЕОМ,
 ВЛЕКОМЫ ИУДОЙ ВХОДИЛИ ТАЙКОМ
 НЕСМЕТНЫЕ СОНМЫ НРОДА.

In the garden of Gethsemane He stood alone,
 Worn out by the torment of dying;
 To the All-gracious Father with unbearable yearning
 the suffering Son prayed:

"If it is possible,

Allow, Father, this cup to pass me by.

¹
 Just the same, grant [that] Your will comes to be!"

And He went to the apostles with a troubled spirit.

But fettered by heavy sleep,

The apostles slept under the shade of an olive [tree].

1. lit., equally.

And gently He spoke to them: "Were you not even able

For one hour to labour with Me?"

Pray, your flesh [is] feeble."

And He went to pray again.

"But if it may not pass from me,

That I must drink this cup,

Let it be as You wish, You, Father."

And He was freshly beset by deadly terror,

And His sweat fell like blood to the ground,

And He waited in infinite yearning.

And once again He went up to the apostles,

But the apostles slept, fast asleep,

And He spoke the [same] words to the Father,

And fell on His face, and sorrowed, and lamented,

Overwhelmed in the burdensome struggle.

O, would that I might,

In the garden of Gethsemane, appear with a prayer,

And see the prints of the Divine foot,

And weep scalding tears!

O, would that I were able

To fall on the cool sand

And kiss the holy ground

Where lonely Love suffered so,

Where sweat fell from His face, like blood,

Where He awaited the bitter cup!

O, would that, that night, any mortal

2

On that terrible night of atonement,

3

To the sufferer's languishing heart

Had poured out [but] one word of comfort!

But all was still in the gloom of the night,

The apostles slept [their] sorrowful sleep,

Unaware than disaster menaced them.

4

But to the garden of Gethsemane, with club, with sword,

5

[Those]relying upon Judas came forward in stealth,

People in countless hordes.

2. or, redemption.

3. This line appears to introduce different themes in the psalm. At its first appearance, the psalm opens; at the second, the speaker breaks into his devotion; at the last, the mob arrives to arrest Christ and thereby close the scene of the psalm.

4. influenced by, Popoff.

Questions Concerning Citizenship.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Written MS text from Mrs. A. Ozeroff, Glade, 3/7/71.

The psalm is either independent, or an excerpt from a catachetic psalm not recorded by Bonch-Bruevich. The inclusion of the term 'English King' would probably date the psalm to just after Bonch-Bruevich's time, since it can scarcely antedate the citizenship controversy that peaked between 1903-1905, and was to culminate in the Doukhobors' loss of their Saskatchewan homesteads and colonies. The psalm is preserved on a slip of copy-book paper, written on both sides in indelible pencil. The text on the rear of the sheet has its own concluding formula, but no introducing formula; accordingly I have assumed it to be a portion of the main text and present it accordingly.

ВАПРОСЫ ПОДДАНСТВА.

ВОПРОС - ПОЧЕМУ ВЫ ПОДДАНСТВО НЕ ПРИНИМАЕТЕ АНГЛИЙСКОМУ КОРОЛЮ?

ОТВЕТ - НЕПОЗВОЛЯЕТ ВЕРО УЧЕНИЕ СПАСИТЕЛЯ НАШЕГО ИСУСА ХРИСТА. ОН ЕСТЬ ЦАРЬ ВСЕХ ЦАРЕЙ И КАРЛУЙ ЗЕМНЫХ И МЫ ЕВО ПОДДАННЫЕ. ОН ПРИЗЫВАЕТ ВСЕХ ЛПДЕЙ К МИРНОЮ ЖИЗНИ И БРАТСКОЙ ЛЮБВИ. ОН ПОДОЖИЛ ДУШУ СВОЮ ЗА ВСЕХ НАС И МЫ ПОДРОЖАЕМ ПО МЕРЕ СИЛ СВОИХ СТРЕМИМСЯ К ТОМУ ЖЕ СВЯТОМУ ДЕЛУ И ГОВОРИМ ВСЕМУ ХАРОДУ ОТКРЫТО НАСТАЛО ВРЕМЯ РАСКОВАТЬ ПУШКИ НА ПЛУГИ А РУЖЬЯ И МЕЧИ НА СЕРПЫ. ЛУЧШЕ БЫТЬ МИРНЫМИ СЛУЖИТЕЛЯМИ СПАСИТЕЛЯ ИСУСА ХРИСТА, НЕЖЕЛИ, ПОДДАННЫМИ РАЗБОЙНИКАМИ УБИЙЦА КОРОЛЯ.

МЫ ГРАЖДАНИ ИТЦА ВСЕМ ВСЕЛЕННОМ. А ВАША ГРАЖДАНСТВО ИМПЕРАТОРОВ И КОРОЛЕЙ РАЗ'ЕДИНЯЕТ ЛЮДЕЙ И ЗАСТОВЛЯЕТ ВОЕВАТЬ. Я ПРИНАДЛИЖУ К ХРИСТИАНСКОЙ ОБЩИНЕ ВСЕМИРНАГО БРАТСТВА.

Question:- Why do you not accept the citizenship of the English King?

Answer:- Belief in the teachings of our Saviour Jesus Christ does not allow it. He is the King of all kings and rulers of the earth and we are his citizens. He calls together all people to peaceful living and brotherly love. He offered his soul for us all and we do the same -

1

1. lit., we imitate.

- with all our strength to follow that holy deed, and tell all people openly that the time has come to reshape cannons into ploughs and guns and swords into sickles. It is better to be peaceful servants of the Saviour Jesus Christ than to be loyal bandits of the killer King.

We are citizens of the almighty Father; but your citizenship of emperors and kings separates people and forces them to fight. I² belong to the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.

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2. The C.C.U.B., formulated in Russia, and the original Doukhobor communal structure in Canada..

Thank You, Lord.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961, and in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968. Recorded by Peacock in Grand Forks, July, 1963. (a/1/3).

Popoff notes: "A short prayer of thankfulness usually recited after meals. It was composed by Peter Lordly Verigin, and came into wide use from the very first years of communal living in Canada." The Gospel of Luke, I, 53 (from the Magnificat) reads (J.B.): "The hungry he has filled with good things, the rich sent empty away," the first phrase itself derived from Psalm CVII, 9. The present prayer is a logical transformation of this verse: the faithful thank the Lord for his good things, and, rich in His goodness, pray not to be sent empty away from His kingdom.

БЛАГОДАРИМ ТЕБЯ ХРИСТЕ, БОЖЕ НАШ, ЯКО НАСЪТИЛ ЕСИ НАС СЕМЬМИ СВОИМИ БЛАГАМИ. НЕ ЛИШИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, НЕБЕСНОГО СВОЕГО ЦАРСТВИЯ.

We thank You, Christ, our God, for you have filled us with these Your [earthly] blessings. Do not keep from us, Lord, Your heavenly Kingdom.

Maiden Bearer-of-God.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff and Anna Gattinger. Recorded by Roman Piontkovsky from Polly Popoff, Blaine Lake, 1970.

Piontkovsky notes: "A fascinating psalm which I cannot find recorded. Clearly of Orthodox origin....Some terminology is obviously taken from Orthodox [liturgy]." Indeed, in the style of ascribing titles to the Virgin, the psalm is somewhat reminiscent of the Western Church's medi-aeval Stella Maris. The last quarter or so of the psalm, though, moves into the exuberant Doukhobor clustering of concepts, then into a final doctrinal devotion to God. The psalm is characterized by a structure of highly irregular couplets. Its Marianism is a source of embarrassment to some Doukhobors, while others state that it is to be understood mystically, though no precise interpretation is known to me at this time (Field observation, 2/4/72).

БОГОРОДИЦА ДЕВИЦА,
 НЕБЕСНАЯ ЦАРИЦА,
 ВЛАДЫЧИЦА ПРЕСВЯТАЯ,
 НЕПОСТЫДНАЯ, БЛАГАЯ,
 УПОВАНИЕ ХРИСТИЯНИЕ,
 БОГОМ ИЗБРАНА,
 БОГОМ НАЗВАННА,
 СО ПРЕСВЕТЛЫМ РОЖДЕСТВОМ СВОИМ АДАМА ОСВОБОДИЛА,
 ЕБУ ОТ ГРЕХА ИЗБАВИЛА, ВЕСЬ МИР ОБНОВИЛА,
 СУМУ ВЕЧНУЮ ИСКУПИЛА,
 ДЬЯВОЛА СВЯЗАЛА,
 ВРАГОВ ПОТОПТАЛА,
 СКОРАЯ ПОМОЩНИЦА,
 В БЕДАХ-НАПАСТИЯХ ЗАСТУПЩИЦА,
 ВО СЛЕЗАХ-РЫДАНИЯХ СПОСОБНИЦА,
 НИЗКО СОБРАЧНАЯ ДЕВИЦА,
 НЕПОРОЧНАЯ ТРУКАВИЦА,
 ЧЕСНЕЙШЕЙ ВСЕЙ ТВАРИ, ПРОСЛАВЛЯЮЩИЙ ВСЮ НЕБЕСНУЮ СИЛУ;
 НЕЗАХОДИМОЕ СОЛНЦЕ, ЛУЧЕЗАРНАЯ ЗАРЯ,
 ПРЕСВЕТЛАЯ ЗВЕЗДА,
 НЕУГАСИМАЯ СВЕЧА,
 ИЗБРАННЫЙ СОСУД, ПРЕСЛАВНАЯ МОЛЕБНИЦА; ВСЕМИРНАЯ, ПРЕДВЕЧНАЯ ЦАРЯ
 МАТЬ, НАКОРМЛЯЮЩАЯ ЖАЖДОЙ, НАПОЛЯЮЩАЯ МЕДОМ, КО СПАСЕНИЮ ПРИВОДЕ МИР,
 ЗДРАВО ПОДОБАЕ,
 КО НЕБЕСНОМУ ЦАРСТВУЮ СБАВЛЯЕ,
 ВО ГЛУХАНОЕ ОДАНЬ (?), ВСЯКУЮ СКВЕРНОСТЬ ОБМЫВАЕТ, ПОКРЫВАЮЩЕЕ
 ГРЕХИ ЖИВОТОЧНОЙ ВОДОЙ,
 РУМЯНЫМИ КАПЛЯМИ, ДУХОВНОЙ РОСОЙ,

НЕ ТЛЕННО, НЕ БЛАЖНО, МОЧЬ К НЕБЕСАМ ПРИИДОША; РУЧКИ БОЖЕСТВЕННЫЕ,
 МАННА АРХАНГЕЛЬСКАЯ, СОБОРЫ К СВЯЩЕННОМУ ХРАМУ, ДЕЙСТВИЯ ПОХВАЛА,
 ЦАРСТВИЯ КРЕПОСТЬ, СМЕРЕНИЕ МИРУ,
 СОБЛЮДЕНИЕ ГРАДУ,
 УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ ЯЗЫКАМ, ВЕРА ПОКОЯНИЯ, НАЧАТОК СПАСЕНИЮ, АНГЕЛАМ РАДОСТЬ,
 АПОСТОЛАМ ПОХВАЛА, ПРОРОКАМ ПРОРЕЧЕНИЕ,
 ВСЕМ СВЯТЫМ ВЕНЧАНИЕ,
 ГРЕШНИКАМ НАКАЗАНИЕ,
 НЕСКАЗАНАЯ МУКА, НЕПИСАННЫЙ СВЕТ, НЕПОВЕДАНА ТАЙНА;
 НИКТО НЕ МОЖЕТ СУДЬБУ БОЖЬЮ ИСПЫТАТЬ,
 ИЛИ КОНЦЫ ВЕРЫ РАЗЫСКАТЬ,
 ТОЛЬКО ДАНО ЕДИНОМУ РОЖДЕННОМУ БОГУ.
 ЕМУ ЖЕ СЛАВА И ДЕРЖАВА, ЧЕСТЬ И ПОКЛОНЕНИЕ, СО ПРИЧИСТОЙ ДЕВОЙ МАРИЕЙ!

Maiden Bearer-of-God,

Heavenly Princess,

Sovereign mistress most holy,

Unashamed, blessed,

Hope of Christians,

By God chosen,

By God named,

With [His] most holy birth freed Adam,

Released Eve from[her]sin, renewed the whole world,

1

Redeemed the sum of[the world's] sins,

Bound the Devil,

Trampled the enemies;

A quick helper,

In onset-of-troubles a defender,

During tearful-laments a comforter,

To working-people a great help,

2

Lowly calm maiden,

1. Archaic ecclesiastical term, СУМ is cognate with summa: the total of the world's sins.

2. lit., collected, composed.

3

Virgin, [blameless] penitent,

Most honest of all creation that praises the Heavenly Power;

Never-setting sun, glowing dawn,

Most-bright star,

Never-failing candle,

Chosen Vessel, most praiseworthy maker-of-prayer; for the whole world,

eternal mother of the King, [who] feeds the hungry, quenches [thirst]

with honey, leading the world to salvation,

4

Reasonable and proper,

[She] shortens the way to heaven,

In the far-away waters [?], she washes away all uncleanness. she covers

sins with living waters,

Rosy drops, of spiritual dew,

Without burning [of sins?], without folly, you may come to heaven; holy

hands, manna of archangels, cathedrals to the Holy Temple, making

praises, heavenly castle, humility of the world,

Preserver of cities,

5

Strengtheners of nations, belief of confession [of sin], beginning of sal-

-vation, joy of angels, praise of apostles, prophecy of prophets,

Wedding of all saints,

Penalty of sinners,

Unspoken suffering, unspeakable light, untold secret,

3. The word implies one who does penance though innocent.

4. obscure,

5. lit., tongues.

6

No-one can know the will of God,

Nor can find out the faith,

This is given only to the onēalmighty God.

7

To Him be glory and power, honour and praise, with the most pure

Maiden Mary!

6. lit., fate: none can know the destiny God has determined for him.

7. lit., bows of salutation. Abstract or indirect greetings are traditionally expressed directly by Doukhobors by bows.

I Raise My Voice to the Lord...

Text supplied and translated by Eli Popoff. Recorded by Peacock in Brilliant, July 1963.

Although psalm 254 opens with the same line, note that any resemblance ends right there; after an appeal reminiscent of the O.T. Psalms, this psalm moves quickly to an apocalyptic prophecy of turmoil and judgement to come. The text is early, to judge by the language.

ГЛАСОМ МОИМ КО ГОСПОДУ ВОЗЗВАХ: УСЛЫШЬ, ГОСПОДИ, ГЛАС МОЙ, КОГДА ВЗЫВАЮ К ТЕБЕ; СОКРОЙ МЕНЯ ОТ КЛЕВЕТНИКОВ ЛОЖНЫХ, ОКЛЕВЕТАЛИ МЕНЯ БЕЗВИННО И ПРЕДАЛИ МЕНЯ БЕЗВИННО. РАДОВАЛАСЬ ТЬМА И ВСЕ БЕЗЗАКОННИКИ ХУЛУ ГОВОРИЛИ, РАЗРУШИЛАСЬ ГОРА СИОН И РАСПАЛИСЬ СТЕНЫ ИЕРУСАЛИМСКИЕ. А ГОСПОДЬ ВОЗГЛАСИЛ: ЗАГРАЖУ ПУТЬ КЛЕВЕТНИКАМ ЛОЖНЫМ, СВЕРГНУ САТАНУ С ПРЕСТОЛА И ПОГИБНЕТ СЛАВА ДЬЯВОЛА... А ЕЩЕ ПОСТРАДАЛ СЫН ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИЙ ЗА ПОД СЕЙ. ТОГДА БУДЕТ РАДОВАТЬСЯ СЕЙ РОД, А КЛЯНУЩИЕ СЫНА ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКОГО ВОЗНЕНАВИДЕТ И БРАТЬЕВ СВОИХ. ТОГДА ВОССТАНЕТ И ВОСКОЛЫШЕТСЯ ГОРА СИОН И ВОЗМУТИТСЯ ТРЕТЬЯ ЧАСТЬ ЛЮДЕЙ И ПОВЕРНУТСЯ ВО ТЬМУ, ПРИМУТ НА ЧЕЛО СВОЕ ПЕЧАТЬ НА ПОДОБИЕ ЗВЕРЯ И ОТВЕРЗЕТ ДЬЯВОЛ ПАСТЬ СВОЮ НА НИХ. ТОГДА СОЙДЕТ СЫН ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИЙ ВО СЛАВЕ СВОЕЙ, СЯДЕТ НА ПРЕСТОЛЕ СВОЕМ. ТОГДА ДВАДЦАТЬ ЧЕТЫРЕ СТАРЦА ПАДУТ НА ЗЕМЛЮ И СКАЖУТ: ДОСТОИН ТЫ, ГОСПОДИ, ПРИНЯТЬ СЛАВУ ВЕЧНУЮ. А ПОВЕРЖЕННЫЕ В ОГНЕННОЕ МОРЕ ВОСПЛАЧУТСЯ ПЛАЧЕМ ВЕЛИКИМ. А СТОЯЩИЕ ВОКРУГ ПРЕСТОЛА ПОСЛЕДУЮТ ЗА ГОСПОДОМ. ДВАДЦАТЬ ЧЕТЫРЕ СТАРЦА БУДУТ ПЕТЬ ПЕСНЮ НОВУЮ. СЫН ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИЙ ВОЗЬМЕТ ИЗБРАННЫХ СВОИХ И ПОВЕДЕТ ВО ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ, ВЕЧНОЕ, КОТОРЫЕ НЕ ПОНЕСАЛ ХУЛУ НА БОГА.

I raise my voice to the Lord; Harken, Lord, to my voice, with which I appeal to You; hide me from the slanders of liars, [who] slandered me [though I was] guiltless and betrayed me [though I was] innocent. They were glad and all the lawless cursed, they said, Mount Sion is destroyed, and the walls of Jerusalem are in flames. But the Lord spoke out: I will close off the path of the slandering liars, I will throw down¹ Satan from [his] throne and the glory of the devil will perish... But

1. floating phrase - cf. psalms 71, 113.

still the Son of Man suffers for His own kind. Then his kin will be joyful, but (those) bowing before the Son of Man will conceive hatred [for] him and his brothers²(?). Then he will rise up and Mount Zion will be broken and three parts of the people will be filled with indignation and they will turn upon them, he will trample upon the man who sealed himself with the likeness of a wild beast and will cast him with them into the mouth of the devil³(?). Then the Son of Man will go up into His glory, he will sit upon His throne. Then the twenty-four elders will fall to the ground and say: You [are] worthy, Lord, to receive eternal glory⁴. But [those] cast down into the fiery sea weep greatly with eternal tears. But [those] standing about the throne look upon the Lord⁵. The twenty-four elders will sing a new song⁶. The Son of Man⁷ assembles His chosen ones and has power in the Kingdom of Heaven, eternal, which did not bear abuse against God.

2. obscure.

3. should be, mouth of Hell. Cf. Apocalypse XIX, 19.

4. Cf. Apocalypse IV.

5. obscure, and requires the reading of ПОДЕРЖЕННІЕ for ПОВЕРЖЕННІЕ.

6. Cf. Apocalypse V.

7. lit., is in charge of.

A Spiritual Wrestler...

Translated by Eli Popoff and Mercedes Cheveldayoff. Text in Popoff's Historical Exposition, 1956, 1966, and translation 1964. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968 (45/1).

Popoff ascribes this psalm to Saveli Kapustin. Major concepts presented include an ambiguously diffuse description of divine incarnation, arguing the needs of both God, to be incarnated in Christ, and of Christ, to dwell in present Christians. Also included is an ideal description of the Doukhobor community, and the placement of the Doukhobors in an apocalyptic context.

ДУХОБОРЕЦ ТОТ, КОГО ИЗБРАЛ ХРИСТОС ДЛЯ БОПЛОЩЕНИЯ СВОЕГО. БОЖЕСТВО ОБИТАЕТ НА ЗЕМЛЕ ВО ПЛОТИ, ИЗ КОТОРОГО ВЫРАЖАЕТСЯ БЕСКОНЕЧНАЯ МУДРОСТЬ. ИИСУСУ ХРИСТУ НУЖНО БЫЛО ИМЕТЬ ПЛОТЬ И БЫТЬ ЧЕЛОВЕКОМ, ИБО УСТАМИ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИМИ ГЛАГОЛЕТ ГОСПОДЬ. ЦЕРКОВЬ АПОСТОЛЬСКАЯ И ГОРА СИОН ЕСТЬ ОБЩИНА ДУХОБОРЦЕВ. СРЕДИ ГОРЫ ЖИВЕТ ДУХ БОЖЕСТВЕННОЙ МУДРОСТЬ; СИЛА БОГА В ЧЕЛОВЕКЕ. ОБИТАЮЩИЙ В НИХ ИСТОЧНИК ВОДЫ ЖИВОЙ БЛАГОВЕТСТВУЕТ О ВЕЧНОЙ ЖИЗНИ. ИХ ДОБРОДЕТЕЛЬ, ХОРОШАЯ ЖИЗНЬ ВОСТОРЕЖЕСТВУЕТ НАД МИРОМ ИЛИ ЗЕМНЫМ ЦАРСТВОМ, КОТОРОМУ КЕНЕЦ ПРИБЛИЖАЕТСЯ. ТОГДА ДУХОБОРЦЫ СТАНУТ ИЗВЕСТНЫ ВСЕМУ ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТВУ И ХРИСТОВ ОДИН БУДЕТ ДОСТОЙНЫМ ЦАРЕМ. ВОКРУГ НЕГО СОБЕРУТСЯ ВСЕ ЛЮДИ. ТОЛЬКО ЕТОЙ СЛАВЕ БУДЕТ ПРЕДШЕСТВОВАТЬ ВРЕМЯ СКОРБИ И ИСПЫТАНИЙ. БОРЬБА БУДЕТ УЖАСНАЯ, НО ПРАВДА ОДЕРЖУТ ПОБЕДЫ И ВОДВОРИТСЯ ЦАРСТВИЕ БОЖЬЕ НА ЗЕМЛЕ.

1

2

A Doukhobor is one, whom Christ has chosen for His incarnation. Deity dwells on earth in flesh, from which is manifest eternal wisdom. It was necessary for Jesus Christ to have a body and to be a man, for through the mouth of man the Lord speaks. The Apostolic Church and Mount Zion, [this] is the Doukhobor Community. Amid the mountain dwells the Divine Spirit; the wisdom and power of God among men.

4

Dwelling with them is the spring of living water [that] joyously

1. Spiritual Wrestler.

2. Spirit of God, Popoff.

3. exemplified in man, Popoff.

4. or, source. Cf. psalm 71.

5

brings forth eternal life. Their good deeds, good life will triumph over the world, or the world's kingdoms, whose end is coming soon.

Then the Doukhobors will be made known to all mankind and the One Christ shall be the worthy King. Around him shall all peoples be

5

gathered. [But] their honour shall come first [to them] only[after]

6

a time of grief and trials. There shall be a horrible struggle, but they shall gain the victory and the Kingdom of God will be established in the earth.

5. that is, the Doukhobors'.

6. Cf. Apocalypse XIX, 19 ff.

We "Cossacks" Sing a New Song...

Translated by Peter Legebokoff with Eli Popoff; text supplied by Popoff.
Recorded by Peacock at Grand Forks, July 1963.

Popoff mentions that the psalm is not sung (or recited customarily??) beyond the indicated point; further, "Sung at prayer meetings and other occasions." The psalm itself is strongly millenarian, dwelling most upon the overthrow of the symbolic great whore of the Apocalypse, and upon the Last Judgement (Cf. Apocalypse XVII; XVIII, 1-8; XX, 7-15). The motif of the number Seventy-seven reappears here (cf. psalm 324, note). The judgement of the 'seventy-seven faiths' is an expansion of Apocalypse XX, 12, 14, its attention specifically drawn to false worship and the glorification of human intellect (as against the spiritual reason elsewhere described). The opening reference to 'Cossacks' refers to the strong military choral tradition of that people. The drunkenness of the holy prophets mentioned early in the psalm derives from an O.T. passage (Isaiah XXVII, 1, 7-13), and the penalties implied here may include the 'seventy-seven faiths.'

ЗАПОЕМ МЫ 'КАЗАКИ' ПЕСНЮ НОВУЮ, КОТОРУЮ ПЕВАЛИ ЦАРЮ-ГОСПОДУ. УБИРАЛИСЬ 'КАЗАКИ' ВО ПОХОД ИДТИ, ВО СЛАВНЫЙ И ВЕЛИКИЙ ВАВИЛОН ГРАД НА ТУ ЖЕНУ СКВЕРНУЮ, ЛЮБОДЕНЦУ. ОНА ЖЕНА СКВЕРНАЯ ЛЮБОДЕНЦА СИДИТ НА ЗВЕРЕ ЧЕРВЛЕННОМ, ДЕРЖИТ В РУКЕ СВОЕЙ ЧАШУ ЗЛАТУ ПОЛНУ МЕРЗОСТИ. ОНА ЖИВШИ, НАПОИЛА ВСЕХ СВЯТЫХ ПРОРОКОВ, И ПОГУБИЛА ВЕСЬ РОД ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСКИЙ. МЫ ВИДИМ ЖЕНУ ПЬЯНУ КРОВЬЮ СВЯТЫХ, ОНА МУЧИЛА ИХ ЗА СЛОВО БОЖЬЕ, ЗА СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА, ОНА ПРОРОКОВ ТВОИХ, ГОСПОДИ, ИЗБИЛА, АЛТАРИ ТВОИ ИСКОПАЛА И ПОСЛЕДНЕГО, СОВЕЩАЕТСЯ, НАПОИТЬ ХОЧЕТ, ВЕЛИКОГО ВОИНА, СЫНА ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТОГО. ОН ЖЕ ОБЕЩАЕТСЯ НЕ ПИТЬ, А ВЗЯТЬ ЧАШУ МЕРЗОСТИ ИЗ РУКИ ЕЕ И ВЛОЖИТЬ ЧАШУ МЕРЗОСТИ В УСТА ЕЕ, ЛЮБОДЕЦУ НАВЕКИ ПОГУБИТЬ ХОЧЕТ. ТОГДА БУДУТ ЗАТВОРЕНЫ ВОРОТА ГОСПОДНИЕ НА МАЛОЕ ВРЕМЯ: НИКТО В НИХ НЕ ВНИДЕТ И НИКТО НЕИЗЫДЕТ, А ТОЛЬКО ВНИДЕТ И ИЗЫДЕТ ИГУМЕН. ТОГДА ВНЕЗАПНО СОЙДЕТ ШУМ С НЕБЕС, КАК ДУНОВЕНИЕ ВЕЛИКОЕ И БУРНОЕ, НЕСЯ ГНЕВ ГОСПОДНИЙ НА ВСЮ ЗЕМЛЮ НЕЧЕСТИВУЮ. ВОЗГРЕМИТ АДОНАЙ ГОСПОДЬ ВО ВСЕ СВОИ СЕМЬДЕСЯТ СЕМЬ ГРОМОВ И СПРОСИТ ВСЕ СЕМЬДЕСЯТ СЕМЬ ВЕР: ГДЕ НЫНЕ ВЫ, КНИЖНИКИ И МУДРИЕ САМОПОРСНИКИ, ТЬМА ВЕКА СЕГО, ДА НЕ БОГ ЛИ ОБУЯЕТ ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ ВАШУ? ОН ЖЕ ОТНЕМЕТ ОТ ВАС И СЛАВУ ВАШУ. ТОГДА ВОСПЛАЧУТ ДУШИ ГРЕШНЫЕ В РАЗНЫЕ ГОЛОСАМ ВОЗМОЛЯТСЯ ПЕРЕД ГОСПОДОМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! ПРИМИ НАШИ ДУШИ ГРЕШНЫЕ ВО СВОЕ ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ. ТОГДА ОТВЕТИТ ИМ АДОНАЙ ГОСПОДЬ: НВОЗМОЖНЕ ОБРАТИТЬ ВАШУ ТЬМУ ВО СВЕТ. КОГДА ЗВАЛ Я ВАС, ВЫ НЕ ШЛИ ДО МЕНЕ; ГЛАГОЛЕЛ ВАМ, ВЫ НЕ СЛУШАЛИ МЕНЯ; ПРОРОКОВ ПОСЫЛАЛ, ВЫ УБИЛИ ИХ. ОТОЙДИТЕ ЖЕ ВРАГИ В ОГОНЬ-МУКУ ВЕЧНУЮ, ПОГИБАЙТЕ ЗА СВОИ ДЕЛА. ТОГДА СОЙДЕТ С НЕБА ОГОНЬВЕЛИКИЙ: И НАЧНЕТ ЖЕЧЬ ГРЕШНИКОВ, А ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ДУШИ, БУДУЧИ С ГОСПОДОМ, ОНИ ПОДЪМУТСЯ НА ОБЛАКАХ ПРЕСВЕТЛЫХ. ПРЕПОДОБНЫЕ ЗАПОЮТ ПЕРЕД НИМ: ГОСПОДИ, ГОСПОДИ! ПРАВЕДЕН СУД ТВОЙ, КАЖДОМУ ВОЗДАСТ ПО ДЕЛАМ ИХ.

We "Cossacks" sing a new song, which they sang [to] our Sovereign Lord.
 [We] "Cossacks" went of to go on the march, to the famed and great city
 Babylon, against the foul woman, the harlot. She, the foul woman, the
 harlot, sits on a beast, a vassal dragon, she holds in her hand a gold-
 -en cup full of loathesomethings. [While] living, she made all the
 holy prophets drunken, and ruined all the race of man. We see the wom-
 -an drunken with the blood of the saints, she tortured them for [their
 speaking] the word of God, for [their]witnessing for Jesus Christ, she
 beat Your prophets, Lord, without mercy, and dug up Your altars and
 last of all, she took counsel, she wanted to bring [this] drunkenness
 upon the Great Champion, the Son of Man. [But] He is sworn not to
 drink, but to take the cup of loathesome things out of her hand and to
 thrust the cup of loathesome things into her [own] mouth, he wants to
 destroy the harlot therewith. Then will the Lord's gates be closed for
 a little time; none will go in and none will go out, but only the one
 Father, he will go in and go out. Then suddenly a sound will come out
 of heaven, like a great wind and a storm, bringing the wrath of the Lord
 upon all the world's sinners. The Lord Adonai will thunder out with all
 His seventy-seven thunders, and he will speak to all the seventy-seven
 faiths: Where are you know, scribes, and wise self-questioners, darkness
 of this age, O but will not God seize upon your wisdom? He will take it
 away from you, and your fame [also]. Then the sinful souls will cry out

1. lit., 'love-girl'.

2. Cf. psalm 166. The psalm is not sung beyond this point.

3. lit., Father-Superior: ecclesiastical term.

4. Lord; Hebrew.

5. ? doubters?

with diverse voices and will pray aloud before the Lord: Lord, Lord!
 Take our sinful souls into Your Heavenly Kingdom. Then the Lord
 Adonai will answer them: It is not possible to change your darkness
 into light. When I called you, you did not come to Me. I spoke to
 you, you did not listen to Me; I sent prophets, you did away with them.
 Go away, [you] enemies, into eternal fiery-torment, perish because of
 your deeds. Then eternal fire comes out of heaven and fills the sinners
 with flame, but the righteous souls, to be with the Lord, they are
 6
 lifted up on shining clouds. The saints sing before Him: Lord, Lord!
 Your judgement is righteous, You render to each according to his deeds.

6. or, holy ones (and so previously).

Father of All.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963. and on various occasions by editor. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961, and U.S.C.C. collection, 1968 (a/1/2).

Popoff notes: "This is a short prayer, composed by Peter Lordly Verigin, which is usually recited at the commencement of all prayer meetings, immediately after the 'Lord's Prayer'. It also is used by itself as a short prayer before partaking of a lunch or supper. At breakfast usually both prayers are said." Elsewhere (Field notes, 5/8/71), he has said: "It's said that a church minister - I don't know what church - was criticizing Peter Verigin, and he said that no-one could write a prayer as perfect, as complete as the Lord's Prayer. So Peter Verigin sat down and wrote this and they translated it for the minister and he didn't have anything to say." As is noted below (Ch. VIII), the prayer appears in the centre of the Molenye, with two additional responses. The prayer here concludes with the ancient Easter greeting of the Eastern church, the verbal climax of the Holy Saturday-Easter Morn Vigil liturgy; in Molenye, this comes between the first and second responses.

ОТЧЕ ВСЕХ, НА ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ, УПОВАЕМ. ТЫ ДАЕШЬ НАМ ПИШУ ВО БЛАГОЕ
ВРЕМЯ; ОТВЕРЗАЕШЬ ЩЕДРУЮ РУКУ СВОЮ И ИСПОЛНЯЕШЬ ВСЯКОЕ ДУШЕВНОЕ
БЛАГОВОЛЕНИЕ. ПОМЯНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕХ ОТОШЕДШИХ В ВЕЧНУЮ ЖИЗНЬ, А
НАС СОХРАНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ВОВСЕМ БЛАГОПОЛУЧНЫМИ. НА СЕМ МЕСТЕ ПОКЛОН-
-ЯЕМСЯ ОТЦУ, СЫНУ, И СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ.

ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!

(НА СЛОВА: ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС! ПРИСУТСТВУЮЩИЕ ОТВЕЧАЮТ:)

ВО ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!

1

2

Father of all, in You, Lord, we trust. You give us food in good time;

You open Your bountiful hand and fill all souls with kindness.

Remember, Lord, all those [who have] gone on to eternal life,

3

and keep us safely, Lord, in all well-being.

1. have faith, Popoff.

2. the time of our requirement, Popoff.

3. so that we may continually receive, in all things, of thy blessing,
is Popoff's rendering of this phrase.

In this place we bow to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

"Christ is Risen!"

(On the words, "Christ is risen, those present respond:)

4

"In the faithful Christ is risen!"

4. "...in the hearts of his faithful followers...", Popoff. Orthodox usage is: БО ИСТИННУ ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС, the usage accorded by most sectarians, and yields "In truth...". The Doukhobors have, however, changed the singular accusative ending to plural prepositional (a not very grammatical procedure with this preposition), thereby assimilating the phrase to Doukhobor doctrine - cf. psalm 1, responses (3,16).

Our Father.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Published in Doukhobors, Their Faith, 1961, and in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968 (a/1/1). Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, July 1963, and by editor on several occasions.

Popoff notes:" The words of the Lord's Prayer are slightly different from the New Testament version. It is sung by the Doukhobors in essentially the same melody, since the time of communal life in the Milky Waters area of Tauridia province, when it came among them during the leadership of Saveli Kapustin in the first decade or so (1800-1820). However, the wording as it is now, did undergo some slight revision during Peter Lordly Verigin's era in Canada. It is agreed among most Doukhorbor elders today that the basis for the original melody was brought to the Doukhobors by grandfather Ivan Makortoff when he returned to the Milky Waters area from his lengthy service in the army and navy. Apparently the singing of it was used in army church services of that day." (Is this a different man from the contemporary of Peter Lordly Verigin - cf. Woodcock and Avakumovic(1968, pp. 80, 83, 87)- who could not have introduced the melody as early as testified?)

ОТЧЕ НАШ, ТЫ ЕСТЬ НА НЕБЕ И НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ДА СВЯТИТСЯ ИМЯ ТВОЕ, ДА ПРИДЕТ ЦАРСТВО ТВОЕ, ДА БУДЕТ ВОЛЯ ТВОЯ, ЯКО НА НЕБЕ, ТАК И НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ХЛЕБ НАШ НАСУЩЕННЫЙ ДАЙ НАМ НА СЕЙ ДЕНЬ И ПРОСТИ НА ГРЕХЕ НАШИ И МЫ БУДЕМ ПРОЩАТЬ ОБИЖАЮЩИХ НАС. НЕ ДОПУСТИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ДО ИСКУШЕНИЯ; ПРИВЕДИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ВО СПАСЕНИЕ, ЯКО ЕСТЬ ТВОЯ СИЛА И ВОЛЯ.

Our Father, You are in heaven and on earth. Let Your name be kept
 holy, let Your kingdom draw near, let Your will be [done], as in
 1
 heaven, so on earth. Our daily bread, give [it] to us this day, and
 2
 forgive us our sins and we shall forgive our offenders. Do not allow
 us, Lord, to be tempted, bring us, Lord, into salvation, for [such]
 3
 is Your power and will.

1. or, vital, necessary.

2. Imperfective aspect: continual, not conditional.

3. for it is Thine power, and Thy will, ever with us, Popoff.

Righteous Souls [are] in the Hand of God.

Text supplied and translated by Eli Popoff. Recorded by Peacock, Brilliant, July 1963.

Popoff notes: "This psalm is one of the old original basic psalms that are sung for regular worship services." The psalm is based directly upon the O.T. apocryphal Book of Wisdom, III, 1-9, the traditional Lesson for All Saints' Day; in the absence of hard data it is tempting to suppose that it was sung on that festival. The psalm is an affirmation of faith in the destiny of the righteous.

ПРАВЕДНЫЕ ДУШИ В РУЦЕ БОЖЬЕЙ, НЕПРИКОСНЕТСЯ К НИМ МУКА. ВНЕ ОПО-
-ЧИВАНИЯ БЫША, В ОЧЕСАХ БЕЗУМНЫХ УМРИШЕ; ВМЕНИСЯ ИМ ОЗЛОБЛЕНИЕ, СХОД
ИХ, ИЖЕ ОТ НАШЕСТВИЯ СОКРУШЕНИЯ. ОНИ-БО СУТЬ В МИРЕ, ИБО ИДУТ ПРЕД
ЛИЦОМ ЧЕЛОВЕКОВ; АЩЕ МУКУ ПРИМУТ. УПОВАНИЕ ИХ В БЕССМЕРТИЕ ИСПОЛНЕНО
БУДЕТ. МАЛЫЕ НАКАЗАНИЯ БЫША ВЕЛИКИЕ БЛАГОДЕНСТВИЯ БУДУТ; ЯКО БОГ
ИСПЫТУЯ ИХ, ОВРЕТАЯ СЕБЕ ДОСТОЙНЫХ; ЯКО ЗЛАТО В ГОРНИЛЕ ИСПЫТУЯ ИХ;
ЯКО ВСЯ ПЛОТЬ ЖЕРТВЕННАЯ ПРИЯТА ИХ; ВО ВРЕМЯ ПОСВЯЩЕНИЯ ВСЕГО ВОС-
-СИЯЕТ; ЯКО ИСКРЫ ПО СТЕБЛЯМ ТЕКУТ; ОСУДЯТ ЯЗЫЦИ, ОБОВЛАДАЮТ ЛЮДЬМИ;
ВОЦАРИТСЯ В НИХ ГОСПОДЬ. НАДЕЮЩИЕСЯ НА ГОСПОДА РАЗУМЕЙТЕ ИСТИНУ -
- ЯКО ВЕРНЫЕ В ЛЮБВИ ПРЕБУДУТ В ПОСВЯЩЕНИЕ В ИЗБРАННЫХ ЕГО.

Righteous souls [are] in the hand of God, torment does not touch them.

Not seeming to be at rest, in the eyes of the foolish they are dead;
they will suffer bitterness, but they will come out of the onrushing
destruction. They are in [this] world, for they walk before the faces
of men; now they know suffering. Their hope in the everlasting will be
fulfilled. Little punishments [here] become great benefits; for God
tests them, finding out the worthy [ones] for himself; as gold in the
crucible, he tries them; as with burnt-offerings, he takes pleasure in

-
1. universe, Popoff.
 2. lit., be charged with.
 3. wrathfulness, Popoff.

them all; in the time of consecration they themselves will shine forth;
 like sparks along roots, they will flow³(?); they will judge the nations,⁴
 they will have mastery over the peoples; in them God will reign, [You
 that] trust in the Lord, understand the truth -for the loyal in love
 will abide with him for ever. Mercy and blessing⁵ [are] in His righteous,
 and consecration,⁶ in His chosen.

-
- 3. Obscure; [they] will in strength be fortified, Popoff.
 - 4. lit., tongues.
 - 5. benevolence, Popoff.
 - 6. or, elect.

Basic Rules for Young Children.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968(44/1).
Recorded by Peacock, Grand Forks, 1963.

Popoff notes: "This was a basic set of rules for children's upbringing, composed by Peter Lordly Verigin and strictly adhered to in the 1910 to 1920 era in community upbringing of children. It was learned by heart by most children of that time, and by many parents also. It is still read as a counselling psalm, although not all of its aspects are adhered to." The psalm is noteworthy for the broad range of rules imposed: from general religious injunctions through regulation of social behaviour and recommendation of economic self-sufficiency, down to very specific clothing regulations. There seems no ulterior point to rule Third, but the effect of rule Ninth would not only limit the drain of clothing expenditure on marginal community resources, but would also, through both uniformity and uniqueness of style, separate children more fully and cohesively from their non-Doukhobors neighbours.

ПРАВИЛА МАЛОЛЕТНИМ ДЕТЯМ.

- ПЕРВОЕ. УТРОМ ОБЯЗАНЫ ВСЕ ДЕТИ УМЫВАТЬСЯ И МОЛИТЬСЯ БОГУ; ЧИТАТЬ: "ОТЧЕ НАШ", "ДОМ НАШ БЛАГОДАТНЫЙ" И ДРУГИЕ ПСАЛМЫ, ИЗ КОТОРЫХ САМЫМ НЕОБХОДИМЫМ ДЛЯ ДЕТСКОГО ВОЗРАСТА НЬЖНО СЧИТАТЬ - "УСТРОЙ ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОЕ СЕРДЦЕ У МАМИ И ПАПЫ."
- ВТОРОЕ. ВСЕ ДЕТИ ДОЛЖНЫ ПОВИНОВАТЬСЯ БАБУШКЕ И ДЕДУШКЕ, И ВЫПОЛНЯТЬ ИХ ТРЕБОВАНИЯ С БОЛЬШОЙ УСЛУЖЛИВОСТЬЮ. А ПОТОМ ДЕЛАТЬ ВСЕ, ЧТО ПРИКАЖУТ МАМА И ПАПА.
- ТРЕТЬЕ. ВОЗВРАТИВШИСЬ СОМОЙ, ДОЛЖНЫ СТРОГО ДЕРЖАТЬСЯ ОБЩЕМУ ПРАВИЛУ: СНИМАТЬ ОБУВЬ И РАЗУВШИ НАХОДИТЬСЯ В ДОМУ ВСЕ ВРЕМЯ.
- ЧЕТВЕРТОЕ. БЕЗОБРАЗНЫЕ ШАЛОСТЬ, КРИК И ДРАКА - НИ В КАКОМ СЛУЧАЕ НЕ ДОЛЖНЫ ДОПУСКАТЬСЯ.
- ПЯТОЕ. ВСЕ ДЕТИ ДОЛЖНЫ ВОСПИТЫВАТЬСЯ В ДУХЕ ХРИСТИАНСКОЙ МИРНОЙ ЖИЗНИ. И С ВОЗРАСТОМ ТЕЛЕСНЫМ СТАРАТЬСЯ РАЗВИВАТЬ РАЗУМЕНИЕ ДУШИ СВОЕЙ В СЛОВЕ БОЖИЕМ, КОТОРОЕ ПРИНЕС НАМ ХРИСТОС В СВОЕМ СВЯТОМ УЧЕНИИ.
- ШЕСТОЕ. БЛАГОЧЕСТИВАЯ ЖИЗНЬ НА ПЕРВОМ ПЛАНЕ ДОЛЖНА ПРОВОДИТЬСЯ У ДЕТЕЙ В ТРУДАХ ЗЕМЛЕДЕЛИЯ И СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТИ. ВСЕ НЕОБХОДИМЫЕ ПРЕДМЕТЫ - ОДЕЖДУ У ПИШУ, ПОЛУЧАТЬ ВОБСТВЕННЫМИ ТРУДАМИ ОТ ЗЕМЛИ, И ДЕРЖАТЬСЯ РАЗУМНОГО ПРИСПОСОБЛЕНИЯ КО ВРЕМЕНИ, И СТРОГО ПОМНИТЬ ВОЛЮ БОЖЬЮ.
- СЕДЬМОЕ. ВОЗДЕРЖАНИЕ ОТ ВСЯКОЙ АЛЧНОСТИ И ЗАВИСТИ В ДЕТАХ ДОЛЖНО В В ВЫСШЕЙ СТЕПЕНИ СЧИТАТЬСЯ НЕОБХОДИМЫМ И БЛАГОРАЗУМНЫМ.

ВОСЬМОЕ. СКРОМНОЕ ОДЕЯНИЕ, УМЕРЕННАЯ МИША ИЗ ОВОЩЕЙ И ФРУКТОВ, ПРОСТОЕ ЖИЛИЩЕ С ЧИСТЫМ ВОЗДУХОМ - НА ВСЮ ЖИЗНЬ У ДЕТЕЙ ДОЛЖНО ОСТАВАТЬСЯ НЕИЗМЕННЫМ.

ДЕВЯТОЕ. В ЛЕТНЕЕ ВРЕМЯ ОДЕЖДА ДЕВОЧЕК ДОЛЖНА СОСТОЯТЬ ИЗ ОДНОГО ПРОДОЛЬНОГО УБОРЧИКА. А ДО 12 ЛЕТ МАЛЬЧИК ДОЛЖЕН БЫТЬ В ОДНОЙ ПРОДОЛЬНОЙ РУБАШКЕ. НОГИ БОСИКОМ. ГОЛОВА ОТКРЫТА.

ДЕСЯТОЕ. ВСЕ ДЕТИ КАЖДЫЙ ДЕНЬ НЕОТЛОЖНО ДОЛЖНЫ ПРИХОДИТЬ НА СОБРАНИЕ, ПЕТЬ МОЛИТВЫ, И ЧИТАТЬ ПСАЛМЫ.

First. In the morning all children are bound to wash themselves and
¹
 to pray to God; to read "Our Father", "Our blessed home" and
 other psalms, of which the most necessary for growing children
 must be reckoned - "Grant, Lord, a kind heart to Mama and
²
 Papa."

Second. All children must obey Grandmother and Grandfather, and carry
³
 out their requests with great helpfulness. And then do all,
 that Mama and Papa order.

⁴
 Third. Returning home, [they] must strictly observe the community
 rule: to take off [their] footwear and go with shoes off in
 the house at all times.

Fourth. Unruly naughtiness, screaming and fighting - these must not
 in any case be allowed.

Fifth. All children must be reared in the spirit of peaceful Christ-
 -ian life. And with physical growth [they ought] to endeavor

1. that is, recite.

2. refer to title list for psalm references.

3. subservience, Popoff. or, obligingness.

4. from prayer meeting, adds Popoff.

to develop their spiritual understanding of the word of God, which was brought to us by Christ in his holy teachings.

Sixth. A devout life must be led by children, in the first place in
⁵ work on the land and with truthfulness. ⁶ All necessary goods -
 - clothes and food, [they ought] to get by their own work from
 the land, and [they ought] to restrain themselves sensibly in
 adaptation to the times, and bear strictly in mind the will of
 God.

Seventh. Not clinging to any greediness or envy, must in the highest
 degree be reckoned necessary and blessed in children.

Eighth. Simple attire, frugal food of vegetables and fruits, plain
⁷ dwellings with pure air - for all the life of children [these
 things] must stay unchanged.

Ninth. In summer time a [little] girl's clothing must be made up of
 a single full-length gown. To the age of twelve, in summer
⁸ a boy must also be in a single full-length shirt. Feet bare.
⁹ Head uncovered.

Tenth. All children must, every day without fail, come to meeting,
¹⁰ sing prayer [hymns] and read psalms.

5. peaceful work, Popoff.

6. in all matters, adds Popoff.

7. plenty of fresh air, Popoff.

8. lit., night-gown(which the garment resembled. Note specific clothes names in Russian text.).

9. lit., revealed.

10. i.e., recite, and so Popoff.

With Prayer I call to You, Lord.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky from Masha Sukhoroff, Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes: "Appears to be a late psalm of the Peter Lordly Verigin era." The psalm is more-or-less in two parts: an opening invocation and appeal, and a characterization of the true leader - who, it will be noted, must in some way share the sacrifice of Christ. Presumably the closing anticipation of judgement is a consequence of the appearance of the true leader.

Ц МОЛИТВОЮ ВЗЫВАЮ К ТЕБЕ ГОСПОДИ! ПОЧТО ВОЗЛОЖИЛ НА МЕНЯ ВРЕМЯ
ТЯЖЕСТИН У ДНИ СКОРБИ МОЕЙ? УЗЫВАЮ Д ТЕБЕ УТЕШИТЕЛЬ! ТЫ НАСТА-
-ВНИК, ЗАЩИТИ И ПОМИЛУЙ ВЕРУЮЩИХ У ГОСПОДА. СОШЛИ НАМ РАЗУМЕНИЕ,
КРЕПОСТЬ, ПОЗНАТЬ СИЛЫ МУДРОСТИ ТВОЕЙ, КОТОРАЯ ЛЕТАЕТ ПРЕЖДЕ СОТ-
-ВОРЕНИЯ МИРА СЕГО, ИСЦЕЛЯЕТ СОЗДАНИЕ КОТОРОЕ СОЗДАНО ДЛЯ НАШИЙ
РАДОСТИ. ПРИБЕГНЕМ К ТЕБЕ, ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕМ СЕРДЦЕМ СВОИМ, ЧТОБЫ
УДАЛИЛ ОТ НАС СКОРБИ-МУКИ СМЕРТНОЙ КАЗНИ. УЧИТЕЛЮ НАШЕГО, КОРОТЫЙ
ПОЖЕРТВОВАН ЗА ТО ЧТО ДЕЛОМ ПОВТОРИЛ УЧЕНИЕ ИИСУСА ХРИСТА И ВОЗВЕСТИЛ
О ВТОРОМ ПРИШЕСТВИИ ДНЯ. НАСТАЕТ ВРЕМЯ УДАЛИТЬСЯ ОТ НАГУБНЫХ
ВЕЩЕЙ, КОТОРЫЕ ПРИГОТОВЛЯЮТСЯ ДЛЯ ПАГУБЫ РОДА ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНОГО.
ДА БУДЕТ ВОЛЯ ТВОЯ, ГОСПОДИ, В ПОЛНОЙ СИЛЕ СОЗДАТЬ БЛАЖЕНСТВО И МУР.

With prayer I call to you, Lord. Why have you laid upon me a bur-
-den of trouble in the day of my sorrow? I cry out to you, comforter!
You [my] guardian, defend and forgive them that believe in the Lord.
Send us understanding, strength, to know the power of your Wisdom,
that flies[about since] before the creation of this world, and heals
[every]created thing that was made for our happiness. We resort to
You, Lord, with all our hearts, who took away from us the bitterness-

-
1. motif of spiritual understanding.
 2. Cf. Genesis I,2.
 3. floating line? - cf. psalm 213.

-torments of the penalty of death. [He is] our teacher, who [was] sacrificed as one that repeated in [his] deeds the teaching of Jesus Christ and revealed the day of the second coming. The time comes to move away from damnable ⁴ matter, which is made ready for the damnation of the family of mankind. May Your will come to pass, in the fullness of power, Lord, to create blessedness and peace.

4. perdition, Piontkovsky.

Grant, O Lord, a Kind Heart.

Translated by Eli Popoff. Published in U.S.C.C. collection, 1968(33/5).

Popoff notes: "This psalm was written by Peter Lordly Verigin for Children's Sunday School classes somewhere in the era between 1910 and 1920, and is still one of the wider learned psalms of the Sunday School classes of today. The prayer not only instructs children in their own and their parents' responsibilities of filial duty, but of course reminds any parent that hears it spoken. Such duty is a Russian tradition, and survives in the U.S.S.R. to the present: "There are almost no old age homes, except for people whose children died before them. People would think it a sin not to care for their old folks." (Private communication). The same behaviour is characteristic of contemporary Doukhobors.

УСТОЙ, ГОСПОДИ, БЛАГОЕ СЕРДЦЕ У ПАПЫ И МАМЫ. ЕСЛИ ДЕДУШКА И БАБУШКА ЖИВЫ, ТО ПАПА И МАМА ДОЛЖНЫ ИХ ЖАЛЕТЬ - НЕ ОБИЖАТЬ ИХ СЛОВАМИ, УГОЖАТЬ ИМ ПИЩЕЙ И ТЕПЛОЙ ПОСТЕЛЬКОЙ. А ЕСЛИ ДЕДУШАК И БАБУШКА ПОМЕРЛИ, ТО ДОЛЖНЫ ВСПОМИНАТЬ ИХ ДОБРЫМИ СЛОВАМИ. УСТРОЙ, ГОСПОДИ, ТАК, ЧТОБЫ МЫ ВСЕ ДЕТИ ВЫРОСЛИ СЧАСТЛИВЫМИ, И ПОНЯЛИ ЗАКОН ТВОЙ, ГОСПОДИ, И ЛЮБИЛИ ВЕСЬ МИР, КОТОРЫЙ ТЫ, ГОСПОДИ, СОЗДАЛ ДЛЯ НАШЕЙ РАДОСТИ.

1

Grant, Lord, a kind heart to Papa and Mama. If Grandfather and Grand-

2

-mother are alive, then Papa and Mama must be kind to them; [they

must] not hurt them with words, [but] please them with food and with

warm beds. But if Grandfather and Grandmother have died, then [they]

must remember them with good words. Grant, Lord, this, so that all we

3

children may do well, and understand Your law, Lord, and love all the

4

world, which You, Lord, created for our enjoyment.

1. nursery names.

2. lit., be sorry for, pity.

3. lit., get good luck.

4. Cf. preceding psalm and psalm 213,

Christ is One of the Holy Angels.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Recorded from Mrs. A. Ozeroff, Glade, 3/7/71.

According to Mrs. Ozeroff, the present text was taken by her from a written version of a speech she heard given by Peter Gospodnie Verigin, in the early 1920's. Some time later she used the text as a psalm in Molene, having first memorized it. It was found acceptable and others have since learned the text from her; so it has moved into tradition. The psalm expresses doctrine regarding the afterlife of believers.

ХРИСТОС ЕСТЬ ОДИН ИЗ СВЯТОНОСНЫХ АНГЕЛОВ, КОТОРЫЙ ОТКРЫЛ КЮДЛМ ВЕЧНУЮ ЖИЗНЬ. ДО ХРИСТА ЛЮДИ БОЯЛИС СМЕРТИ, А ПРИ ЕГО ПРИШЕТСТИВИИ И ПОСЛЕ, ИСТИННО ВЕРУЮЩИЕ ХРИСТИАНЫ НЕ БОЯТСЯ СМЕРТИ. ХРИСТОС ОТКРЫЛ ТАЙНУ, ЧТО ЧЕЛОВЕК УМЕРЕТЬ НЕ МОЖЕТ, А МОЖЕТ ТОЛЬКО ПЕРЕЙТИ ИЗ ОДНОГО СОС-ТОЯНИЯ В ДРУГОЕ, В ЛУЧШЕЕ ИЛИ ЖЕ ХУДШЕЕ. ЧТО ЧЕЛОВЕК ПОСЕЕТ, ТО И ПОЖНЕТ. КАПИТАЛИСТЫ ЖЕ ХИЩНЫЕ ПРОВИТЕЛИ ДЛЯ ТОГО, ЧТОБА ИХ СЛУШАЛИ. ОНИ УГРАЖДАЮТ СМЕРТЮ, А ЧЕЛОВЕК БОИТСЯ ПОТЕРЯТ ЖИЗНЬ И СЛУШАЕТ ИХ. А ВОТ МЫ ДУХОБОРЦЫ, ВОШЕДШИЕ В ЖИЗНЬ ВЕЧНУЮ ПОСРЕДСТВОМ ВЕРЫ В ГОСПОДА, НЕ БОИМСЯ СМЕРТИ. МЫ ТВЕРДО ВЕРУЕМ, ЧТО МЫ УМЕРЕТ НИКОГДА НЕ МОЖЕМ. ВОТ ВИДИТЕ, БРАТЬЯ И СЁСТРЫ, КАКОЕ ЕСТЬ ВЕЛИКОЕ ДЕЛО, ВЕРА. ХОТЯ БЫ ТЕЛО НАША БЫЛО ОЗОРВАНО, ЭТИМИ ХИЩНИКАМИ, НА МЕЛКИЕ КУСОЧКИ, НО ДУШИ ОНИ КОСНУТСЯ НИКАК НЕ МОГУТ. И ДУША ПЕРЕХОДИТ, ЕСЛЮ ТОЛЬКО ОНА ВЕРО-ВАЛА, В МИР ГОРОЗДА ЛУЧШИ, ЧЕМ ЗДЕСЬ.

У ГОСПОДА МИЛЛИОНЫ МИРОВ. ЕСТЬ ТАКИЕ, КОТОРЫЕ ВЕЛИЧИНЕ В НЕ-СКОЛЬКО ТЫСЯУ РАЗ БОЛЬШЕ НАШЕЙ СЕМЛИ. СЕМЛЯ НАША, МАЛЕНЬКАЯ ПЕСЧИНКА ВО ВСЁМ МИРОВОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ. ЕСТЬ ГОРАЗДО ЛУЧШЕ МИРЫ, ЧЕМ НАША ЗЕМЛЯ. И ПО ЭТОМУ ХРИСТОС ГОВОРИТ, "Б ДОМЕ ОТЦА МОЕГО ОБИТЕЛЕЙ МНОГО." ЕЩЕ ОН СКАЗАЛ СВОИМ ПОСЛЕДОВАТЕЛЯМ, "КУДА Я ИДУ, ВЫ СНАЕТЕ, И ПУТЬ СНАЕТЕ." ЧЕЛОВЕК ЖИВЯ НА ЗЕМЛЕ И ЕМЕЯ В СЕРДЦЕ СВОЁМ ВЕРУ, ПРОЛОГЛАЕТ ПУТЬ ПО СРЕДСТВАМ ЕЁ, К ТОЙ ВЕЧНОЙ ЖИЗНИ, О КОТОРОЙ ВОЗВЕСТИЛ ХРИСТОС. ПРИ РАЗДЕЛЕНИИ ДУШИ С ТЕЛОМ, У ВЕРУЮЩАГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА ДУША ИДЁТ В МЕСТО К КАКОВОМУ ЕЁ НАПРОВОЛЯЛ ДУХОВНЫЙ ЧЕЛОВЕК, НАХОДЯЩИЙСЯ ЕЩЕ В БРЕННЁМ ТЕЛЕ, ЗОЯВИЛ П. В. ГОСПОДНИЙ, В МИР ЛУЧШИЙ, В ТЫСЯЧУ РАЗ ЛУЧШИ ЧЕМ ЭТОТ. ГДЕ НЕТ НИ ВОЗДЫХАНИЙ, НЕТ ПЕЧАЛИ, НЕТ СЛЁЗ, НЕТ И ЗАБОТ И НИКАКОЙ БОЛЕЗНИ, ГДЕ ЦАРИТ ВЕЧНАЯ ВЕСНА. ХРИСТОМ ОЗАРЁННАЯ.... И ХРИСТОС ПРИЗНАЛ ВСЕХ ВО ЕДИНО. ТАК И Я СЕЙЧАС ПРИЗЫВАЮ ВАС ВСЕХ БРАТЬЯ И СЁСТРЫ СОЕДИНИТСЯ С НАМИ В ОДНО ОБЩЕСТВО.

ПЕТР ГОСПОДНИЙ

1

Christ is one of the holy angels, who revealed to the people eternal life. Before Christ, people feared death, but during his [earthly]

1. lit., opened up (as, - a book, - a door, etc.).

life and after, truthful Christian believers did not fear death. Christ revealed the secret that a person can not die but can only be transformed from one state to another, into a better or a worse [condition]. What a person sows, that he will reap. Capitalists are rapacious leaders, so that people have to attend to them. They threaten them with death; and so[,as] a person is afraid to lose his life, therefore he listens to them. But we Doukhobors, having entered into eternal life by means of belief in the Lord, do not fear death. We strongly believe that we can never die. And so you see, brothers and sisters, how great a thing faith is. Even if our bodies were ripped into small bits by these rapacious men, yet our souls they cannot touch. And the soul is transformed, only if it believed in a better world than the one here.

The Lord has millions of worlds. There are ones that are several thousand times greater than our earth. Our earth is a very small grain of sand in [comparison to] the great expanse of all worlds. There are much better worlds than our earth; and for this reason Christ says: "In my Father's house there are many dwellings." He also told his followers: "Where I go, you know; and you know the way." A person living on this earth and having faith in his heart, by its means marks out the road to that eternal life which Christ proclaimed. At the time of separation of the soul from the body, in the faithful person the soul

2. or, if only(?).

3. or, the Universe.

4. Cf. John XIV, 1-7, the source of both quotations.

passes to the place to which it was directed by the spiritual person while it was yet in the frail body,/ proclaimed P.V. Lordly,/ to the better world, a thousand times better than this present world. There there are no sighs, no sorrows, no tears, no troubles nor any kind of sickness. There rules eternal spring, brightened by Christ. And Christ calls all to join together; and so do I, right now, call all of you, brothers and sisters, to unite with us into one community.

Peter Lordly.

A Note on the Healing Psalms.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, there is not practical distinction between religious and healing psalms, except that the latter are more likely to be used magically by some, as mere prescribed gestures performed verbally. In the various communities, though, certain opinions are held about such psalms; as one informant told me on one occasion, "You wouldn't want that...It's not very progressive." A non-Doukhorbor informant has said (private communication, 1971) that even in areas where use of such texts is widespread, publicity will quickly result in ostracism of the informant and, incidentally in permanent estrangement of the fieldworker. I have not come up against such problems, but it seems reasonable to me to maintain the anonymity of my informants. People identified as communicators of such texts run a double risk: they may on the one hand be attacked by uncritical believers who fear ridicule and the destruction of the efficacy of the texts; and on the other hand they are exposed to the opprobrium of the uncritically enlightened, those who are too quick to dismiss traditional healing as superstition and the superstition of neighbours as a personal threat. Nor have there lacked Anglo-Canadians who would attack such beliefs with all the little wit at their command. It should be evident by now, though, that, however ineffectual or abused they may at times be, traditional healing techniques have access, at least, to methodology that in some cases has been unfairly neglected by academic medicine. Thus for the protection of informants sources are not identified.

Prayer to the Lord, when a Person lies down to Sleep.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Recorded and obtained in MS, 3/7/71.

Compare with the texts of psalms 300, 306, 307. The informant, in recitation, included the title after the opening formula, and repeated it at the conclusion of the psalm.

МОЛИТВА К ГОСПОДУ, КАГДА ЧЕЛОВЕК ЛАЖИТСЯ СПАТ.

АНГЕЛ ХРОНИТЕЛ СОХРОНИ МЕНЯ НА СЕЮ НОЧ ОТ ЗЛОВА ДУХА. ГОСПОДИ ВОЗМИ
МАЯ КУШУ ВО ЦАРСТВУ СВОЮ НЕБЕСНОЕ У СВОЮ ОБИТЕЛ К ОТЦУ БЕЗНАЧАЛЬНОМУ.
ВО ИМЯ ОТЦА И СИНУ СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ. ВО ИМЯ ГОСПОДА НАШЕГО ИИСУСА ХРИСТА.

Guardian angel keep safe watch over me through the whole night, [keep
me] from evil spirits. Lord take my soul into your heavenly kingdom,
into your abode, to the eternal Father. In the name of the Father and
the Son [and] the Holy Spirit. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1. lit., without-beginning.

Against Warts - I.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Text recorded and obtained in MS, 3/7/71.

The bulk of this text is utterly untranslatable. In recitation, the words are spoken with penultimate accent lowered in pitch to produce a rolling rhythm for each word; the central intelligible phrase, though, is spoken with normal metre and stress, returning to the first style for the closing words and a falling intonation of 'Amen'. A similar text is reported by another informant, with the addition that urine is to be poured over the wart; and that the charm is to be performed three nights running, beginning the third night after the full moon (so the wart will dwindle as the moon wanes, as in other charms?). This informant stated that the charm was successful in a matter of weeks, where conventional methods had been fruitless over a four-year period.

ВЕРХ БАРНИЦИ ЮДЯРНИЦИ ТВОРЯНИЦИ СЯРЦИ НИВЦИ КИВТАРЦИ, УБАРНИЦИ
МИНТИЯ КИСАРДИЯ УЦИ ЦИЦАРНЯ 'НАШЕМ ЧИТАЕМ РАБА БОЖОВА АЛЬОШКУ'
НА ПРАВОЙ РУКЕ НА ЛАДОНИ ПЕГЕНЦИ ПУШКАВИТЦИ АМИН.

СТО УЗЛОВ НАДО НА ВИЗАТЬ НА КАЖДОО БОРОДАВКУ. КРАСНОЙ ШОЛЬК.

A Thousand ladies....

...we read ¹ The Servant of God Aloska ² on the right hand, on the
palm....

...Amen.

It is necessary to tie a hundred knots on the wart. [Use] red nylon. ³

1. that is, recite.

2. Title of another healing psalm.

3. Formerly red wool was used. This instruction was included below the main text on the MS leaf.

Against Fear - I.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

For use of this and similar psalms, see note, Help Me, Lord Jesus Christ Yourself, below. The psalm is characteristically composed in two parts, the first invoking divine defense against, apparently, various sources of sudden fright or nervousness, and the second banishing the affliction from specific parts of the body and mind to a location physically distant. The troubles are, it will be noted, such as would occur around a farmstead. Compare with opening, also, of psalm 123.

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ! БОСКРЕСНЕТ БОГ, ПРЕВОЗНЕСЕТСЯ РУКА ЕГО. БАТЮШКА ЦАРЬ НЕБЕСНЫЙ, МАТУШКА ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА, МОГУЩАЯ, ГЛАГОЛЮЩАЯ: ПЕРЕПОЛОХА ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕНСКОГО, ПЕРЕПОЛОХА СОБАЧЦЕГО, ПЕРЕПОЛОХА ЛОШАДЬЕГО, ОТ СКОТИНОГО ПЕРЕПОЛОХА, ОТ ОВЕЧЬЕГО ПЕРЕПОЛОХА, ОТ КУРИНОГО ПЕРЕПОЛОХУ, ОТ ГУСИНОГО ПЕРЕПОЛОХУ, ОТ ТЕРПЕЛИНОГО (?) ПЕРЕПОЛОХУ, ДЬЯВОЛ, СТРАХ И ПЕРЕПОЛОХИ. Я ВАС УЛЕВАЮ (?), НА СУХОЙ ЛЕС ПОШЫЛАЮ. ОТ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ С БЕЛОГО ТЕЛА, С ЖЕЛТЫХ КОСТЕЙ, С РЕТИВОГО СЕРДЦА, С ЧЕРНЫХ ПОПЕЧЕНИЙ. ВЫ ПОСЛУХАЙТЕ, СТРАХИ-ПЕРЕПОЛОХИ НЕ МЕНЕ, А РАДИ ИМЕНИ ГОСПОДНЕ. АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ!

Lord bless us! God will arise, His hand shall be praised. Father, king of heaven, mother most holy Bearer-of-God, mighty one, speaking one:[from] the tumult of men, [from] the tumult of dogs, [from] the tumult of horses, from the tumult of cattle, from the tumult of sheep,
¹
 from the tumult of chickens, from the tumult of geese, from the tumult
²
 of the suffering, [from] the devil, fright and tumult [deliver us?].
³
 I catch you, and send [you] off to the withered woods, away from God's
⁴
 servant N_____, from the white body, from the yellow bones, from the ardent heart, from gloomy cares. [See that] you obey, [you] fears-tumults, not for my sake, for for the sake of the Lord's name. Amen! Amen! Amen!

1. Swine, cats, and ducks do not appear.
2. patient, Piontkovsky, depending upon the reading of ТЕРПЕЛИНОГО.
3. lit., arid, dried-up.
4. colour of living bone.

To Invoke Forgiveness for a Child.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

The use of this text is not known to me, though it appears to reinstate in the world's favour any child who has wandered where he ought not. Presumably the psalm is to be said in the place where the disobedience was committed. Piontkovsky notes, "The child is to kneel while the psalm is said over him."

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ! ВРЕМЯ ОТЦА, СЫНА И СВЯТОМЪ ДУХУ. ПРОСТИ МАТЬ
СЫРАЯ СЕМЛЯ, ТЕЛОМ И ДЕЛОМ, ДУШОЙ И СЕРДЦЕЙ, ВСЕ И ПОМЫШЛЕНИЕМ -
- МУЖА ВО ЧТО ВОШЕЛ, МУЖА ВО ЧТО УВЕЛ. ВРЕ (?) МАТЬ СЫРАЯ
ЗЕМЛЯ ПРИ СИЛЬНЫХ ПОГОДАХ РАБЕ БОЖЕЙ _____ ДАЙ ЗНАМЯ.

Lord bless us! [It is] the time of the Father, the Son, and the Holy
1 2
Spirit. Forgive, Mother green earth, in body and deed, in spirit and
heart, an in all [his] thoughts, the man [who] entered into that, the
3
man [who] was enthralled with that. () Mother green earth, in
the time of violent weather give a sign to God's servant N____.

1. ??? Cf. psalm 42?

2. or, moist, and so Piontkovsky. 'Mother Earth'.

3. Obscure word.

Against the Evil Eye - I.

Translation by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Kamsack, Sask., July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes: "Learned by informant from grandmother. The spell may be spoken morning or evening...", but in the latter case, ВЕЧЕР- is replaced by УТРА-. Since Russian does not distinguish between dawn and dusk, I have used Twilight for both times. The banishment that sympathetically links affliction with waning night darkness (as a rule; occasionally, waning daylight) floats, as will be seen in a number of the texts to come. The text catalogues a range of harmful eyes (or looks) and their users. From the tone of the included "...clear eye, the glad eye..." and elsewhere, "the joyous eye..." it appears probable that the harm may be done innocently as well as maliciously. It also appears from the text the damage may be done over both long and short periods of time.

ГОСПОДИ ПОМОГИ, НЕБЕСНОГО ПОСАДИ. ОТ ГЛАЗУ, ОТ СЕРОГО, ОТ БЕЛОГО, ОФ ЖЕЛТОГО, ОТ ЧЕРНОГО, ОТ КРАСНОГО, ОТ ЯСНОГО, ОР РАДОСТНОГО, ОТ ЛИХОСТНОГО, ОТ НЕНАВИСНОГО, ОТ ВСЯКОГО ЗЛОГО-ЛИХОГО. ОТО ЖЕНСКОГО ПОЛА, ОТ МУЖСКОГО ПОЛА, ОТ ДЕВЧЦОГО, ОТ РЕБЯЧЬЕГО, ОТ ЧАСОВОГО, ОТ ПОЛЧАСОВОГО, МИНУТНОГО, ПОЛУМИНУТНОГО. КАК ВЕЧЕРНЯЯ ЗАРЯ СТИХАЕТ, ТАК РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ВСЕ СКОРБИ И НЕУДАЧИ УТИХАЮТ. БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА!

Lord help [us], establish [what is] heavenly. From the eye, from the grey [eye], from the white [eye], from the yellow [eye], from the black [eye], from the red [eye], from the clear [eye], from the glad [eye], from the burning [eye], from the hateful [eye], from all [eyes], burning with evil; from [that] of the woman, from [that] of the man, from [that] of the maiden, from [that] of the child, from [that] of an hour, from [that] of the half-hour, of the minute, of the half-minute. As twilight fades in the evening, so for God's servant N _____ may all sorrow and misfortune dwindle away. Glory to our God!

1. evil, Piontkovsky.

2. Piontkovsky: Informant paused and faltered at this point, having to begin twice over before being able to finish recitation.

3. lit., of female sex, of male sex.

For a Safe Journey.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky, Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

Based on psalm 313. Compare with text from Hohman, Pow-Wows or Long Lost Friend, a brauch chapbook still in use among Pennsylvania Dutch (Mennonites), derived from European sources. (n.d.; 19th. Century translation probably printed in New Jersey but first available c. 1875 in Lancaster, Pa. p. 60):

A Benediction for All Purposes.

Jesus, I will arise; Jesus, do thou accompany me; Jesus, do thou lock thy heart into mine, and let my body and my soul be commended unto thee. The Lord is crucified. May God guard my senses that evil spirits may not overcome me, in the name of God the Father, Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

See also the structure of psalm 301. All these are simple prayers for divine companionship. I have been told (Field notes, 6/5/71): "I pray always . when I go out, when other members of our family go out. And two times my son is in an accident, nearly killed, but I ask the God to help and so He takes care. But lots of people, they forget about God, even though He doesn't forget about them. But it's better if you ask." Of this text, Piontkovsky notes: "To be read whenever leaving on a trip, especially in a car. The informant said 'It makes you feel better to recite it when leaving the house.'"

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ! ДОМ НАШ БЛАГОДАТНЫЙ, УПОБАНЬЕ БОЖЬЕ, ПРИБЕЖИЩЕ ХРИСТОВО. ПОКРОВИТЕЛЬ ДУХ СВЯТОЙ. ПРИ ПУТЕ ЕХУ, С НАМИ БОГ.

Lord bless us! Our blessed home, [is] our hope of God, the refuge of Christ. [Our] protector [is] the Holy Spirit. Along the road I
1
go, God is with us.

1. other than by foot.

Against Fear or Crying.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Kamsack, Sask., July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes: "To be said at sunrise or sunset over a sick child." The text is the fullest development in this collection of the relationship evoked between the fading light and accompanying dwindling of the power of illness or sorrow.

ЗАРЯ ЗАРНИЦА, ЗАРЯ КРАСНЯ ДЕВИЦА, ЗАРЯ ДАРИЯ, ЗАРЯ МАРИЯ, ЗАРЯ ВЕЧЕРНЯЯ. ВОЗЬМИ СВОЙ КРИК И ТОСКУ, И УПОДОЙ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ В ДЕНЬ И ПОЛДНЮ, НОЧЬ И ПОЛНОЧЬЮ, УТРО И ВЕЧЕР. КАК ВЕЧЕРНЯЯ ЗАРЯ СТИХАЕТ, ТАК РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ВСЕ СКОРБИ-БОЛЕЗНИ И НЕДУГИ УТИХАЮТ.

1

Twilight, little twilight, twilight - beautiful girl, twilight Dariya, twilight Maria, evening twilight. take crying and grief [with] you, and sooth God's servant N _____ by day and at noon, by night and at midnight, in morning and in evening. As twilight fades in the evening, so may for God's servant N _____ all grief-sickness and ailment die down.

1. lit., dawn or dusk.

To Bring Sleep - I.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., August 1970.

Piontkovsky suggests that there is a close relationship between the prayers recorded by Bonch-Bruevich under psalms 296-306, and the healing psalms. He suggests that the psalms have been adapted from charms into prayers. At present, and by comparison with West European texts, it may be more helpful to consider prayers and charms as sets of petitions fairly distinct as to style and content, but with common borders that are diffuse rather than distinct, borders that some texts straddle with a fine disregard for neat classificatory systems. Compare the end of this psalm with psalm 307.

ЛОЖИЛАСЬ РАБА БОЖИЯ _____ СПАТЬ,
 НЕ МОГ ЕЙ ЛУХОЙ ЗНАТЬ.
 СТОРОЖ ДОБРЫЙ,
 СТЕРЕГИ МЕНЯ ДО ПОЛНОЧУ,
 А ПРЕЧИСТАЯ ДО СВЕТУ,
 А ИИСУС ХРИСТОС ДО ВЕКУ.
 БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА.

God's servant N_____ lay down to sleep.

The Evil One could not notice her.

Good guardian,

Watch over me till midnight,

And Purest [Virgin] till dawn,

And Jesus Christ for ever.

Glory to our God.

Against Warts - II.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Blaine Lake, Sask., August 1970.

The charm is distinct from the previous example, in that the moon is associated, in a waxing rather than waning phase, with the growth of 'clean' flesh rather than with the dwindling of the wart. In this curative system, then, the operative elements are the moon and its changeability, rather than the specific direction of that change. The charm is to be said, Piontkovsky's informant states, "On the third day of the new moon, on first sighting the moon, look at it and say (The Charm)...Urinate on the wart while looking at the moon. Repeat this on three consecutive days."

МЕСЯЦ МОЛОДОЙ,
В ТЕБЕ РОГ ЗОЛОТОЙ,
КАКОЙ ТЫ ЧИСТЫЙ.
ЧТОБ У МЕНЯ БЫЛИ
ТАКИЕ ЧИСТЫЕ ..._____.

Young Moon,

You have a golden horn,

How clean you are.

May it be just as clean,

My ¹ _____.

1. At this point the part of the body affected is to be named.

Against Appendicitis.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

This text introduces a number of unusual motifs: the opening formula setting a scene in a mythic rather than actual space; monstrous beasts, apparently benevolent, invoked to devour afflictions; the recurrence of the number Seventy-seven; and the reference to bones and tendons. The technique of the psalm is to transfer afflictions from the sufferer to the distant consuming being. Possibly the charm was used for other ills.

НА ГОРЕ, НА ОКЕЯНЕ, НА ВЫСОКОМ ВИКИЯНЕ (?), ТАМ СТОИТ СТОЛИЦЕ, НА ТОМ СТОЛИЦЕ ЛЕЖИТ КОТИЦЕ. ВУШКЕ ЗОЛОТЫЕ И ЛАПКИ ЗОЛОТЫЕ, А ХВОСТИК СЕРЕ-
-БРЯНЫЙ. КОТ ЖРЕТ-ПОЖИРАЕТ ВСЕ ПУПОВИЩЕ-ЧЕМЕРИЩЕ. ПРИХОДИТ К НЕМУ РАБ БОЖИЙ И ГОВОРИТ КОТИЦЕ, ЧТО ТЫ ЛЕЖИШЬ, ЧТО ТЫ НЕ ВОЗМЕШЬ ВСЕ ПУПОВИЩЕ-ЧЕМЕРИЩЕ ОТ ЕГО ЖЕЛТЫХ ОЧЕЙ, ОТ БЕЛЫХ ПЛЕЧЕЙ, ОТ СЕМИДЕСЯТИ СЕМИ ЖИЛ, ОТ СЕМИДЕСЯТИ СЕМИ ПОЛИЖИЛЯ ОТ СЕМИДЕСЯТИ СЕМИ КОСТЕЙ, ОТ СЕМИДЕСЯТИ СЕМИ ПОЛУКОСТЕЙ. НЕ Я ТЕБЕ ГОБОРЮ И НЕ Я ТЕБЕ УГОВАРАЮ, А ГОВОРИТ ТЕБЕ ЗАГОВАРИВАЕТ ТЕБЕ БАБУШКА СОЛОМОНИДА, КОТОРАЯ ХРИСТА НАРУКИ ПРИНИМАЛА, В БЕЛОЙ ПЕЛЕНЕ ОДЕВАЛА. ПРОГОВОРУ ТРИЖДА, ПРО-
-ГОВОРУ ТРИЖДА, ПОГОВОРУ ТРИЖДА.

1

On the mountain, in the sea, on the high (), there stands a

2

great table, on that great table lies a great cat. [His] ears [are]

gold and [his] paws are gold, but [his] tail[is]silver. The Cat

3

grows fat - gobbles up all the navelstring-hellebore. To him comes

God's servant N_____ and says: Great Cat, why do you lie [there],

4

why do you not take all the navelstring-hellebore away from his yellow

5

6

eyes, from [his] seventy-seven sinews, from [his] seventy seven half-

-sinews, from [his] seventy-seven bones, from [his] seventy-seven half-

-bones I do not speak to you, and I do not win you over, but she speaks

1. Obscure word.

2. Suffix indicates size.

3. obscure words translated literally, Appendix, Piontkovsky.

4. Symptom of jaundice - liver function associated with any internal illness??

5. Cf. psalm 324. etc.

6. or, tendons; or, veins.

to you, she casts a spell on you, Grandmother Solomonida, who took Christ into her hands, and clad [him] in white swaddling clothes.

I utter [it] thrice, I utter [it] thrice, I utter [it] thrice.

7. Connection with the Solomonic cycle of ritual magic texts is more tempting than substantial.

Against the Evil Eye - II.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky, in Verigin, Sask, July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes that the text is "To be read at any time over the sick person." As in the foregoing text, an animistic power is invoked against affliction resulting from the Evil Eye, and the affliction is banished from specific parts of the body, this time by the additional force of an obscure formula. In this text, trouble and its cause are named, and the verb charming away the trouble does not occur till the psalm is nearly ended. The motif of the ladar-stone is also obscure; the roots may relate to ice, a 'singing'-stone, or, marginally, to loadstone.

НА МОРЕ, НА ОКЕЯНЕ, НА ВЫСОКОМ ЛУКУЯНЕ БУРУЯНЕ, ЛЕГИТ КАМЕНЬ ЛАДАРЬ.
НА ТОМ КАМНЕ ЛАДАРЕВЕ, ЛЕЖИТ ШУКА ЖЕЛТОПЕРАЯ, С ЖЕЛЕЗНЫМИ ЗУБАМИ,
ЖРЕТ-ПОЖИРАЕТ ВСЯКИЕ РУЦЫ. ПРЕСВЯТАЯ МАТЬ БОГОРОДИЦА, ВЕЛИКАЯ
ПОМОЩНИЦА, СВОЕЙ ПРЕЧЕСТОЙ РУКОЙ, ЗОЛОТЫМИ ПЕРСТАМИ: ОТ СЕРОГО ГЛАЗА,
ОТ БЕЛОГО ГЛАЗА, ОТ ЧЕРНОГО ГЛАЗА, ОТ ЖЕЛТОГО ГЛАЗА, ОТ БУРОГО ГЛАЗА,
ОТ КАРОГО ГЛАЗА, ОТ ГОЛУБОГО ГЛАЗА, ОТ ИХРИСТОГО(?) ГЛАЗА. СЕМДЕСЯТ
СЕМ ЖИЛ, СЕМДЕСЯТ СЕМ ПОЛУЖИЛ, СЕМДЕСЯТ СЕМ КОСТЕЙ, СЕМДЕСЯТ СЕМ ПОЛУ-
КОСТЕЙ - СОЙДИТЕСЬ, СВЕДИТЕСЬ КАК В УТРЕНЕЙ ВЕЧЕРУШКЕ НЕ РАСТЫХАЕТ,
ТАК РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ ВСЕ СКОРБИ УТЕЖАЮТ. ЧЕСУМА ЧЕСУ, ЧЕСУМПОЛ
ЧЕСУ, ЧТОБ ПЛОТЬ НЕ ЩАДИЛА, ЧТОБ КОСТЬ НЕ УТОМИЛА, И ЖИЛЫ НЕ ТЯНУЛИ.

In the sea, in the ocean, on the high waves, lies the ladar-stone.

Upon that ladar-stone, there lies a yellow-finned pike, with iron
teeth, he grows fat - gobbles up every stream. Most holy mother,
Bearer-of-God, great helper, with your most pure hand, [and] golden
fingers: from the grey eye, from the white eye, from the black eye,
from the yellow eye, from the brown eye, from the hazel eye, from the
blue eye, from the unchristian eye. Seventy-seven sinews, seventy-
seven half-sinews, seventy-seven bones, seventy-seven half-bones,

1. or, ling(-cod).

2. Cf. psalm 324, etc.

3. or, tendons; or, nerves.

- some together, bring yourselves together, as morning passes into
⁴
 evening(?), so for God's servant N_____ all sorrow fades away.

⁵
Chesuma Chesu, Chesupol Chesu, that the body may not be spared,
 that the bone may not be wearied, and the sinews not be stretched.

4. obscure phrase.

5. obscure words. A corrupted invocation to Jesus??

Against Sore Throat.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes that the psalm is "To be read three times early in the morning and late at night, spitting, blowing and massaging the sore throat or affected part." The psalm is said to be specific against Polio-myelitis. Except for the mention of God's servant the petitioner, the text seems wholly pagan, opening with the formula for mythic space, setting a mysterious scene whose time seems accessible to any using the charm, and -as with twilight- linking the passing of the illness to the disappearance of the charmed toads.

НА МОРЕ, НА ОКЕЯНЕ, ТАМ ЛЕЖИТ БЕЛ ЛАТЫРЬ КАМЕН. НА КАМНЕ СЕДЯТ СЕМ
БАБ, ЗАГОВАРИВАЮТ ОТ СЕМИ ЖАБ: ОТ СЕМИ ДО ШЕСТИ, ОТ ШЕСТИ ДО ПЯТИ,
ОТ ПЯТИ ДО ЧЕТЫРЕХ, ОТ ЧЕТЫРЕХ ДО ТРЕХ, ОТ ТРЕХ ДО ДВУХ, ОТ ДВУХ
ДО ОДНОЙ, ОТ ОДНОЙ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ НЕТ НИ ОДНОЙ.

1

In the sea, in the ocean, there lies the white latyr-stone.

On the stone sit seven crones, casting spells on seven toads.

From seven to six,

From six to five,

From five to four,

From four to three,

From three to two,

From two to one,

From one to God's servant N _____,

[There remains] not one.

1. Cf. the previous psalm: same word, different orthography.

Against Fear Brought by the Evil Eye.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin,
Sask., July 1970.

A prayer against mental anguish strengthened by a simple magical operation. When the knife is used, the nominal interjection, ПРИТЧЕ-ПРИТЧЕ, will translate to "a parable, a parable" - implying that at some stage a transmitter of the text was quite aware that the cutting was symbolic. The child stands in the threshold to be neither in nor out, and thus less clearly located for evil to fix upon him. Perhaps for the same reason other psalms are used in morning or evening - times of transition, when neither day nor night exist. Piontkovsky notes that the psalm is "To be read [recited] three times, morning or evening." Compare the opening lines with psalm 181.

НЕ Я ХОЖУ, НЕ Я БРОЖУ, ХОДЕ МАТЬ ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА, СО СВОИМИ
АНГЕЛАМИ, С АРХАНГЕЛАМИ, С ПОМОЩНИКАМИ, С ЗАСТУПНИКАМИ. ПОМОГИТЕ,
ЗАСТУПИТЕ, ЗАЩИТИТЕ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ОТ ВСЕХ СКОРБЕЙ, БОЛЕЗНЕЙ,
ОТ СТРАСТЕЙ И НАПАСТЕЙ. ОТ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ИСПУГ ЯКО КАМЕНЬ
ОТВАЛИСЯ, А ТЫ, ПРИТЧЕ-ПРИТЧЕ, Я ТЕБЯ ЗАРЕЖУ, ПОПОЛАМ ПЕРЕРЕЖУ!
А ТЫ, ПЕРЕПОЛОХ, ВЫДИ ЗА ПОРОГ! КАК УТРЕННЯЯ, ВЕЧЕРНЯЯ ЗАРЯ СТИХАЕ,
ТАК У РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ДЕТСКИЙ ИСПУГ И ПОРЧА УТЕХАЕ. АМИНЬ.

[It is] not I that walk, not I that wander; [but] the mother, the most holy Bearer-of-God walks, with her angels, with archangels, with helpers, with defenders. Help, intercede, secure God's servant N_____ from all sorrow, sickness, from passion and misfortune. From God's servant N_____ as from a stone, fear falls off, but you, Pritche-
1 2
-pritcher, I stab you, I slice you in half. And you, tumult, go be-
3
hind the bed-curtain! As in the morning and in the evening twilight fades, so [this] child's, God's servant N_____'s fear and injury quiets down. Amen.

1. "At this point a knife is passed around the child, as he stands against a door-jamb."- iron breaking the evil contact.
2. cut your throat, Piontkovsky.
3. beyond the threshold, Piontkovsky.

Against the Evil Eye - II.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

Piontkovsky notes: "This...was read regularly over children who had been to town and returned with a fever (during the 1930's)." The closing sentences seem to declare the child restored to health, and to link the text to divine utterance and power.

ПОМИЛУЙ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____ ОТ ГЛАЗУ, ОТ СЕРОГО, ОТ ЧЕРНОГО, ОТ КРАСНОГО, ОТ ЯСНОГО, ОТ ЖАДОСТНОГО, ОТ РАДОСНОГО, МЕХОСТНОГО (?), НЕНАВИСТХОГО. МАТЬ ТЕБЯ МОГЛА СПОРОДИТЬ, Я МОГУ ОТХОДИТЬ, РУКА РЕЧЕНЬЕ, СЛОВО ГЛАГОЛ БОЖИЙ. БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА!

Have mercy on God's servant N_____ from the eye, from the grey [eye], from the black [eye], from the red [eye], from the clear [eye], from the greedy [eye], from the joyful [eye], from the in-
¹
 -hospitable(?) [eye], from the hateful [eye]. Mother was able to give you birth, I am able to go out. The hand [is] the saying, the word [is] the word of God. Glory to our God!

1. obscure word.

Help Me, Lord Jesus Christ Yourself.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Recorded and obtained in MS, 3/7/71.

Before reciting, the informant said: "...this one is when somebody gets scared and [then] you have to read this...", and after: "You know, when you get scared, our people believe that we should ask the ground - the mother, Mother Earth, she should help this child, because he got scared, and then he kneels down, the child, in the evening - and in the morning - before the moon - or the sun - rises and as soon as the sun sets - dawn and dusk - and let him [kneel], and say these lines - that's what my grandmother did for me - and ask that the earth would give forgiveness, from Jesus and from God and then from her. Maybe they had an accident someplace or anything like that - especially when they get scared, that's the best place - there you should read [recite] it - right in the place where it happened. And then a person should have faith. You must read it three times, and kneel down. And you could just read the Lord's Prayer, our people say, and just pray to God...it helps just as good, as long as you ask God, that's the main part. Because it's not we that help, it's God that helps; we ask him and He gives, that's how it works out."

ПОМОГИ ГОСПОДИ САМ ИИСУС ХРИСТОС, САМА МАТУШКА ПРИСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИТСЯ.
ВСТАНЬТЯ ВСЕ СВЯТЫЯ УПОМОЩИ МОЕЙ. ПОМОГИ МАТУШКА МАТЬ СЫРАЯ ЗЕМЛЯ.
ПРОСТИ СВЯТАЯ МЕСТА ТЕЛОМ И ДЕЛОМ, ДУШОЙ И СЕРДЦАМ ВСЕМ ПОМЫШЛЕНИЕМ.
А ТАБЕ МАТУШКА МАТЬ СЫРАЯ ЗЕМЛЯ БОЛЬШОЙ ПОКЛОН. КАК УТРЕНИЯ ЗАРЯ
УТИХАЯ ТАК НАЗДОРОВИЯ.

Help me, Lord Jesus Christ Yourself, and You, Virgin Mother Bearer-
-of-God. Rise up all Saints in my defense. Help me, Little Mother,
Mother green earth.¹ Forgive me, O holy place, in body and soul and
in all thoughts of [my] heart. And to you, Little Mother, Mother
green earth, a great bow.² As twilight fades at dawn, so may my
sickness.

1. lit., mother damp earth.

2. or, greeting; but presumably a literal bow, as obeisance, in meant and is performed.

Against Fear - II.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky, in Verigin, Sask., July 1970.

This psalm serves essentially the same purposes as the foregoing, with a slightly different style of invocation. It opens, not with as direct petition, but with mention of the spiritual understanding of the beauty of the natural land; and as the Virgin was able to mother Christ, so with the committed patient: his fear passes into the motherly resources of the earth. The effect sought by these psalms is to convince the hearer of a common bond of loving care linking the divine personages, the present speaker and hearer, and the earth itself.

ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ! ПОМНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ЦАРЯ ДАВИДА И ВСЮ КРГТОСТЬ ЕГО. КАК ОН УКРАШАЛ НЕБО И ЗЕМЛЮ, РЕКИ, МОРЕ, ГОРЫ И ХОЛМЫ. УРАТИ, ГОСПОДИ, РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____. МАТУШКА ПРЕСВЯТАЯ БОГОРОДИЦА, КАК ТЫ ПОМОГА ИИСУСА ХРИСТА СПОРОДИТЬ, УСКОРМИТЬ, ВОСПОИТЬ - ТАК БЫ ТЫ МОГЛА ОТ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ СТРАХИ-ПЕРЕПОЛОХИ ВЗЯТЬ И В СЫРИЮ СЕМЛЮ ПОСЛАТЬ. ОТ РАБЕ БОЖЬЕЙ _____ ПОРАЖЕННЮ, КРЕЩЕННОЙ, МОЛИТВЕННОЙ. АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ! АМИНЬ!

Lord bless us! Remember, Lord, King David and all his gentleness.

¹
How he made beautiful the heavens and the earth, rivers, seas, mountains and little hills. Tame [them], Lord, for God's servant N_____.

Mother, most-holy Bearer-of-God, as you were able to bear Jesus Christ, to feed [Him], to give [Him] drink - so may you be able with God's servant N_____,
²to take away his fright-tumult and send [it] off into the green earth, [away] from God's servant N_____, born, baptized, prayerful. Amen! Amen! Amen!

-
1. By explaining their awesomeness in religious terms?? Cf. O.T. Psalms VIII, XVIII, XIX.
 2. or, damp.

To Bring Sleep - II.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Verigin,
Sask., August 1970.

A variant of psalm 303, but identified by the informant as a Healing
psalm.

СПОКОЙНАЯ НОЧЬ,
ПРИЯТНЫЙ СОН
РАДОСТНЫМ ВЕСТЬЯ
ПРЕКРАСНЫЕ МЫСЛИ
ОТ ОТЦА БОГА НАШЕГО.
ДАЙ БОГ СНУ,
СЧАСТИЕ, ТАЛАНТУ.
О ГОСПОДИ!
ОТДАЮ Я СВОИ РУКИ.
БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА.

A serene night

A pleasant sleep

Joyful news

From our Father God.

Grant, God, sleep,

¹
Happiness, ability,

O Lord!

I render my spirit into your hands.

Glory to our God!

1. or, Good fortune.

Against Witchcraft on the Way.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Blaine Lake, Sask., August 1970.

Piontkovsky notes that the psalm is "To be pronounced before leaving on a trip, to serve as protection against all evil, including witches." In its opening clauses the psalm is parallel with 301, then goes on to specify threatening individuals. There is an obscure formula, then a banishment of curses from the body. Finally an obscure figure - ШАЛОШИ - МАЛОШИ will translate to "tricksome little man" - is banished to a distant place, and apparently bound there; cf. the banishment in Against Fear - I.

УБИРАЮСЬ Я, РАБ БОЖИЙ, _____, В ПУТЬ-ДОРОГУ. ЗАГОРОЖДАЮСЬ, РАБ БОЖИЙ _____, НЕБОМ И ЗЕМЛЕЙ, ВСЕЙ НЕБЕСНОЙ ЛУНОЙ, СВЕТЛЫМ МЕСЯЦЕМ, КРАСНЫМ СОЛНЦЕМ. ЗАПОЖДАЮСЬ КРЕСТОМ ЖИВОТВОРЯЩИМ, ЗАМЫКАЮСЬ ЗАМКОМ АРХАНГЕЛЬСКИМ. ОТ ДЕДУНА-ДЕДУНИЦЫ, ОТ КОЛДУНА-КОЛДУНИЦЫ, ОТ ЕРЕТИКА-ЕРЕТИЦЫ, ТАКЖЕ ОТ НЕЧИСТОГО ДУХУ. ЗЕЛЬБЕ В ЗЕЛЬБЕ, КОРЕНЬЕ В ЗЕМЛЮ, ВОДА В МОРЕ. ОТВОРИ ЕРЕТИВЫЕ СЛОВЕСА, БАТИСТОВЫЕ В РЕТИВУЮ СЕРДЦУ, ГОРЯЩУЮ КРОВУШКУ В ЧЕРНЫЕ ПЕЧЕНИ, ЖЕЛТУЮ В ЛЕГКИЕ. А ВЫ, ШАЛОШИ-МАЛОШИ, ПОЛЕТИТЕ В ТЕМНЫЙ ЛЕС, ТАМ ВАМ ЗАСКЛЕПЬ, ТАМ ВАМ ЗАНЕМЕТЬ, ОТ РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____:

I, God's servant N_____, set out on the road-way. I, God's servant N_____, wall myself about with heaven and earth, the full moon of heaven, the shining moon, the gorgeous sun. I shield myself with the ¹ life-giving cross, I lock myself up with the lock of the archangel. ² From old men and old women, from warlock and witch, from he-heretic ³ and she-heretic, ⁴ and also from the Evil One. Potions into ⁵ potions, roots into earth, water into the sea. Turn away the words of the

-
1. Cf. psalm 6, response (104).
 2. or, male and female ancestors; lit., grandfather and female grandfather.
 3. lit., the unclean spirit.
 4. so lit., though Piontkovsky's reading 'plants into plants' seems more plausible in context.
 5. alternative reading: ОТВЕДУ.

6 7 8
heretic, baptized in a burning heart, in hot blood in a black liver,
yellow [blood] in the lungs. But you, Shaloshi-maloshi, fly away
into the dark woods, there is your crypt, there you will grow dumb,
- away from God's servant N_____.
9

6. by alternative reading БАПТИСТОВЫЕ.

7. or, ardent.

8. by alternative reading ГОРЯЧУЮ.

9. or, numb.

Against Witchcraft.

Translated by Roman Piontkovsky. Recorded by Piontkovsky in Kamsack, Sask., July 1970.

This psalm is largely similar to the foregoing, but replaces the terminal banishment with a sympathetic charm and a final charm against gunshot. The presence of the latter implies a possible use against either bandits, of opposing soldiers in war. Such a charm would probably have found use in the mid-1800's, when some Doukhobors, though fundamentally pacifistic, took military or alternate service. The psalm is to be said in the morning. The cross charm is found as in psalm 301.

УСТАНУ Я ПОМОЛЯ, ПОЙДУ БЛАГОСЛОВЯ, У ДВЕРИ-ВОРОТА, В ОКОЛЬНЫЕ ДАЛЬНИЕ
ДАЛЕНИЦЫ. КРЕСТ НА МНЕ, КРЕСТ ВО МНЕ, КРЕСТ ПЕРЕДО МНОЙ, ГОСПОДЬ БОГ
СО МНОЙ. АНГЕЛ-ХРАНИТЕЛИ НЕСУТ КРЕСТ СОБЛЮДАЮЩИЙ. ТАКЖЕ МЕНЕ, РАБА
БОЖЬЕГО _____ СОБЛЮДУТ ОТ ПТИЦЫ, ОТ ЗВЕРЯ, ОТ КОЛДУНА, ОТ КОЛДУНИЦЫ,
ОТ ЕРЕТИКА, ОТ ЕРЕТИЦЫ, ОТ КЛЕВЕТНИКА, ОТ КЛЕВЕТНИЦЫ, ОТ ВСЯКОГО
ЗЛОГО ДУХА НЕЧИСТОГО. КАК НЕ МОЖЕТ ВЕРБЛЮД ВО МГОЛНОЕ УХО ПРОЛЕЗТЬ,
ТАКЖЕ И МНЕ, РАБА БОЖЬЕГО _____, НЕ МОЖЕТ ЛИХОЙ ЧЕЛОВЕК СКУСИТЬ.
СТАНЬСЯ НЕСЬ ЗА ГОРОЮ, НАМОЧИСЬ ПОРОХ ВОДОЮ! БОГ НА ПОМОЩ!

I arise [and] I pray, I go about [and] I say blessings, by the doors-
1 2
-gates, in the near and far distances. Cross on me, cross in me, cross
before me, the Lord God with me. The guardian-angel, the watchers,
carry the cross. So me, God's servant N_____, they keep from birds, from
beasts, from warlocks, from witches, from he-heretics, from she-heretics,
3
from he-slanderers, from she-slanderers, from every evil spirit of un-
4
-cleanness. Just as a camel may not wriggle through a needle's eye, so
5 6
evil may not harm me, God's servant N_____. I stand today beyond the
mountain, wet your gunpowder with water! God to [my] aid!

1. where evil traditionally lurks - cf. Genesis IV, 7.
2. by reading ДОЛИНИЦЫ.
3. ? spell-casters ?
4. Cf. Matthew XIX, 24.
5. obscure word.
6. obscure word.

Psalm for Healing.

Translated by Lucy Kazakoff. Recorded and obtained in MS, 3/7/71.

The title is recited with the text. The informant said: "It would be used by a person going to a war. And if you're going to read[recite] this, you won't get killed, unless you don't have to kill, yourself. Even if you fall, you won't even hurt your leg, and God is always with you....I was just mentioning it here to myself, not long ago." The informant's daughter asked, "Well, where did you get this one from, then? It can't be from the Doukhobors?" "Well, it's - I heard on old father tell it - he told it to somebody a long, long time ago. He said you'd be saved if you read it." This text also, then must date from before the period of intensive pacifism. Eli Popoff comments (Field notes, 25/11/70), referring to Healing psalms of this type: "What is meant behind it is that if you or I are armed with this faith, then it is with you all the time. The person that confronts you, he will not have the thought or the [will], he will not be able to draw his gun and shoot you. This is the thing that is meant by this, it's not really meant that, once you read the psalm, the bullet will just go aside from you..."

МАЛИТВА ДЛЯ ИССЫЛЕНИЯ.

ХРИСТОС СПОСИТИЛЬ МОЙ ПРОШУ ТЕБЯ ПРОСТИ И ИСЦЕЛИ МЕНЯ МОИ БОЛЕЗНИ.
ТЫ ВРАЧ МОЙ И БОГ МОЙ. ТЫ И СИЛА МОЯ. ВЕРЮ ТЕБЕ И НАДЕЮСЬ НА ТЕБЕ
ИЗЦЕЛИ МЕНЯ. ИСЦЕЛИ И УДАЛИ МОИ БОЛЕЗНИ ИЗ ТЕЛА, СЕРДЦА И УМА, ИДАЙ
ЗДОРОВЬЕ. ТЫ МОЙ БОЖЕ, МОЛЮ МИЛОСТЬ УТЕБЯ, ВСЕ ПРОШЛЫЕ ГРЕХИ МОИ НЕ
ВСПОМИНАЙ, Я КАЮСЬ ОУЧЕ ПРЕД ТОБОЮ ПРОСТИ МЕНЯ И ИСЦЕЛИ.

Christ my Saviour, I ask you to forgive me and heal me from my sick-
-ness. You are my doctor and my God. You are my strength. I believe
in you and have faith in you. Heal and cure me, take sickness from
[my] body, heart and mind, give me health. You are my God, I pray for
mercy from you, do not remember all my past sins, I confess you,
Father, forgive me and heal me.

IV. HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PSALMS.

Though the psalms are primarily religious expressions, they include and connote historical elements. These are of two sorts: discrete events, persons or influences cited more or less directly; and such elements alluded to in, or traditionally associated with, a psalm text. These elements are uncommon for two reasons. Firstly, the psalms do not have the function of being topical in the sense of a chronicle, though some may be associated with historic events or with the Christian calendar, for such a function would tend to exclude them from other applications. In The Garden of Gethsemane, for example, is associated with both the Passion and with a Community disaster, not through any concord of incident but because both are instances of profound suffering; the concord is one of affect. Secondly, the millenarian, apocalyptic tradition of Doukhobor philosophy impels a symbolic interpretation of history given form by religious doctrine. An objective historic event gains in significance if it can be seen as a confirmation or fulfillment of the religious model of experience. A given psalm will outline a certain portion of that model; it is not necessary for it to describe individual manifestations of the model. It is a corollary of this view, that tradition is not cumbered with a record of the psalms sung even at such crucial events as the Burning of Arms or the embarkation from the Mother country; this witness, this exile,

are not new events in religious experience: the concepts had lain long in tradition (cf. psalms 143, 150, 166). Thus, until more evidence is available regarding the origins and development of Doukhobor religious concepts, we will be able to say little regarding historical allusions in the psalms.

I. Historical Aspects.

1. Origins.

Ultimately the Doukhobor psalms have their origin in the hymnody of the Christian church, but there is no clear line between the Byzantine heritage of the Orthodox church and the psalm texts and tunes as they presently appear. Various sources have noted the religious persecution of early Doukhobors (e.g., Elkinton, 1903, pp. 242 ff., 286 ff.; Maloff, MS., pp. 43 - 58; Popoff, Historical Exposition, 1964, p. 8; Woodcock & Avakumovic, 1968, pp. 30-33 & passim); such persecution is the background against which the psalms must be viewed, when their hidden origins, private language, apocalyptic message, and obscure musical qualities are under consideration.

Many Doukhobors (Field notes, 25/11/70; 13/4/71) ascribe the origin of psalm-singing to O.T. Jewish usage and consider their psalms identical in kind with those they know or conceive to have been used in Jewish worship. According to tradition, the great period of psalm-composition was in the 18th. and early 19th. centuries, especially under the leader Savely Kapustin, who set up schools of psalm-singers, often with the help of skilled singers (Popoff, MS 1968, p. 3; Woodcock & Ava-

-kumovic, 1968, p. 45.) A few of the psalms are attributed to early leaders: thus psalm 6 is attributed to Pobirokhin (Woodcock & Avakumovic, p. 28); psalm 71, to an unidentified leader (Kapustin?), and A Doukhobor is one whom Christ has Chosen, to Kapustin. Likewise other psalms (e.g., In the Garden of Gethsemane) begin to be attributed to a leader - in this case Peter Gospodnie Verigin - who evidently only selected and adapted the text from a pre-existing source. Popoff implies (MS 1968, p. 7) that no psalms were added to repertoire after the middle quarter of the 19th. century.

Doukhobors share with other raskolniki the principle of rejection of written scriptures (cf. Peacock, 1970, pp. 57-60; also Woodcock & Avakumovic, 1968, pp. 25-27), ultimately derived from the doctrine of Daniel Philipov, a seventeenth century schismatic. Philipov's own term Living Book (ЖИВОТНАЯ КНИГА) is applied by Doukhobors to the entire body of psalms. The implication of a proverb recorded by Bonch-Bruevich (1954, Title page),

НАПИШИТЕ ВО СЕРДЦАХ, ВОЗВЕСТИТЕ ВО УСТАХ
Write [it] in [your] hearts, reveal [it] in [your] mouths,

is that the force of doctrine is largely carried by oral qualities and contexts. Doukhobors will occasionally quote (without ascription), the Pauline text 'The letter kills, but the spirit gives life' (II Corinthians, III, 6), as further argument that the tradition of the Living Book is too subtle and vital to be entrusted to mere print.

Thus the psalms became a vehicle for the transmission of doctrine.

But there were times when doctrine could not be transmitted without peril of persecution, exile, or corporal punishment. Of these times, the

Svobodnik Peter Kolodinin of Krestova says (field notes, 12/3/71):

A man [imprisoned], down in like a box [in which] he could scarcely turn around, they handed down food from above... He would sing, along the syllables or notes, and from time to time put in a word, and at last the other [prisoner] who listened, he would come to understand.

Several other informants (Field notes, 25/11/70, 19/1/71, 31/1/71) have given opinions which can be summarized thus: In the days of harsh religious persecution, a need was felt for religious expression that the authorities could not easily identify and condemn. The technique was thus developed, of as-it-were encoding controversial doctrine and praise in the psalm texts as they survive presently. Since the texts and melodies were taught and learned privately, spies and informers would not have much opportunity to decode them during the occasional public performances. It can be seen that the knowledge of, or singing of psalms would also serve to identify a fellow-Doukhobor to a prisoner or a visitor in a village.

Cantometric evidence for the culture-area of Doukhobor origin cited by Lomax (1968, pp. 19, 88-91) emphasizes the normality of "precise enunciation....precisely articulated, word-heavy song texts..." This description certainly applies to all other Doukhobor song types. In fact, in a strictly objective sense it is also true of the psalms, insofar as consonant articulation and juncture are concerned; the psalms are not alien in structure. But clearly strong social factors have con-

-tributed to the development of a melodic style unique not only to the broad culture-area, but even within Doukhobor tradition. The universality of harsh persecution attested to by tradition and history is clearly a major factor. In response to this persecution, millenarian theology and the attendant doctrinal requirement for separation from the 'worldly' found stronger justification. Thus an internal factor was generated to separate the Doukhobors from their surrounding society, a factor which incidentally might contribute to the divergence of psalm style, as Woodcock & Avakumovic suggest (1968, p. 22). Conybeare (1921, p. 268) says:

Their virtues were all the more odious because they attracted the masses....they were victimized, by every priest, police agent, or magistrate, hauled into court, knouted and sent to prison, burnt alive or exile as state offenders. They were made to appear as "monsters and breakers of the general peace."

It is against such a background that the psalms must be considered, in transmission as well as in origin. To preserve and pass on the oral texts was to preserve not only the content, but the spirit of their teachings: and so it seems to have been viewed, as Conybeare notes (1921, p. 273):

The tenets of the sect are written in no books, but, according to Pravoslavnyi Sobesedyedik [Orthodox Conversationalist] for 1859, pt. I, are contained in a tradition, handed down from father to son, which they term the Living Book enshrined in the memory and hearts of the faithful in contrast with the Bible, which is written in dead letters. The tradition includes psalms, consisting of detached sentences from the Davidic psalms and from the rest of the Bible, and from the prayers and sequences of the Orthodox church; in a still higher proportion they are original composition. The mass of these devotional exercises, the vox viva of the Church, is so large that no single man can remember them all. A father usually teaches his children all he knows between the ages of six and fifteen, and this curriculum they call baptism.

Popoff (MS 1968, pp. 3-7) discusses the activity of skilled singers in transmitting psalms, and notes that one singer, Ivan Evseyevitch Konkin, who was to migrate to Canada, was said to know

...the melody to every psalm, hymn, and song...and could actually render them in any given part....the Doukhobors sang at this time from 150 to 200 different psalms....

Obviously proficiency in performance and transmission of the full texts was a valued human resource.

2. The Catechetical Psalms.

It is important to compare the style of the Catechetical psalms with that of a "Conversation" given in translation by Pinkerton (1833, pp. 176-185) from what Elkinton (1903, p. 268) describes as 'state papers in St. Petersburg', and appended to this dissertation on account of its rarity. The psalms combine esoteric doctrine with clauses of information that is apparently accidental, deliberately misleading, or merely insignificant in context; or so it appears to the outsider, and even, on occasion, to the trained Doukhobor, as the comment of a D.S.C. publication makes plain (1961, pp. 3-4):

Many of the catechistic psalms, in our view, are not of a nature instructive in the Doukhobor faith, and appear rather as impediments to what is necessary; for that reason, we decided to leave them out. For example the following: How many walls has Jerusalem? - Four. How many gates? - Twelve gates. How are they named? Etc.

But in the abrupt, superior tone of the psalms cited, the reader will note a similarity of stance to that taken by the three Doukhobor prisoners interrogated by Archimandrite Innokentie. The isolation and indirection

through which the prisoners withstand the authority or the Orthodox churchman are techniques co-existing in the Cataphetical psalms; some of the questions are deliberately presented as from a hostile speaker (psalm 1, 22):

Q. Why do you not go to our Christian church, to the great Russian Church; why is it so abhorrent to you?

Other exchanges are set up, in which obsolete or laconic answers are given, nothing being volunteered; the questioner is encouraged to go off on wild goose chases (psalm 6, 14-20):

Q. Do you have among you three Christs?

A. I do.

Q. Who [are they]?

A. The first Jesus - Navin; the second - Ravvin; the third-sidyakin.

Q. In which of these three Christs do you believe?

A. I believe in the Christ, that sits on the throne and makes all [things] new.

Q. Do you go to meeting?

A. We go.

Q. With what do you go there?

A. With the unspoken razon.

Q. And what is the unspoken razor?

A. The unspoken language, the message, the word of God.

Q. Do you have a church?

A. Indeed.

Compare this diction with that of the Archimandrite (A) and the Doukhobors (D), passim from the source cited:

A. Whom do you call your persecutors?

D. Those who threw me in prison, and bound me in fetters.

A. How dare you, in this way, speak evil of the established Government, founded and acting on principles of Christian piety? which deprives none of their liberty, except such as are disturbers of the public peace and prosperity.

D. What evil do we do? None.

A. Do you not hurt the faith by your false reasoning concerning her holy ordinances, and by your blind zeal against God...?

D. Let knowledge remain with you! Only do not molest us, who live in peace, pay the taxes, do harm to no one, and respect and obey earthly governments.

- A. At least, it is far from being disagreeable to you, I suppose, to behold your society increased?
- D. We desire good unto all men, and that all may be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.
- A. Leave off your studied secrecy, and evasive and dubious answers.
- A. Are the names of Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and such like, unknown to you?
- D. I know them.
- A. What do you think of them?
- D. What do I think? - why, they were men!
- A. Should not the simple command of the higher powers be sufficient to unite you with others to defend your country, your fellow-citizens, and your faith.
- D.
- A. Why do you make no answer to this?
- D. There is nothing to say. I am not so loquacious as you; neither have I need of it.
- D. Argue as you will. I have spoken what was necessary, and shall not say another word.

It is clear that the Catechetical psalms suppose that most Doukhobors may be subjected to a certain interaction situation, that in which the roles are Inquisitor//Prisoner. The only secure defence against the obduracy of Government bureaucrats and the logical legalism of Orthodox clerics would be a simple refusal to accept Establishment language or world-view. The refusal is expressed in silence, in the introduction of irrelevancies, in the utterance of associated rather than sequential responses, and in adherence to Doukhobor doctrine, an adherence as firm as that of the Inquisitor to Official dogma. The continuity of this tradition is affirmed by the psalm Questions concerning Citizenship, in which discussion of the same Catechetical style is applied to the matter of loyalty oaths; the reference to the "English King" assures that the current version of the psalm dates from the early part of this century. Self-right-

-eous affirmation - opposed to the self-righteousness of the implied Inquisitor - is expressed in the closing sentence,

It is better to be peaceful servants of the Saviour Jesus Christ than to be loyal bandits of the killer King.

The same technique has also been encountered in a Field situation, during an interview with a Svobodnik lady at Agassiz (Field notes, 22/10/70) who spent some twenty-odd minutes telling me obliquely that no questioner could be trusted to reproduce an interview without great bias and prejudice against Doukhobors. The cited preceding instances of abusive and bigoted newspaper accounts gave both rationale and force to the lady's argument; but she did not argue outside her tradition. The Catechetical psalms, then, are not only repositories of doctrine; they also condition a verbal defense technique against disruption of the society by verbal and dogmatic attacks of an external Establishment.

3. Miscellaneous.

Some data - not all minor - of an essentially historic nature are attached to about a tenth of the texts presented here. A number are traditionally attributed to leaders, an attribution which in recent cases can sometimes be proven. These are as follows:

- 1. - Kolesnikoff.
- 144. - Siberian correspondence of Peter Gospodnie Verigin.
- 202. - Pobirokhin or Kapustin.
- 384. - Siberian correspondence of Peter Gospodnie Verigin.

In the Garden of Gethsemane
Thank you, Lord.
A Doukhobor is one.
Father of All
Basic Rules for Young Children

-Peter Gospodnie Verigin(ed.?).
-Peter Gospodnie Verigin.
-Savely Kapustin.
-Peter Gospodnie Verigin.
-Peter Gospodnie Verigin.

Several psalms are associated with historic events. Psalm 144, From The Common Views of the C.C.U.B., and Basic Rules for Young Children, are associated with the establishment of communal life styles in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, respectively. The latter is further remarkable for the range of behaviour comprehended therein, from seasonal dress to adult economic orientation. Psalm 139 dates directly from the period of intense persecution following the Burning of Arms, and psalm 143 is remembered as being much in use at that period. Psalms 213 and 243, with their references to welcome guests, may recall the 18th. century and earlier travels of Doukhobors from centre to centre to spread their teachings. Psalm 226 was sung by the Doukhobors who appeared before Czar Alexander I in 1818; Popoff recounts a legend attached to this event (MS 1968, p. 4):

It has been recorded that when the Emperor Alexander First officially visited the Doukhobor colony in the Crimea in May of 1818, he attended one of their prayer meetings. The Doukhobor singing so affected him, he reportedly had remarked to the empress, that were it not for his feeling of responsibility to the state, he would have preferred to live the simple life of the Doukhobors and worship with them in their simple but soul-stirring way.

Psalm 311, a grace, is noteworthy for the relatively recent addition of a phrase, 'the makers of mercy', for whom the Lord is thanked. This phrase also dates from the period of persecution following the Burning of Arms, and commemorates the unknown Tartar villagers who gave supplies to the destitute Doukhobors driven in exile to other parts of the Caucasus. In the Garden of Gethsemane, apparently introduced into tradition by Peter Gospodnie Verigin about 1920, has been associated with a disastrous fire in which lives and property were lost: the suffering of the community is seen as having common elements with the suffering of

Christ. Two Healing psalms, Against Witchcraft and Psalm for Healing, by their included or associated virtue against injury in battle, may be presumed to have been in use in the mid-1800's, when a number of Doukho-bors took part in some form or another of military service (most commonly, it appears, moving supplies). The two psalms Against Sore Throat and Against the Evil Eye II have apparently both been associated with Polio epidemics, the latter specifically in the 1930's. It may also be possible that Against Appendicitis is modified from an earlier version that antedates the identification of the complaint in question.

Among minor points, the following are noteworthy. In psalm 1, (14), the crucifixion is treated with unusual pro-Semitism:

- Q. For what did the Jews come to hate Christ, why did they persecute Him and cause Him to be crucified?
- A. They were not simple Jewish people, but they were members of the priesthood, the scribes and the pharisees, who from envy hated Him, persecuted and still persecute Him.

In other words, the crucifixion was an aim of persons in an authoritarian role that is not necessarily a function of Jewishness. Psalm 87 is identified as the source of a hymn in current tradition, The Temple of the Living God. It is possible that the reference to 'hand gestures' in psalm 88 is a remnant of the old Raskolnik controversy aroused by Nikon's reform of blessing ritual (Ware 1963, p.122).

Two textual notes should be included here. Popoff discusses one cause of text change in his note cited with psalm 304, where a word translated 'slave' (РАБ, although 'servant' is an allowable translation) is altered to 'faithful believer' (БЕРЯЮЩИЙ). The substitution was approved by a consultative committee on the advice of U.S.C.C. Honorary Chairman John Verigin, the Community's major religious spokesman. Of

the melody of the Lord's Prayer, Popoff also says (Field notes, 25/11/70; tape D-1):

...many of the older Doukhobors insist that it is absolutely unique to them, that it is...our own. To the best of my knowledge it is an adaptation that was brought in to the Doukhobors only in the Milky Waters area by Grandfather Makortoff, who had served in the Navy, and he had learned it from the Russian Orthodox chaplain that served them. Now, it did get a certain amount of adaptation, but that's where it basically comes from. But nearly every Doukhobor that sings it...would have nothing to do with the Orthodox church or a Navy chaplain - by all means, No!

4. Performance.

Some accounts of psalms and their performance remain from early sources. Pinkerton (1815, pp. 267-268) cites psalm 334 from another unidentified source. Grellet, a Quaker missionary who travelled in S.W. Russia about 1820, comments (1864, pp. 456-457):

...she began by singing what they call a psalm....then the old woman, in a fluent manner, uttered what they call a prayer, and their worship concluded; but no seriousness appeared over them at any time.

The concluding judgement is not easy to understand. Von Haxthausen presents, without comment (1847, pp. 401-402), a German translation of psalm 71. Bernard (pseud, Fitzgibbon), writing of her recent travels in Saskatchewan for an apparently Quaker audience, gives several accounts of psalm-singing and one of speaking, of which the following are the most important (1899, pp.19-20; 38):

...I heard a curious little "hum" going on close to me, and looking up I saw a mother putting her little ones to bed, and the gentle humming was the repetition of the Psalms by the children. Their sole education seems to consist in the teaching by word of mouth of endless Psalms and Hymns....

Later on the musical young people of the village (Michaelovka) sang for us some of the Psalms and a few of their "folk-songs." A row of girls sat on one side of the room and boys on the other, while the leader, a young man of about twenty, with a deep baritone voice, occupied a central position. The music was very quaint, but to those who have heard the chants of the Greek Church it was not unfamiliar. The deeper voices of the men are used as a sort of accompaniment; the notes, sustained and deep, are in perfect harmony, while the phrasing is most curious. The harmonies are exquisite, but the treble has a strange pathetic "protest," the beat falling on the most unexpected note, and at times producing the effect of the pizzicato snapping of a violin string.

Rhoads, another Quaker writing in 1900, comments of a concert in the Saskatchewan village Terpenne (1900, pp. 20-21):

There was a moment's silence, and the Kisnizoff's quavering voice could be heard, "feeling" after the notes as if uncertain of the key, but singing truer and fuller after the second bar.... The music was very slow and mournful in character, and was all in the minor, many of the intervals and phrases having an almost weird effect. All the voices were nasal in quality, but though the singing would have offended every canon of musical criticism, the combined result was far from unpleasing. In general the men and women sung in unison, though occasionally Iwachin, who possessed a rich baritone, dropped into harmony, and his wife, whose voice was a pure and strong alto, frequently attempted a part.

...[Iwachin] requested me to sing for their entertainment, and was politely sceptical when I said that nothing but considerations of friendship and the desire for their continued good opinion prevented my compliance.

"Strannik", writing in the Revue de Paris, gives a dubious French translation of a psalm apparently obtained through correspondence with Bonch-Bruevich (1901, pp. 875-876), with no other comment. Another Quaker, Elkinton, who visited the Saskatchewan colonies in 1902, comments occasionally upon psalm-singing during his travels, though he gives no particular details; includes a translation of psalm 139 (1903, p. 188), and repeats Grellet's account of a Molenye (pp. 254-256), though he disagrees with the closing stricture. No other description of any value appears to occur in the literature.

It is clear that most observers approached psalm performance with an understandable ethnocentricity. It is to be regretted, however, that none saw fit to attempt any form of transcription, and that the most meagre handful of texts was taken down.

The most reliable material to date is that developed by Peacock (1970, est. pp. 4 - 49) from repeated field research. Peacock's musical transcriptions are not only of great value for their detail: they are the only transcriptions in existence to attempt to reproduce psalm harmony, although the 'Outer Voice' (VTBOD) has generally been subsumed into the upper line of female harmony. It is hoped that further tune texts can be prepared before long, and regretted that none accompany this study.

II. Religious Aspects.

1. Note.

There is a certain obtuseness in talking about religious elements in what are the major religious documents of a culture; as if making a catalogue of leaves were to be an adequate description of the population and appearance of a great forest. Yet, so long as one loses sight of neither forest nor trees, the leaves will also yield their own kind of information. In the case of the psalms, certain motifs and stylistic elements reflect religious concepts whose emphasis is peculiar to the Doukhobors; some of these are considered in the discussion below.

2. Motifs.

Below, a number of motifs are presented as characteristic of Doukhobor psalmody. Their singularity is not uniform; some exist as definitions, some as metaphoric images, some as explicit concepts or classes of concepts. Many are common to the religious expression of other sectarian groups. But it is suggested that their significance is that they comprise, when assembled, a cognitive realm that is more representative of this one psalmody than of any other. They have, after all, been selected by a process that cannot be anything but subjective, developed by exposure to both the texts and to other Doukhobor expression. The procedure is subject to challenge, but before it can be tested, a similar approach to other hymnodies is required as a control.

The process is based on a familiarity with several schools of Western hymnody, from which a number of concepts have been considered and rejected as common to both Western and Doukhobor texts, such as New Jerusalem, Church/Temple, etc.. Those (such as Believer) that are retained are significant for the contexts that develop around them in the Doukhobors texts. With one minor exception, the process is not intended for historical research, but as an initial inventory towards an understanding of Doukhobor style, as it interacts with belief.

I. Expressions of Doctrine.

1. Christology. Psalms 1/ 3, 16; 71; 74. Christ is described with no detail as 'God...within man'; 'God...speaks with a human mouth.' 'In his own being the Son bears witness to the Father.' Miraculous or supernatural attributes and acts of Christ are pointedly not discussed.

2. Trinity. Psalms 1/5; 64. 'In every quality of the spirit, the human power is this: Memory, reason, will. By memory we are likened to God the Father; by reason,..to God the Son; by will - to the Holy Spirit, thus in the holy Trinity there are three persons, yet they hold one spirit; three spiritual powers, but one God.'

II. Definitions.

1. Cleanliness. Psalms 1/10; 6/12,43,114; 6 Var./69. Physical cleanliness is a symptom of spiritual purity.
2. Communion. Psalms 1/24; 6/123/ 6 Var./65-67;74; 76. The Eucharist consists of sharing Christ's suffering and receiving the strength of spiritual knowledge from Him
3. Image. Psalms 6/63; 74; 83; 146. It is a sin to bow to any but God whose only image is Christ and man; Doukhobors do not bow to men but to the God within man.
4. Millenarian Change. Psalms 6 Var./12; 144/5,6. The world and the Believers in it move continually forward from chaos to perfection.
5. Miracles. Psalms 1/13; 191. Believers need not be concerned by any miracle beyond that of redemption of sinners.
6. Origin. Psalms 6/70; 6 Var./16. The Three Holy Children(cf. Daniel I, III, esp. 16-18 or III) are the archetypal Doukhobors. (They defied blasphemous tyranny, were condemned to torment, and were miraculously preserved, to the tyrant's edification).

III. General Concepts.

1. a. Spiritual Knowledge. Psalms 1/24; 6/123; 64; 146; 181; 277; 299; 316; 384; With Prayer I Call. "We wholeheartedly want to attain this, that you [Lord], would speak with us inwardly." Also see Communion above: the Believer's mind is one with that of God.
- b. Pre-Cultural Ignorance. Psalms 161; 267. Spiritual Knowledge of both high and lower kinds was not always available to the Believer.
2. Suffering. Psalms 1/15,24; 6/55; 130;139; 140; 143; 202; 205; 226; 243; 247; 252; 254; 256; 286; 343; 345; 384; In the Garden of Gethsemane; With Prayer I Call. The Believers are often in a state of intense suffering from which they cry out to the Lord.
Psalms 140 and 143 especially, which cite intolerable sufferings, call to mind the experiences of the Staroveri under Empress Sophia (Crummey 1965, p. 4; Stark, 1967, pp. 220-221).

3. Directions. Psalms 6 Var./71; 6/103; 61; 71; 123; 140; 197; 213; 256; 266; 342; 352; Maiden Bearer-of-God; Against Witchcraft on the Way. Blessings, Believers, the Christ-Child, the Lord in Judgement, and the Sun and Morning-Star all appear from the East. The concepts Sun and Star occur twelve times, half of them independently of the quarter with which their virtues are otherwise clearly associated.
4. Green Earth. Psalms 161, To Invoke Forgiveness for a Child, Help Me, Jesus Christ Yourself. Lit., 'Damp' or 'Virgin' earth. Includes 'Mother'-earth. A pre-Christian entity.
5. Guests. Psalms 181; 213; 243. Guests are associated with the need for or arrival of divine blessing.
6. Living Books. Psalms 113; 156; 267. The Living Book(s) of Heaven record the redeemed and are offensive weapons against evil.
7. a. Mountain. Psalms 6/118-119; 71; 113; 324; I Raise my Voice; A Doukhobor is One; (?)Against Appendicitis. Mountains may symbolize approach, through faith, to God. Upon Mount Zion do the heavens rest, from there judgement is given.
 b. Apocalyptic Fountain. Psalms 71; 146; 334; Maiden Bearer-of-God. From Mount Zion rises a mystical spring that washes away sinfulness (cf. Book of Enoch, XXVI; Apocalypse XXII, 1-2).
8. Path. Psalms 6/44, 72-75, 98; 150; 176; 182; 197; 226; 262; 276; 328; Maiden Bearer-of-God; Christ is One. Faith and the will of God are a path upon which the Believer walks.
9. Pillar. Psalms 6 Var./20; 79; 91; 106; 166. A Pillar(s) is a very holy person upon whom the Lord may rely; or, it is the might of the Lord himself. (In one cause, a strong support for the antichrist: the inference of support is central).
10. Seven. Psalms 1/20; 147; 324; We "Cossacks" Sing a New Song; Against Appendicitis; Against the Evil Eye II; Against Sore Throat. An arbitrary 'magic' number, as against 3, 4, and 12, which are used in one-to-one counting however symbolic.
11. Treasure-house. Psalms 316; (?)320; 328. The Lord is an eternal treasure-house. Psalm 6/123: God's innermost mind, secret truths.
12. Wilderness. Psalms 140; 143; 166; Against Fear II; Against Witchcraft on the Way. The wilderness (usually) is a place of trial for Believers. (Against Fear II tends to reconcile it through the green earth concept.).

13. Antichrist. Psalms 6/100; 6 Var./20; 130; 143; 166. Once named, twice identified as Goliath, twice as Antiochus: archetype of human opposition to Christ and His Believers.

3. Elements of Style.

Two major classes of stylistic elements may be discerned, one generic, the other syntactic. Predominant among the former is a heavy reliance upon Apocalyptic myth; the latter is characterized by dyadic structures. They may be edited from outside sources (e.g., Righteous Souls ..).

I. Genre.

1. Apocalypse. Psalms 6/96-106; 71; 99; 113; 123; 144; 146; 267; 324; I Raise my Voice; A Doukhobor is One; We "Cossacks" Will Sing.... Drawing upon the tradition of the N.T. Apocalypse, these psalms allude to this sequence of future events: the tribulation of the righteous, the coming of the Lord, victory over Evil, and the punishment of the sinful and vindication of the righteous; the eternal Kingdom of God.
2. Exuberant and highly metaphoric diction. Psalms 91; 320; 334; 359; Maiden Bearer-of-God. (Healing psalms excluded as being generally of such character). The psalms cited here are characterized by climactic strings of short, noun-laden clauses of strong affect and covert semantic coherence, or by florid diction.
3. Gnomic. Psalms 138; 159; 161; 182; 187; 241(?); 384. Psalms all or in part composed of practical aphorisms inculcating worldly virtues appropriate to a Believer.

II. Dyadic Structures.

1. Dualism. Semantic groups in which a pair of concepts are opposed and contrasted, often in phrases of parallel syntactic structure.
 - a. Matter/Spirit. Psalms 6/3, 68; 78; 144; 313; A Doukhobor is One; Basic Rules for Young Children.
 - b. Sinner/Believer. Psalms 64; 74; 88; 123; 140; 156; 182; 252; 276; 384; Questions on Citizenship; We "Cossacks" Will Sing...; Christ is One.

- c. Suffering/Vindication. Psalms 61; 191; 219; 260; 335; 349; Righteous Souls; Christ is One.
 - d. Then/Now. Psalms 172, 352.
 - e. Now/Future. Psalms 143, 243.
2. Dual Address. Psalms 61; 87; 113; 130; 140; 143; 150; 161; 166; 247; 271; 276; 344; 345; In the Garden of Gethsemane; I Raise my Voice; We "Cossacks" Will Sing... Two speakers are present, not of equal status. Commonly the Beleiver(s) complain of present suffering and the Lord replies, promising early vindication.
 3. Dual Syntax. Psalm 139; 166; 184; 213; 321; (?)359. A parallel sequence of two-part sentences is set up, of which one part tends to be repeated without change. The fixed part may consist of a phrase, or of a syntactic slot within a phrase. A technique of Hebrew psalmody (cf. Psalms, CXXXVI).

4. Summary.

As a larger body of psalms becomes available in translation, lists of this sort may be expanded and tested more carefully, though they ought to be based upon a survey of other Doukhobor sources and controlled by similar analysis of other bodies of hymnody. But already a number of elements appear that will reappear below in consideration of Doukhobor history, religion, worship, and social structure; paramount among these are the Doctrinal concepts: the concepts of Spiritual Knowledge and of Suffering; Apocalyptic mythology; and Dualistic patterns of cognition in which a predominance of apocalyptic concepts will again be noted. Not all these elements would be consciously perceived by every Doukhobor, nor would every Doukhobor admit to them: a speaker does not hear his own dialect. For various reasons, not every Doukhobor has access to the

whole of his tradition. But among elements such as these may be found a resource from which every person draws according to his means, a resource which surrounds him more fully than he may consciously know.

Two objections can be dealt with here. Popoff (Field notes, 25/11/70) complains of prior researchers' superficial interpretation of the use of Healing psalms as "Witchcraft", and objects to the possibility of confusing them with other psalms. It should now appear clear that, while some Healing psalms are of a strictly magical genre, most draw upon similar resources as the devotional psalms, but to the specific end of Folk Medicine: ends which are utterly opposite to those of Witchcraft.

Herbison (in Hawthorne 1955, pp. 175-176) presents a disappointing discussion of the Living Book, saying in part:

"The Living Book" theoretically is ever growing and changing, recent revelation and experience supposedly being as valuable as contributions from the distant past. A few songs and legends are, in fact, being added,...but the main body of material was provided by a few early leaders...who gave the illiterate peasants a heterogeneous mixture of Bible quotations, personal opinions, and bits of piety derived from sources as varied as French literature, Oriental theosophy, and mediaeval heresy...
...All the material...is, in the Doukhobor view, understandable only by spiritual insight and only by a living demonstration of the contents. "The Living Book" has been deliberately concealed from the world at large....

...There are no "personal psalms" like the Biblical Twenty-Third.
...Much of the oral tradition is practical advice in the nature of the Biblical Book of Proverbs, and is not so much religious as social, advising prudence rather than piety...the catechism is geared to defense against questioning from outside....

It should be clear by now that the Living Book stands convicted of being like every other hymnody, to a certain degree - understandable only by spiritual insight and living demonstration. It is convicted of very little else said or implied here. The French and theosophical origins seem ob-

-scure indeed. The psalms may be - as are, indeed, all hymnodies! - but they are not devoid of poetic craft. As texts at least, the Living Book has been accessible to any person who approached its bearers with honesty and humanity. Of the 134 texts given here, fully seven are more or less gnomic; not a majority, though certainly significant. If being 'personal' is a virtue, then psalms such as 141, 242, 172, to mention a few, should satisfy the requirement. And if the catechetical psalms are 'geared to defense', it was not from any initial desire to defraud pure-hearted researchers or public people that they took this form, but from the exigencies of sectarian experience in Russia, where discovery did not mean merely exposure to bigoted journalism, but to rape, pillage, the knout, exile, and the stake.

They beat us and they tortured us on account of the word of God...
 ...But we are glad and we rejoice. (Psalm 243).

V. DOUKHOBOR HISTORY - EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC VIEWS.

I. Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is not to give a detailed account of Doukhobor history, but to examine the character which the culture has received when it is examined from without and from within, and thereby to approach those subjective biases that it tends to generate in its observers and members. A fair number of studies of Doukhobor history are already in existence, though their quality is for the most part poor and few are available outside a few special collections. Anyone interested in Doukhobor history is urged to begin study with the followings sources:

- Novitsky 1832. O Dukhobortsakh.
Elkinton 1903. The Doukhobors....
Sukhorev 1944. Dokumenty po Istorii Dukhobortsev.
Maloff 1948. Dukhobortsi....
Hawthorne 1955. The Doukhobors of B.C.
Tarasoff 1964. In Search of Brotherhood.
Popoff 1964. Historical Exposition....
1966. Rasskazi....
Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968. The Doukhobors.
Tarasoff 1969. Pictorial History of the Doukhobors.

(Full data are given in the Bibliography; all titles are cited by Author in Section VI, except for those by Sukhorev, Maloff, and Popoff, which may be found in Section I.)

It seems reasonable, when beginning a discussion of historical studies, to make some sort of historical outline available to the reader. Herewith a skeletal chronicle, assembled from a wide number of sources, against which discussion may be better understood:

Doukhobor Chronology.

- c. 1652. Beginning of Raskol.
- late 1600's 'Ninety families of 'Doukhobors' exiled to Finland' (Maloff, MS, p. 16). Persecutions of regent Sophia against Staroveri.
- c. 1715. Sectarian preaching in village of Ohochem, Kharkow district, by a 'retired non-commissioned officer...[whose] manner of life...was very much like the spirit of the Quaker teaching.' (Maloff MS, p. 17).
1730. Sylvan Kolesnikoff forms community in village of Nikolai, Ekaterinoslav district. Pobirokhin active in village of Goreloe, Tambov province. (Maloff MS, p. 17).
- c. 1765. Death of Kolesnikoff; Pobirokhin becomes general leader of sect. (Maloff MS, p. 19).
- c. 1775. Pobirokhin left by son-in-law Semeon Uklein, with large group, to found sect of Molokans. (Maloff MS, p. 20).
- c. 1780. Ascendancy of Savely Kapustin in Sisoeff village of Morshanskoff district, Tambov province.
- 1785, Ambrosia, bishop of Ekaterinoslav, names sect Doukhobors.
1790. Death of Pobirokhin in Siberian exile and probable time of official leadership of Kapustin.
1801. Czar Alexander I permits persecuted Doukhobors - and all who claim to be Doukhobors - to emigrate to Molochnie Vodie (Milky Waters) region in Tavriz province, in Crimea. Favourable reports to Czar by Senators Lopukhin and Neledinskii-Melet'sii.
1805. Kapustin arrives at Milky Waters.
1806. Doukhobors exempted from Military service. (Henceforth they continued to serve in the army, but as stretcher-bearers, waggon-drivers, etc.).
1820. Death of Kapustin, two years after official report thereof, and accession to leadership of Vasili Kalmikoff.
1832. Death of Vasili and accession of his son Ilarion Kalmikoff. Disorders and abuses within community.

- 1841-48. Persecutions resumed. Doukhobors banished to Wet Hills district of Tiflis province in Caucasus. 1841, death of Ilarion Kalmikoff.
- c. 1850. Leadership of Ilarion's son Peter Kalmikoff.
1864. Death of Peter Kalmikoff and accession of his wife Lukeria.
1877. Russo-Turkish war. Conscription threatened; villages send quota of wagon teams with 2 men per wagon.
1881. Lukeria adopts Peter Verigin.
1886. Withdrawal of immunity from conscription. Death of Lukeria and succession of Peter Verigin according to her appointment.
1887. Zubkoff establishes Small Party which agitates to appoint Lukeria's brother Michael Hoobonoff as leader; through conspiracy with district police, Small Party achieves exile of Verigin to Shenkursk in Siberia.
1891. Verigin moved to Obdorsk in Siberia. At this time he is writing letters of doctrinal and social direction to his supporters, the Large Party.
1895. Great Easter - Doukhobor conscripts lay down arms. They are punished and exiled to Siberia.
June 29 (old style) - the Burning of Arms, performed in centres in Tiflis, Elisavetpol, and Kars provinces. Persecutions of peculiar bitterness in Bogdanovka, Wet Hills region. Formation of party of Gorobyevtsi, who withdrew from Large Party and took no part in any reforms. Punitive regional exiles.
- 1895-97. Activity of Tolstoy, Tchertkov, Berukov, Hilkov, Bonch-Bruевич, Tregubov, Sulerzhiski and others to secure relief for Doukhobors. Response of Maude and other members of London and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, Society of Friends. C.C.U.B. (see psalm 144) established.
1898. Hilkov delegation selects land in Saskatchewan. Attempt to settle Doukhobors in Cyprus fails.
1899. Jan. 20., First Doukhobor migrants arrive in Canada of a total of some 7,427 souls.

- 1900. Independent Doukhobors begin to withdraw from community activity. Bodnianski urges migration to California.
- 1902. First Svobodnik protest: march to Yorkton, Saskatchewan.
- 1903. First success of communal enterprises.
- 1907. Conflict over Oath of Allegiance required under Homestead Act results in confiscation by Federal Government of some 100,000 acres of improved land.
- 1908. Pioneer groups first established in British Columbia.
- 1909-12. B.C. Lands purchased. 1910, several hundred Doukhobors arrive in Canada after late release from Siberian exile. Some 5,000 Doukhobors arrive in B.C. from Saskatchewan, and develop communal villages, agriculture, and industry. Royal Commission given W. Blakemore in 1912; report, 1913.
- 1917. Incorporation of C.C.U.B., Ltd.
- 1919. Veterans' movement to deport Doukhobors and seize lands.
- 1923. Beginning of violent acts associated with Svobodniki.
- 1924. Death of Peter Gospodnie Verigin. Party formed about Anastasia Golubova.
- 1927. Peter Chistiakov Verigin arrives in Canada. Lordly C.C.U.B. established by Anastasia Golubova in Cowley, Alta..
- 1928. Peter Chistiakov reforms religious membership of C.C.U.B. as Society of Named Doukhobors; the 'Protocol'.
- 1929. Svobodniki settle in Krestova. Stephen Sorokin arrives in Canada and visits Doukhobor settlements in Saskatchewan.
- 1934. August 1 - Peter Chistiakov presents the 'Declaration of the Named Doukhobors' to delegates, and it is adopted as religious manifesto of U.S.C.C. Federal franchise withdrawn.
- 1937. Society of Independent Doukhobors denounces Leadership principle and withdraws support from Peter Chistiakov.
- 1938. Mortgages on C.C.U.B. holdings foreclosed by major creditors, National Trust Co. and Sun Life Assurance Co.

- 1939. Peter Chistiakov Verigin dies, Peter Yastrebov Verigin proclaimed leader. World War II begins.
- 1940. National War Registration Act withdraws franchise from citizens with C.O. status. B.C. Provincial Government promulgates Doukhobor Lands Acquisition Act, therewith meeting balance of mortgage claims and acquiring title as "trustee" over Doukhobor lands.
- 1941. John Verigin becomes secretary of U.S.C.C. Michael (Archangel) Verigin/Orekoff and John Lebidoff develop part-san support, especially among Svobodniki, and Michael (Archangel) claims partial title to full spiritual leadership.
- 1942. Peter Yastrebov dies in confinement in Russia (not confirmed till 1957).
- 1946. Michael (Archangel) Verigin establishes millenarian community at Hilliers, Vancouver Island, B.C., the 'New Jerusalem.'
- 1947-54. Major instances of terrorism in West Kootenays.
- 1950. Stephen Sorokin returns to Canada and is acclaimed as leader of Svobodniki. Doukhobor Research and Consultative Committees appointed.
- 1951. Death of Michael (Archangel) Verigin.
- 1952. Formation, within Svobodniki, of Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors/Sons of Freedom. Confidential publication of Research Committee report.
- 1955. Doukhobor Research Committee report published by University of B.C.. U.S.C.C. expands establishment of Sunday Schools.
- 1956-62. Royal Commissioner Justice Lord evolves policy for return of Doukhobor lands.
- 1958. Last member of Archangel community leave Hilliers.
- 1960. John Verigin appointed Honorary Chairman, U.S.C.C.. Anna Markova arrives from U.S.S.R.
- 1962. Bombings followed by arrest, trial, and conviction of members of Fraternal Council of Svobodniki. Some 1200 relatives and supporters of prisoners begin march to Agassiz, B.C., site of prison, led by Florence Storgeoff.

1963. U.S.C.C. members complete re-acquisition of majority of lands. Svobodniki marchers winter in Hope and Vancouver, then establish village in Agassiz near prison.
1966. Remaining and returned Svobodniki begin to acquire land title at Krestova.
1967. Independent Doukhobors form Doukhobor Society of Canada.
1968. Few prisoners at Agassiz; most villagers return to Krestova and settle there.
1971. John Verigin proposes financial re-establishment of U.S.C.C.. Independent and other Doukhobor Youth hold organizational conference which moves toward the establishment of a broadly-based Doukhobor Youth Society.
1972. As outcome of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Federal Government states policy of formal support for groups of ethnic identity.

II. Exoteric Views.

In considering the perceptions outside observers have developed in their contacts with Doukhobors, some temporal and class distinctions will be convenient. A distinct break in both quality and volume of reportage exists about the time of the opening of World War I, which thus becomes a useful boundary. Before this time, three several classes of reporters are distinguished: Travellers; Apologists, with whom Quakers are included (since, over a century and a half, they have developed a special interest in Doukhobors far outranking other reasons for which they have travelled in areas of Doukhobor settlement); and the authors of several Miscellaneous Documents. After 1914, again three main types of reporter appear: Journalists, which whom travellers are included; more and less profound Scholars; and again the authors of Miscellaneous Documents. Within each of these classes a certain degree of uniformity prevails regarding selection of materials reported and body of a priori assumptions.

Not all documents, and few periodical items, reviewed for this study are cited here (the latter being usually very brief and of narrow publication when longer). All materials may be found in the Bibliography, materials from studies not specifically concerned with Doukhobors being divided under chronological headings, and all materials accompanied by short critical notes.

1. To 1914.

A. The Travellers.

Chief reporters among travellers are the colporteur Pinkerton and the German explorer and geographer von Haxthausen. Pinkerton was in the

Milky Waters region about 1816, and gives brief notes on the existence of both communal and private property (family lands and stock alongside communal stock, crops, and land - 1833, p. 167). He reports in part a conversation in which he told Doukhobors of their neighbours' mistrust of what appeared to them as (pp. 168-169) "immoral habits, because in speaking of females and children them [said]... 'My sister, our child,' etc." He notes (p. 169) the "shyness and distrust which is quite extraordinary...evasive answers...", but adds "I learned...intrigues were on foot to ruin them..." and cites Czar Nicholas I's Rescript later published, which demolished the false accusations (of harbouring deserters and making proselytes), and the Discourse cited earlier in reference to the style of Cataphetical psalms. Von Haxthausen's work was published in 1847 in a geopolitical study of central and southern Russia; he was present in the Milky Waters region in 1843. He was guided by the Mennonite leader Kornies, who was hostile to Doukhobors, and he apparently believed anything detrimental stated by Kornies or by government officials, inserting such untestable claims as (ed. 1856, p. 288):

They also have mysteries, accompanied by horrible ceremonies and orgies, the nature of which is kept profoundly secret.

He cites (ibid., p. 297) Allen and Grellet for corroboration on Doukhobor evasiveness, and reports that he visited the village and home of Kapustin, but gives no detail beyond an excellent watercolour sketch and accompanying map (see Ch. VII, section I). He presents one text in German couplets (ed. 1847, p. 398), a German text of psalm 71 with a theological critique by Kornies (ibid., pp. 401-402), and two unident-

-ified texts, and an account of the exile from the Milky Waters region, accompanied by government charges and orders.

Minor travellers whose reports are noteworthy are Lynch, who visited Gorelovka in the Caucasus in 1887, and Bradley, who was in northern Saskatchewan in 1903. Lynch gives one important doctrinal note(1901, p.111): "...they told me positively that they acknowledged and worshipped Christ as God.", and an anecdotal account of the prosperous appearance and smooth organization of the village just after the death of Lukeria Kalmikoff. Bradley gives a hearsay report of village prosperity and nude bathing, and a sympathetic and balanced account of the zealots' march to Yorkton. He is much concerned by the climate of opinion, and comments with tongue in cheek(1903, p. 300):

...to hear them condemned by an average politician is quite delightful. But no doubt they will improve, as I see in the papers they are to have schools of their own, and will achieve our standard of life and morals, and possibly develop into successful drummers and enterprising real estate agents.

In summary, the Travellers of this period are chiefly aware of stress between Doukhobors and their neighbours, but rarely report those traits on either side which generate the stress. They may report the existence of sectarian doctrine and practice, but do not describe it, nor do they concern themselves to describe living style beyond the merest statement that it is distinctive.

B. The Apologists.

The first Quaker visitors were the missionaries Allen and Grellet, partners from London and Philadelphia respectively, who were present in the Milky Waters region in 1819. They only report the existence of

sectarian belief and practice. Allen notes (1846/7, p. 61) that belief is not uniform:"...[they] hold very different principles, and... in reality, there are three sects of them." He also mentions welfare practices(p. 62). Grellet gives (1864, pp. 456-457) a short but useful account of the order of Molenye, though he considered it lacking in seriousness. An important divergence occurs between the two authors on a major doctrinal point. Thus Allen states (p. 61):

They fully believe... in the Deity of our Lord and Saviour...as fully as any Christian whom we ever met with.

and Grellet states(p. 455-456):

They look upon Jesus Christ in no other light than that of a good man. They therefore have no confidence in him as a Saviour from sin.

It appears that the two Quakers did not come to accord in their final evaluation of Doukhobor belief, and that they approached their data with concepts that were too rigid to account for variation and wide range in individual expression. It is significant that later scholars have uniformly cited Grellet's account only, either ignoring or rejecting the problem of inconsistency between two similar and amicable observers.

In 1888 the populist Kravchinsky, writing as "Stepniak", considers Doukhobors and Molokans as (1888, p. 506):"...two last links of a long series of transformations and religious efforts of the Popular mind,..." He cites the mystical definition of the Trinity, and other doctrine on immortality, the soul, and legendary origins (pp. 508-526). He reports statements indirectly, and adds much explanatory comment from which his own interpretation is indistinguishable.

Chertkov produced a lengthy pamphlet in highly-coloured and emotional language in 1897, describing the Burning of Arms and the ensuing persecutions. His work was a fairly successful attempt to arouse support, especially in English, for relief action; while it by no means exaggerates the sufferings and needs of the Doukhobors, it presents them as unnaturally virtuous in doctrine and community life.

A Quaker, May Fitz-Gibbon, writing (see Elkinton 1903, p. 329) as "Lally Bernard", published a series of letters as an account of her travels in Saskatchewan during the first year of settlement. She gives numerous valuable anecdotal accounts of village life, usually of events within and around homes, and ^{some} ~~A~~ account of worship and song, as well as an inaccurate legend on the origin of vegetarianism (1899, p. 23) heard from another Quaker. Much of the narrative is taken up with subjective description of landscape.

Another Quaker, Rhoads, visiting the same area some eight months later, gives a detailed and valuable account of life in the village Terpenne. He opens with a general description of the district, and proceeds to discuss the village, individual buildings, interiors, dress, food, and song. Most data are objective, with occasional subjective comments.

The major Quaker commentators of the period are Elkinton and Maude. Elkinton supplies many useful photographs and maps of the Saskatchewan settlement, with a largely subjective account of community life. He also gives a concise and occasionally rosy summary of Russian and Doukhobor religious history. Maude, to whom Tolstoy appealed and who, with St. John

and Elkinton was the major expediter of Doukhobor migration to Canada, became embittered when the first conflict and difficulties arose over the problems of compulsory education and the Oath of Allegiance. He had believed and convinced others that the Doukhobors were just enough better than they in fact were as a society, to suffer a profound disappointment; once he realized they were imperfect, he became somewhat embittered. The resulting work, while of excellent scholarship and true historical value, suffers noticeably from the author's opinion which now swung about to view the Doukhobors as a little more disorganized, contumacious, and deceitful than, in truth, they were.

The last major apologist is the expatriate Russian Evalenko, who published a pamphlet in 1913, coincident with the publication of the Blake-more Report. The pamphlet includes manifestoes and an account of one or two atrocities which followed the zealots' march to Yorkton in 1903, and substantially argues that the Doukhobors had been wholly victimized by the homestead confiscation of 1907, an apparent policy of deliberate persecution, as Woodcock & Avakumovic comment (1968, p. 256). But Evalenko has nothing to say of the failures - avoidable and ineluctable alike - of Doukhobor leadership and communities in understanding and negotiation, and thus does a disservice to those to whom he reports.

In summary, the early writers of this class provide one or two useful items of information with direct implications for their own study assumptions. Later writers are divided between those who write for a fundamentally propagandistic end, and those whose observations contain clearly discernable objective and subjective information; even the propagandists,

though, often include important documents and related materials of Doukhobor origin.

C. Miscellaneous Documents.

In 1829 a German Theologian, Theophil Lenz, published a short document on Doukhobors, conveniently writing in bad Church Latin. He does not cite sources, which appear to be second-hand, comments that Doukhobors are (1829, p. 3): "...very singular and peculiar reasoners...confounding true and false, mad and sane, [coming] from the community of Fanatics and customs of Separatists...[such] are the Doukhobors." He is the first to claim a similarity between Doukhobor and Quaker doctrine (p.7), distinguishes them from Molokans, and concludes with a brief account of Imperial actions, present locations (Milky Waters) of Doukhobor settlement, and their relations with neighbouring Lutherans and Molokans. In the main, the work is a highly orthodox and occasionally indignant view of a sectarian theology, without benefit of sectarian understanding.

A major work indeed, unfortunately very scarce, is the account of Doukhobor doctrine prepared as a thesis by the Orthodox priest Novitskii in 1832, and apparently available only in Russian (but see Elkinton, 1903, p. 12). Though Novitskii's position is a priori hostile, his account of the development of Doukhobor doctrine and society is so detailed and objective that it has been cited by Doukhobors themselves till recent times (e.g., Popoff 1964, p. 5, ex Sukhorev 1944, p.9). A second edition, enlarged but reportedly less objective, was published in 1882.

The Natural Realist painter Vereschagin published, in 1900, an account of his work among Doukhobors (one of whom he married) and Molokans,

and his book includes two paintings of Doukhobor women and of village scenes (1900, pp. 5, 19, 71, 79). The portraits show costume details clearly, but the village landscapes are incidental rather than compendious.

Of the above items, Novitskii's work is of great importance. Vereschagin's material is slight, but indicates the viability of his interest in sectarian custom and supplies useful Folklife data.

2. After 1914.

A. The Journalists.

The reporters considered under this heading all wrote before 1940; after that time a fair volume of material appears in newspapers and newsmagazines, much of it pictorial and most of it sensational. It is by no means suggested that this material is uninfluential; but it is not so much a cause of opinion as a symptom of it, nor is it generally material into which the author has put a major productive effort. For this reason, book materials are here given prime place.

In 1920, in the Canadian Magazine, an amateur photographer, Edith Watson, published eight folklife photographs of Doukhobor women working in and around a communal village in British Columbia. The photographs appear without comment beyond minimal captions, and include such important activities as hand-plastering the walls of a community house, spinning, and three photographs of cooking activities: a unique and valuable record.

In 1921, the Englishman Graham travelled, largely on foot, through Western Canada in the company of the poet Vachel Lindsay, and gives a

brief report of Doukhobors settled in Saskatchewan, and reports a conversation in which he gave news of Russia, and discussed the bad harvest of that year. He precedes this slender report with a remarkably balanced minimal overview of Doukhobor history (1922, pp. 239-241), indication of a serious interest and concern for objectivity.

The churchman Smith reports briefly upon Doukhobor communal economics, noting that the system by then in operation had by its abnormality in the social context aroused unthinking opposition. He suggests that such a system might ease the isolation of rural farm life generally, but does not suggest how the idea might be adapted for the average North-American citizen. He mentions a visit to Brilliant, but notes only that schools are under construction and that the community was active and busy (1922, pp. 73, 119-121).

The biographer MacLean gives a short and naive history of the Doukhobors in Russia and Canada, and apologizes for the Methodist missionary, his subject MacDougall, who was the chief agent of the Federal Government in securing information and guiding the officers who expelled the Saskatchewan homesteaders from their holdings. This duty is not mentioned at all by MacLean, who could hardly have been unaware of it, and it is almost with surprise that he writes (1927, pp. 238-239):

...he was a minister of the Gospel of Christ and at the same time a representative of the Dominion. They were suspicious of anyone in this double capacity....

a capacity, indeed, all too often occupied informally by those venal Russian clergy the Doukhobors had long ago learnt to fear and despise.

Lydia Gruchy, a United churchwoman writing for the Board of Home

Missions in 1928(?), discusses Doukhobor belief and interaction in the community in a superficial manner, and seems mainly concerned to urge the expansion of assimilation-oriented education. The pamphlet includes a number of small but excellent uncredited Folklife photographs; they appear to be the work of Edith Watson.

An English traveller, Teeling, presents a weirdly credulous agglomeration of inaccurate and sensational observations mingled with newspaper stories and sober retellings of hostile legends (e.g., 1932, p. 157, averring that corpses have been exposed "...on the hillside to be eaten by coyotes." But cf. Zubek and Solberg, 1952, pp. 176-178, for a more accurate account of the origin of this belief.). He does provide a little accurate and valuable data about community buildings; he also inexplicably identifies Peter Chistiakov and his father Peter Gospodnie, and gives the following self-centered account of a Svobodnik meeting (pp. 145; 159):

After prayers at a table had been sung and chanted in my honour, at the early hour of 9 A.M. they then nearly all quickly undressed and stark naked both men and women waited to be photographed. This I duly did....

In 1940 a Provincial Policeman, Rutherford, published a semi-fictionalized account of terrorism in the house-organ Shoulder Strap. The narrative mingles the development of courtship between a school-teacher and a noble young provincial-policeman with excerpts from newspaper accounts of terrorism; it is unfortunate but perhaps unsurprising that such pre-adolescent drivel should be offered alongside somewhat more balanced discussions of regional police affairs.

In summary, most journalists and travellers report with special mot-

-ives which on occasion interfere with the balance of their judgements. Some few yield to a taste for the bizarre - which is forgiveable; but magnify it beyond all proportion and mingle it with fact - which is not forgiveable. The most useable materials are Folklife photographs.

B. The Scholars.

This division includes authors who, while attempting a veneer of scholarly technique, generally ignore several basic principles of scholarly reporting, commonly reporting hearsay as fact, offering imaginary reconstructions as impersonal history, and rephrasing, rearranging and otherwise modifying oral narrative beyond use or belief. Nevertheless several such works have achieved an influence far beyond their merit and must be considered here.

In 1920 the Frenchman Pinot published a somewhat speculative study of contemporary religious movements in which he included a number of wild stories about Doukhobors, for example(1920, p. 38):

At one time it was their custom to put to death all children diseased in mind or body,

Kravchinski's("Stepniak") work must have been accessible, in which an explanation for the legend is given(1888, p. 512):

...the soul enters the child...from about the sixth to the fifteenth year of its life, the period during which the child is learning from the Book of Life[sic]. The newly-born baby is only a piece of soulless matter./This...served as a ground for the absurd accusation brought against these people by the Orthodox, of infanticide.

Professor Mavor published a fairly detailed account of his dealings with Doukhobors in his 1923 autobiography. He had aided the migration to Canada, and made representations to the Federal government during the land crisis of 1907 and the Soldiers' Settlement Board expulsion threat of 1919.

He includes some slightly inaccurate history, mainly doctrinal, and concludes with some careful discussion of contemporary problems, noting that (1923, pp. 36-37) conflicts arise because of dependence upon and interaction with a society whose values the Doukhobors rejected.

The historian Hawkes gives a detailed and objective account of his relations with Doukhobors while he was a government official in Saskatchewan. He includes some useful incidental information on village organization, and, significantly, describes the 1907 land confiscation as (1924, p. 727): "...a molestation...now those lands were looked upon with envious eyes." He comments objectively upon 'fanatics' and their actions, and gives two personal experiences of Doukhobor charity.

Gregory (Mrs. Ross) submitted at Bachelor's Thesis, a 'Sociological Survey', deposited in the University of British Columbia in 1925. This study gives an account of 'Spectacular Incidents' a poorly informed and meagre discussion of Peasant Religion and Doukhobor history, a few notes on House plan and marriage customs, an unacknowledged description of religious beliefs derived from Evalenko and the account ascribed to Platon, and an account of economic organization mostly given over to a description of the character and policies of Peter Gospodnie Verigin. She is able to say (1925, p. 3):

While we wish to avoid having a separate group of people within our midst, every effort should be made to Canadianize them....

Snesarev ('Harry Trevor') deposited an undescribed report with the University of B.C.'s Dean of Agriculture in 1931. This consists of a short history and a detailed documentary study of the financing of the

C.C.U.B., suggesting with great accuracy that the economy of the organization was weak and might shortly collapse. He writes with an overt hostility that he does not explain, and which throws some doubt upon the objectivity of his historical and social materials.

Dawson, a historian contributing to an economic history of Canada in 1936, includes a long and useful chapter on the economic and organizational history of Doukhobors since their arrival in Canada. He opens with a historical abstract from Maude, and presents extensive demographic information with valuable maps of the Saskatchewan homestead lands. His reporting is detailed and thorough, and includes important comparative production, cost, and income statistics for Saskatchewan communities with some comparative material from British Columbia.

Wright, in 1940, published a sensational history of the Doukhobors based upon fairly broad research and extensive field study. However, in spite of an impressive resource, he chose to present his history in dramatized form, and includes a great deal of legend with what must be - in the absence of source citations - a great deal of his own imaginings. His opening chapter, an account of the origins of Doukhobor society, is (1940, p. v) 'a composite tale of the sect's "beginning" based upon folklore, legend and historical fragments.' Although he affirms (ibid) that this is the only 'fictionized' chapter, the style is uniform throughout. A great deal of potentially valuable material has been rendered inaccessible through recasting in dramatic form (e.g., cf. p. 146, where an 1899 event is reported anecdotally, an offensive Canadian quoted as complaining of

Doukhobor song that:"...this 'bohunk' music sound like a bloody cow dying..."which no-one could conceivably have remembered among a group, of non-English speakers - especially as the term 'Bohunk' seems to have come into use only after the First World War). He reports speech in a mysterious and patronizing dialect(e.g., p. 341:"You education people, ...you civilized people, you would kill the little snake. But we know his is nice and he knows we would not kill him. Jesus put him here to live with us a peaceful life."). He seeks out and emphasizes events that are sensational with little concern for those of normal life - -which are no less important to history.

Woodcock published a reflective travel book in 1952 in which he gives a summary history, an account of regional geography, two accounts of separate visits with Peter Maloff, and a visit to the Svobodnik community of Gilpin. He recounts an interview with an Anglo-Canadian bigot in Nelson, commenting(1952, pp. 118-119):

"...what he said...reflects the kind of paranoid mentality, [that is] in perpetual need of some whipping boy to blame for everything that goes wrong in the world....The Doukhobor is a radical...he is an odd duck from whatever standpoint the average Canadian looks at him, a challenge to the common man's colourless avoidance of eccentricity - and perhaps unconsciously, a subject of envy because he fulfills the hidden desire of so many of the normal citizens.

In the same year the psychologists Zubek and Solberg published a history of the Doukhobors, with one chapter devoted to life in Russia; this began shortly before the Burning of Arms. Unfortunately, the authors chose to follow the style of Wright, and to misconstrue or improvise information as needed. Thus, for example, a description of a Wedding

banquet includes the following information(1952, p. 181):

A guest may request that the kiss[at the giving of a cash gift] be waived in favour of some other task....

A favourite request years ago was "Show how much you love or honour your parents." The couple would get a blanket, spread it carefully before the parents in question, and kneeling, would touch their foreheads to the ground.

This is actually a gross displacement of one of the ritual bows in the private wedding service that precedes the banquet(Field notes, 5/6/71).

Indeed, the entire chapter on Customs and Beliefs is an artificial construct, with the following methodology(p. 170):

For convenience in describing community life, let us postulate a guest, the trite Mr. Smith - perhaps a writer gathering data for an article.

It is not made clear why this fictitious method is more convenient - or reliable - than plain participant observation.

Again that year, the Doukhobor Research Committee published an extensive report under the able editorship of Hawthorne. This was directed at serving several urgent needs of the Provincial government, and is thus not a full ethnography. There is unevenness in the chapters; for example, the methodology for the chapter on Personality Characteristics and Psychological Problems was based on prison interviews, lengthy interviews with one mental patient, and a few weeks of several-hour visits by(1955, p. 125): "...the author and his wife [who] travelled by car with their children...visiting one or at most, two families a day,..." The method is not ideal for developing a profound awareness of Doukhobor normality. On the other hand, absolutely first-rate introductory and economic information is supplied, and there are a few excellent photographs.

A French-Canadian scholar produced a Master's Dissertation in 1962, deposited in the Université de Montréal, discussing Peter Gospodnie Verigin's ideology as a development of ideas transmitted by Tolstoy from Rousseau. Devoid of comparative reference to the pre-Doukhobor ideology, the dissertation's thesis accomplished little beyond a display of intellectual elegance.

A part-time schoolteacher published a highly coloured and often bigoted set of reminiscences of her teaching days in the mid-1930's in the Castlegar area; Hazel O'Neail does not distinguish between the traits of any Eastern European Rural society and those of the Doukhobors, finding in them genial objects of happy ridicule and quaint manglings of English, who may nevertheless be expected to burn down or blow up one's school at any careless moment. The book is illustrated with occasional gross caricatures - one can always tell the Doukhobors from the White Men - and concludes (1962, p. 142-143) with a passage that leaves no doubt as to the noble values of the author:

Ootischenia today! How the years have changed your once haggard face...most- of your happiness is due, I am convinced, to your having accepted the Canadian way of life. Things- material things, to be sure - have played a large part: but are we not all concerned with the acquisition of material things -...?

In 1964 the Vancouver Sun reporter Simma Holt published an exceedingly damaging history of Doukhobors in Canada. The book was equipped with apparent scholarly apparatus and numerous photographs, mostly of nude demonstrations and fires or bomb damage. The vast bulk of the argument is concerned with the actions and trials of Svobodniki terrorists,

but - except for just such marginal qualifications as are necessary to avoid libel - the book repeatedly associates terrorists and fanatics with all Svobodniki, and all Svobodniki with all Doukhobors, conjuring up the spectre of a vast anarchic conspiracy. The book is interlarded with ludicrous errors in scholarship - as (1964, p. 10) "the Raskolniki, followers of Raskol" or (p. 13) "...a leading Doukhobor historian of that day, Orest Nivitsky..."; the aims and equipment of the author are further placed in doubt by the fact that anyone discussing Doukhobor history, however briefly, must at least have these two data straight. The effect of the book has been little short of a disaster: eight years later, it still enjoys wide sale; and eight years later, its impact still generates distrust of anyone engaged in field research; the Fieldworker, almost everywhere, will be tested in the first ten minutes of interviewing by a question on his opinion of Holt's book, and conversation will then drift for a while over personal injury felt from the smearing insinuations perceived in it. Anglo-Canadians in the area consider themselves well and truly informed if they have leafed through it, and nurture mistrust accordingly. I have always believed that studies of human groups should be designed to develop deeper understanding as a groundwork for co-operation; Holt seems rather to believe that fear, misunderstanding, and hatred are suitable relationships for groups to maintain, and does her best to foster them. Her book is, in its way, a grim success that speaks much of the author's personal human failure.

The religious historian Stark, who comments repeatedly on Doukhobor history and doctrine, includes much scarce and vital information about

these and other raskolniki, yet even his valuable work falters, generally when he relies upon a mixture of journalism and arm-chair reasoning, as in his comment upon Krestova (1967, p. 256), dangerously qualified:

We cannot be sure about the answer, but we can guess, and those who know the sectarian mentality will agree that we are guessing aright ...the plates would be fuller, the beds softer, and the end would be a sect that would be a sect no longer....

The Krestova Svobodniki have not, however, been compelled to return to Krestova, nor to live in austerity; a degree of austerity, a degree of comfort have always been present. Useful though an esoteric knowledge of the sectarian mentality may be, it is no substitute, in this case at any rate, for direct observation.

Bockemuhl's 1968 Masters' Dissertation, deposited in the Western Washington State College, is a highly valuable and detailed study in Historical Geography, carefully describing the agricultural and cultural landscape of the Columbia district of the West Kootenay since Doukhobor settlement. Especially significant are his findings of depression of production as a result of the collapse of the C.C.U.B. in 1938-1940, by which a significant economic product ceased to exist.

In 1968 George Woodcock, this time in collaboration with the political scientist Akakumovic, published a rigorous and detailed history of the Doukhobors. Of all available resources, this is probably the most reliable and useful. Data are fully authenticated and a careful balance of objectivity is maintained. A small but important collection of photographs accompanies the text; in total, these create an accurate subjective impression of Doukhobor experience in Canada.

In 1970, the National Museum of Man musicologist Kenneth Peacock published an important survey of Doukhobor Folksong based upon several summers' fieldwork in the mid-1960's. The work is a sample rather than an exhaustive study, but forms an indispensable introduction to the form and range of Doukhobor Song. It has a brief historical note, and a somewhat longer musicological discussion. Illustrations depict typical performances and performance contexts, but the book is rendered exceptionally valuable by the inclusion of flexible long-play recordings of the songs presented, a long-overdue and essential policy for the adequate publication of Folksong collections.

In summary, the last sixty years of Doukhobor Studies scholarship have been a period of mediocrity and unflagging ethnocentrism, blemished by occasional true disasters, and only rarely - yet mightily - redeemed by the efforts of honest and objective scholars. Repeatedly, and into recent times, authors have found in the Doukhobors a scape-goat for their own fears and for those of their society; fears not always unreasonable, but all too often blind. To enhance Canadian society, the Doukhobors have been made to appear as bumbling peasants, wild visionaries, blood-crazed anarchists. They have, on occasion, produced such persons from their ranks: what society has not? But the apologists of Canadian society destroy their own case whenever they take, as they frequently have, one trait away from the Doukhobors - their individual humanity.

C. Miscellaneous Documents.

In 1955 Taylor published a novel of the sort produced ^{for the} pubescent female market, citing Wright as her chief documentary resource (1955, p.6). She overlays a conventional love-story upon an artificial setting betrayed

by numerous petty faults - e.g., musical instruments prominent in community houses, and a blacksmith shop completely isolated from community villages (pp.33, 43).

The English writer Cornish produced an incredible pastiche in 1959 composed of vulgar caricatures in a wildly distorted setting. The Castlegar area and the Columbia river are given the semi-arid geography of the Okanagan some 150 miles west, dignified by the names 'Tarsey Town' and 'Tarsey River', populated with shanty-dwelling 'Little Brothers' and besotted English emigrant ranchers, and transplanted piecemeal to Saskatchewan (1959, pp. 15, 27). The heroine Olga, some eighteen years of age, characteristically sings Ukrainian songs to herself in English to band-oura accompaniment (p. 17), judges the world by Dostoevsky, whom she always contrasts with Trollope in soliloquies (passim, esp. p. 172), and goes nude-bathing with her lover. The alcoholic actor Bussey makes himself a spiritual leader of the Little Brothers (apparently Svobodniki, though no other groups are discussed) (pp. 157-158), who accompany any communal activity by near or total disrobing (pp. 147-151). Bussey achieves this dubious status by bigamously marrying a 'simpleton' (p. 161):

Just a lot of Wog magic making. All there had been was some ceremonial tasting of bread, salt, water; some singing; some chanting; some praising of God; some disrobing. The usual routine.

All Russian names are impossible and every Doukhobor is bearded "like Tolstoy." It would be comforting to think the book a vast satire, but it seems intended to be taken as thinly, even comically, disguised truth.

About the time of his death, the American radical pacifist Ammon Hennacy published a collection of biographies of pacifists in which was

included a short and important autobiography by the Svobodnika Helen Demoskoff, wife at one time to John Lebidoff. The biography is an account of Mrs. Demoskoff's ideological growth and experiences, and gives a fairly balanced Svobodnik viewpoint. It has been framed by Hennacy with a number of historical quotations and personal reminiscences. Hennacy tends to gloss over some aspects of terrorism, viewing them all as legitimate protest, a position that is not easy to take if the record is examined carefully; but he supplies a worthwhile reminder that a significant proportion of Svobodnik violence came about, not because of Svobodnik, or Community, or Government plots, but because both internal and external societies generated intolerable conceptual paradoxes to which sensitized persons located about the ideological crux responded with desperate action.

In summary, no worthwhile, reflective historical fiction has been inspired by the Doukhobors: only flimsy or gross caricatures, chalked up by authors without the personal craft or insight to respond to their subject matter.

III. Esoteric Views.

No conspicuous distinction is made by Doukhobors between historical and religious materials; history is not so much an independent sequence as it is a chronologic manifestation of religious experience. Few materials of histor-

-ic concern have been produced by Doukhobors that do not stress the religious causes and consequences of events, or that are not motivated by a need for religious expression. Legends are, for the majority of the few heard or read so far, told to express a point of belief. This should not be construed as narrowing the realm of conceptual activity within which Doukhobors have worked: the religious rubric includes what most westerners segregate under the title of political action, the main interest of Western histories. One informant has gone so far as to say (Field notes, 5/3/71):

Remember, above all, Doukhobor Religion is their Politics.

- much the same could have been said of Puritan New England: the concept is by no means unique to the Doukhobors. For at least two reasons, much history contains a great deal of highly personal materials. Such individualism may be a simple consequence of the relatively small population that is discussed, among which personalities would be clearly limned; it may indirectly be a consequence of the religious valuing of the individual per se. But it is just as likely to be a further expression of the belief that the core of religion - hence, of life - cannot be transmitted by anything less than the full living experience of the believer. Thus transcripts of letters and speeches, rather than abstract analyses, appear to convey the fullest import of bygone interaction.

Two major sources of Doukhobor history are distinguished: written Documents, and oral Legends (included in text). For convenience, and because of a fundamental distinction in scope, Documents are further subdivided into General, ^{and} Miscellaneous, and Svobodnik. Because of general

scarcity, materials are discussed in detail.

A. Documents.

1. General and Miscellaneous.

Two miscellaneous documents should be mentioned first, as major influences in their time; although both were produced by non-Doukhobors, both have had their greatest use among Doukhobors.

Novitski's text abovementioned, in editions of 1832 and 1882, has long been a source for Doukhobor historians and administrators; recommended to them by its general impartiality. In 1901, Bonch-Bruevich published a collection of the major letters to date of Peter Gospodnie Verigin; this has since become a religious and historical source much prized by many Doukhobors.

In 1944 Vasili Sukhorev published a collection of documents, with accompanying comments, relating to Doukhobor history. The collection includes a wide range of materials - mostly letters, proclamations, and transcribed speeches - in Russian text. There are also a few psalms included - two Catechetical psalms and one or two doctrinal psalms. The bulk of materials relate to the period between the establishment of the C.C.U.B. in Canada and the death of Peter Chistiakov Verigin.

In 1948 Peter Maloff of Thrums published a massive chronicle in Russian, with photographs; some time later, he also prepared a fairly close, though unfinished, English translation, now in the University of B.C. library. The work was planned to run to two volumes; the very recent death of the author has cut short that plan. The first volume is in four parts: a short introduction, describing the author's intent to publish, with

letters of encouragement from friends, and a summary, brief but rich in detail, of early Doukhobor history to the time of the Burning of Arms, and supplemented with two early Eighteenth century accounts of Doukhobor trials, opens the work. The next section is a major history of the period between 1899-1924, and includes a personal impression in some detail of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, a discussion mostly in the form of personal anecdotes of early Svobodnik figures in British Columbia, and a short chapter on Independent Doukhobors, 'Farmali'. The next major division is an extremely valuable autobiography, describing the author's childhood; his family's withdrawal from, and return to, the C.C.U.B.; his youthful life and work in the Russian colony in northern California, where he had contact with Molokans and major figures such as Anton Shcherbak, Ivan Vlasov, Vasya Pozdnyakov (see Bibliography), and others; and his return to Canada, marriage, and movement into an active life among Doukhobors. The book concludes with a compendious collection of correspondence with various Doukhobor and international figures, including Chertkov, Tregubov, Rubakin, Bönch-Bruevich, Ilya Tolstoy, Herman Frank, and Rabindranath Tagore; much regarding the international pacifist movement, in which Mal-off was deeply interested. The section ends with some miscellaneous documents relating to Doukhobor affairs between 1899 and the late 1920's, and a short bibliography of some importance. As a resource, the book is not without weaknesses, mainly in the direction of subjectivity, a tendency to allude to interesting materials never again discussed, and a strong autobiographical concern where such is not of major importance to the argument. Nevertheless such failings are characteristic of self-educated

men, and are not easily separable from the determination, intellectual daring, and great-spirited idiosyncrasy that made the book possible.

It is to be hoped that some part of the MS translation can find its way into print soon.

In 1961 John Stoochnoff of Penticton published a small book of rather arbitrary organization; its basic purpose was to present to English readers a fuller view of Doukhobor culture than that of the news media. Stoochnoff's book includes autobiography, a brief historical and doctrinal sketch, a number of documents and letters (including the correspondence that confirmed the death of Peter Yastrebov Verigin), and a few historical photographs, some unfortunately uncaptioned. The book is an excellent illustration of the weight laid by many Doukhobors upon the reproduction of primary sources as a prime historiographic technique.

In 1964, Eli Popoff of the U.S.C.C. published an English survey of Doukhobor history. Its three parts deal, respectively, with an account of the early history of Doukhobors until about 1845; development in the Caucasus region and the Burning of Arms, till about 1899; and the period of Canadian settlement. Each section is accompanied by a lengthy appendix for illustrative purposes, including psalms and songs in translation, Community documents, and addresses. In 1966, Popoff published a slightly revised new edition of his Rasskaz, first produced in 1956. The Rasskaz complements Sukhorev's work, consisting of an opening collection of legends; and six sections of historical and doctrinal discussion. Apparently the Rasskaz is the basis for much of the English Historical Exposition. The legendary section illustrates Popoff's effort to add to the existing traditional genre of Suffering legends a genre of

Social Achievement.

In 1969, Koozma Tarasoff published a massive collection of photographs with detailed captions and several brief but detailed introductory chapters. He had in 1964 published, in privately distributed mimeograph, a voluminous (and valuable) historical study titled In Search of Brotherhood, and anticipated revising this for print publication; such a project was, however, forestalled by the publication of Woodcock & Avakumovic's work, a situation that is not entirely clear. The Pictorial History is, however, a splendid complement to either work. The photographs are reproduced from a wide period and number of sources, and range in quality from rare and crucial historical photographs to simple family snapshots. This wide range, and the number of photographs, made the whole collection an exceedingly valuable ethnographic document perhaps unequalled on the continent, a source that no scholar should under-rate, since it provides a fairly detailed iconographic inventory covering a period of over a century. It includes historical events, architecture, crafts, costume, work patterns, meetings religious and community, Svobodnik demonstrations, festivals, and family portraits. It is the only one of the items prepared by Doukhobors to have been published outside the Doukhobor community.

2. Svobodnik.

Since the early 1940's a large number of pamphlets, leaflets, and broadsides have been published by both major and minor Svobodnik factions, of which a large number have been printed in English. A few of these have been essentially doctrinal essays, as a large broadside on the signif-

-icance of Nudism printed about 1944; most, however, have been protest - often in the form of lengthy letters - addressed to major public officials. Such protests reflect internal dissent between factions, or, more often, opposition to government policy or the advice of outsiders, protests sometimes quite justified. The documents have become exceedingly scarce since the march of 1962, when supplies of publications were largely destroyed along with other materials not taken on the journey, and it is not possible at this moment to know the full number and range that were published. One example may serve to characterize the general approach used.

The C.F.S.C., apparently acting on the advice of the fellow-Quaker Emmett Gulley, then attempting to mediate between the B.C. Government and the Svobodniki, wrote a letter to the leader Stephen Sorokin in 1953 in which opposition to Education laws was condemned and Government policy described as "a reasonable policy of law enforcement." positions which were contrary to the views of the members of the Christian Community and Brotherhood of Reformed Doukhobors, the major body of Svobodniki. The reply consists of a lengthy review of recent demonstrations, arrest, correspondence, and newspaper reports, punctuated by critical comment. The violent events are seen as late demonstrations of a state of affairs that existed when the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, and an outline follows with more excerpts from various sources, generally designed to show the peaceable industry of the Doukhobors and the hostile intransigence of the Canadian establishment. The letter closes with some accusations of conspiracy by members of a minor faction of Svobodniki, other recent corr-

-response, and a broad doctrinal statement regarding pacifism, and citing the 1838 Garrison Declaration. The pamphlet is well illustrated with historic and contemporary photographs, the former of Community agricultural and industrial enterprises, the latter of police actions and mass arrests. History becomes, in such documents as this, a thing seen in a very subjective fashion. For example (Members 1954, p.3,6), the reference to the land losses in Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and the school problem:

Although full religious freedom was promised us by the Canadian authorities, the government nevertheless, demanded an allegiance from us to the British Empire. On the basis of our refusal, the government of Canada commenced the persecution of Doukhobors by land confiscation, the deliberate wrecking of their material well-being, incarceration in prison, the segregation of children, and even the taking of life, in sacrifice.

All this suffering the Doukhobors put up with in defence of the principles of their faith.

Not too long ago, a remarkable incident occurred locally. The children spied a coyote near an adjacent forest and gleefully cried, "Mama, Mama, look, a Wolf!" But at the same time they saw an auto approaching their settlement. Assuming it was the police, coming to take them to New Denver [where children removed from their families were schooled], they about turned and ran straight for the forest - feeling safer with an animal of prey. Surely you understand the moral of the incident.

The leader of a minor faction is described in rather uncharitable terms

(ibid., p. 8):

...is an atheist, with a low moral standing, polygamous, and often identified himself as a bolshevick. Seldom sober, openly smoked before our youth and encouraged them to do likewise. Always ready for deception and criminal acts.

Burnings are not explained(ibid.):

In connection with the fires, the residents got accustomed to one fact: the homes were always burning during those nights when a police patrol of several cars drove through the settlement, somewhat earlier. Quite often it happened that the house would start burning while the police were yet on the scene, but the arsonists were never apprehended. In such a manner, for a period of 3 - 4 months, about 90 homes were devoured by flames. The people, at a loss to understand it all, were approaching mass hysteria. The press, eager and willing, publicized the misfortune in glaring headlines, conveying to the reading public, the impression of guilt, of our group.

It will be noted that there is nothing overt in the above paragraph to indicate that it was not members of "our group" who, "approaching mass hysteria," might be burning their own homes. It is not difficult for the Anglo-canadian reader, skimming a pamphlet such as this, to pick out inconsistencies and misdirection, or to recognize that more in fact took place, or was known, than is reported. The pamphlet also takes the dubious stance of always laying the best possible interpretation on its own position and the worst on that of other parties, not admitting the possibility of honest confusion from time to time on both sides. But it should also be noted that that same Anglo-canadian reader is likely himself to skim over the sincere account of the anguish and catastrophic disruption of families from whom children were forcibly seized; or the photograph of an esteemed local civic leader being the first to gleefully brandish an axe against a Community Prayer Home being razed on the site of an airport being laid out on land held in supposed "trust" by the Provincial government; or the reality of the greed and prejudice whereby the Doukhobors were so easily twice dispossessed of their lands and homes. The existence of bias on either side is no justification for its continued existence.

In fact, the Svobodnik documents are printed examples of an oral genre - the Legend - in which historical fact is adapted to the beliefs and worldview of the tradition-bearer. The purpose in its telling is not to report objective history, but to convince the hearer of the reality of the speaker's position and the validity of his views. Such accounts are not about fact, but are about the values assigned to selected facts by a given culture. They do not inform, but convince; they instruct with a message determined by the teller, not deduced by the hearer. If the hearer already accepts the position, they reinforce his belief and strengthen the social bond between himself and the teller. If the hearer is - as many Anglo-canadian readers may expect to be - hostile, the document may be intended to weaken his position as well as to modify his information.

B. Legends.

Legends are told in conversation and occur occasionally in public address, where a speaker may use them to give colour or emphasis to his matter. Rhoads (1900, pp. 11-13) gives a transcription of an account of the events surrounding the Burning of Arms and emigration to Canada elicited from a Saskatchewan villager. In this context, Brock's article in the Slavonic and E. European Quarterly (1965-'64, pp. 152-176, 400-414), and Hennacy's transcript from Helen Demoskoff should be noted; no other material of import is in print in reliable form.

A number of brief prophecies are attributed to Lukeria Kalmikoff; these are usually very short statements of a cryptic nature that have had varying interpretations in different times and places.

For the majority of materials that follow, I am indebted again to Roman Piontkovsky, who has graciously permitted me to cite here materials collected by him in the summer of 1970. By request, informants are not named. The first text refers to the period between 1801-1806, when the Doukhobors were moved to the Milky Waters region along with any who claimed to be Doukhobors, and accurately encapsulates opinions that still survive deploring the admixture of unfaithful persons with believers.

How Discord arose among the Doukhobors.

Tsar Alexander the First had accepted the Catholic faith - he was the first one to do so - and demanded that all his subjects join him. The Doukhobors refused to obey, so a priest was sent to convert them.

The priest asked: "Who was your first Doukhobor?"

They replied: "Christ was the first Doukhobor."

This confounded the priest. He had nothing more to say. "Who marries your couples?" "Father and mother, the third is Grace." Again the priest was confounded.

"Who baptises your children?" "He who accepts the child, he also gives the name." Again the priest was confounded.

"What do you do when one of you dies?"

The Doukhobors answered, "We pray."

"What prayers do you say?" - "Accept, Father, him who comes to you."

"When you carry the deceased to be buried, then what do you sing?" "I see a multitude of people climbing the mountain. He who is going, will approach Him." Again the priest was confounded.

"When you come to the grave, what do you sing then?" "We pray you, Lord God; Give me, Lord, a bed in your heavenly field." Again the priest was confounded.

"On your way home, what do you sing?" "Have mercy on us, Lord God, look upon all." Again the priest stood silent.

"When you get home, what do you sing?" "To whom shall I go from You, Lord, and where shall I find life eternal?"

Now the priest had no-where to go, everyone had returned home and the funeral was finished. So he ran to the Tsar with a request: "Free the Doukhobors, give them the best land and liberate those who are in prison. They are on the true path!"

Then the Tsar proclaimed freedom for the Doukhobors. But many had been exiled along with robbers who had killed people, for the priests considered them to be the same. Thus when the Doukhobors were freed, fifty robbers joined them pretending also to be Doukhobors.

In the evening a guard came with a paper, saying: "The Doukhobors shall go to the gallows tomorrow!" The true Doukhobors did not become frightened, while the robbers - who had been sentenced to twenty or thirty years - thought it better to be hanged than to suffer all their life. In the morning the same guard came and announced that the Doukhobors are free and may settle where they choose, but first they must go to church to pray. "If you refuse to go to church to pray, you shall return to prison!" The Doukhobors turned about and went back into prison, while the robbers ran to church to pray. Then the order was reversed and the Doukhobors were freed.

On the way to the free settlement the robbers disappeared one by one and only the true Doukhobors arrived in Tauria. At that time their leader was Saveli Kapustin. When the Doukhobors arrived, they reported to their leader that the martyrs had arrived. But one man came to the leader and said that there were robbers among the new arrivals. "Yes, I know," said the leader, "but for their service to the Doukhobors God forgave them all their sins - provided they reform. Let the fifty robbers come and I shall speak to them and tell them where to settle." The Doukhobors went out in search of the robbers, for they had lived with them a long time and knew them all well. They found the robbers and brought them back. Then the leader assigned the robbers homesteads.

At that time the land was being cleared in Rauria. It was the very best land, near the Milky River.

Everyone knew who these fifty robbers were - God had forgiven them, but man had not. No one wished to marry them and they could find no wives. Then the robbers took to murdering their neighbours who had young wives, tied a rope about their necks, a rock to the other end, and threw the body in the Milky River. Those who worked further from the river buried their victims.

At supper the robber was asked where the husband is? - "He was with you." - "Yes, he was with me, but he left before me. He had some business to attend to, but I do not know what happened to him." The further, the more of the same.

Later, when the fishermen lowered their nets into the river, they found the bodies of the Doukhobors. Because of this, the Tsar again took away their land and settled the Doukhobors in a cold place beyond the Caucasus.

There the Doukhobors again began to live, but to this day they have not cleansed themselves of robber blood. The robbers continue to live among the Doukhobors to the present time, and that is why they could not get along in the Community and why they killed their leader. Christ would not have killed, and neither would a Doukhobor. But these are not Doukhobors, they are robbers. How many of them remain, only God knows, but we do not know.

The introductory passage bears a resemblance to the style of the Catechetical psalms that need not be coincidental. The answers are evidently first lines of psalms and hymns; the last answer, indeed, is psalm 334, and

the narrator's slip from "say" to "sing" is significant. The reference to murders and the second exile to the Caucasus supply some credence to the reports of irregularities and abuses in the period about 1840, and the treatment given here allows both acceptance and rationalization of a fundamentally threatening type of fact, that of failure within the holy community. By the end of the Legend, 'robbers' are a class of person, and not specific individuals; nor should the crucial explanation for the disaster go unnoted: "God had forgiven them, but Man had not."

Leaders - who by definition share more of the Divine nature than other men - may acquire miraculous attributes. The following stories are told by two elderly B.C. Doukhobors to a friend in Saskatchewan:

There was an old Doukhobor named Zotov, who was the right-hand man of the leader Pobirokhin at the time when the Doukhobors were moving to the Milky Waters. This old man was arrested and sent to prison in the Solovetsky Monastery. The Archbishop asked him: "Who are you?" He replied, "We are Doukhobors." "How do you understand God?" What is God." The old man could not answer. So he was imprisoned in the Solovetsky Monastery, and twice or three times a year he was asked the same question, "Till you tell us what God is, we shall not free you." So he spent twelve years in the cell.

When the Doukhobors had moved to the Milky Waters, and settled down, Pobirokhin remembered the old man who was still imprisoned. He chose two young men, gave them money, and told them: "Go to the monastery and find out where this elder is imprisoned. Then pretend that you are drunk and one of you ask aloud, 'What is God?' And the other answer, 'God is primordial light; unborn, uncreated' eternal, primordial; enveloped in his light as by a chasuble.' So do it time and again, just as if you were drunk bums. Do not leave there, but wait for the results."

Thus they did as they were told. At one time they were sitting in a tavern, and there entered an old man, overgrown with hair as if he were an animal. They asked him, "Who are you?" He said, "I am the old man Zotov. They just let me go. Twelves years I was imprisoned for not being able to answer what is God. But now I had a vision: I heard a voice which said, 'Answer thus: God is primordial light, unborn, uncreated.' When I said this twice or three times, they let me go."

So the old men told the story. Zotov arrived at the Milky Waters and lived there. (Cf. psalm 61.).

This was told by two old men: Sema Khaminov and Vania Bortsov. The leader Pobirokhin could walk on water like Christ. In the Crimea, on the Milky Waters, near the Azov sea, there are great swamps and on that sea grow dense bulrushes. There the Doukhobors hid their fugitives; probably that is where Alexander I[II?] hid himself. Thus Pobirokhin hid there too.

They use a boat to get there. Pobirokhin said to them: "Go ahead in the boat, I shall follow after." "How can you come after?" "I shall catch up with you later." So they rowed away, his apostles, and he came on foot. I asked, perhaps the water was not deep? No, they said, it was deep. You tell fairy-tales, I said. No, that is the truth, they replied.

Two elders, Sorokin and Androsov, were sent to speak to the Tsar. Pobirokhin said: "You go and speak to the Tsar, and I shall be there and speak." When they were interviewed by the Tsar and the Archbishop, Pobirokhin stood between them and gave the answers. But the Doukhobors do not believe this, and do not speak about it.

Such accounts are not only applied to early leaders. The Provincial Archives of B.C. retains a translation of the "Testimony for Michael Verigin of Semon Savenkoff, 'Karmilushka'.", taken down at the New Jerusalem (at Hilliers, B.C.), Christmas Day, 1949.

I was born in the village Slavianka of the Elisavetpol district, same county. When I was about 15 or 16 years old I passed once along the streets of our village, it was after midnight and it dawned[?]. Having approached the house where Michael John OREKOFF (Verigin) was living, I noticed upon the roof of his house near the chimney two angels - man and woman, there were both surrounded by flames and they were dressed in white clothing. As soon as I noticed them, they turned towards me and alighted upon the earth. I stopped - they approached me. I knelt. They said, "What do you see here?" I answered, "I saw both of you upon the roof of this house, near the chimney, and you were dressed in white clothing all covered by flame, and above you there has a halo[?] like a flaming pillar." "That is right, what you have seen." "Do you know who we are?" I answered, "Yes, I know that you are Peter Ilarion Kalmikoff and that is Luchechka [dim. of Lukeria]." They then said to me, "What you have seen, all correct." "In this house a child has just been born, and he will be named Michael." "You'll be in need of him, but do

not tell this to anyone and keep the secret for the time being."

Other legends, both general and family, illustrate religious doctrine, or associated beliefs. One widespread formula relates a mnemonic image to a prophetic statement. Compare the following excerpt from psalm 79:

In the evening, the church was on guard for itself; at midnight it was enlightened, at dawn the church went to judgement before God.

with a formula repeated by Cecil Maloff (Field notes, 13/4/71; Tape D-1):

The Doukhobors have many legends...they say...the world, there's morning, day and night, according to the bible and old traditions. Well, we take some phrases of the bible and we put them to our own thinking. We say that the morning was breaking away from the [Orthodox] church. The noon...like, we had breakfast, that was our breakfast, to break away from the church, the false understandings. The second, was to break away from militarism, that was our dinner... from militarism and also from all governments, from all laws except to the True Law, the law of God. That was our dinner. When we came to Canada, in Canada we are supposed to fulfill a third commandment, and it would be the last. It would be breaking away from ownership, especially of the land. Man should not have ownership, especially of the land. And when we do break away from that, when we finish our mission here in Canada concerning our supper - this is our supper - well, after that, they say, usually after supper is rest. And we shall rest after that - when the earth will be freed from this slavery of land-ownership.

Referring to the concept of the Doukhobors as leaders in human spiritual development, and legend attaches to an unidentified leader (ibid.):

We also have a parable that says that one of the leaders or the prophets said: "I am the point of the needle; the Doukhobors are the needle; the whole [of] humanity is the thread. What I pierce through, the whole needle - the Doukhobors - must come through also, after me. What the Doukhobors go through, the whole [of] humanity must follow as well, as a thread." And he says, "I am the point of the needle."

Associated with these are the prophetic legends, mostly ascribed to Luker-ia Kalmikoff. These are oracular, demanding interpretation of some sort,

as a rule; though there may also be some that are self-fulfilling, such as the first example below. This and the next are from Piontkovsky's collection, the first from several informants:

Lukeria Kalmikova prophesied that there will be three leaders after her: the first shall be called the Lordly, the second the Cleanser, the third the Hawk. After that the Doukhobors shall not have any more leaders, for they will have grown up and shall not need [a leader] any more. (Cf. Popoff, 1964, p. 15).

The Doukhobors will leave this country [Russia] riding a hazel stallion, but the world will become caught in a cobweb. They will go far beyond the ocean and settle on the swan river. And all this came to pass.

The informant identified the cobweb as the two World Wars - which the Doukhobors escaped in their isolated Canadian settlement - and the river as the Swan River settlement near Benito, Manitoba. Some of the motifs in this prophecy are flexible, and the dominant function seems to be that of relocation, as in this version from Cecil Maloff (data as above):

There is also another saying, that - well, even a hundred years before the Doukhobors came here -...some time will come, that the Doukhobors will leave their Mother Russia, and will get onto a ...on to a black gelding (Well, under that, we explain that was a kind of steam engine), and we'll be gone across the sea at [for?] a certain time, close to a hundred years, and then we shall come back to where they have a navel...Well, in Russia, the place where they burnt their arms, that's supposed to be the navel of the earth...

Cecil Maloff also mentioned the image of the White Horse. Woodcock & Avakumovic mention this (1968, p. 293) as an emblem used by Peter Chistiakov for the anticipated return to Russia, and add that the "White Horse had an appetite for dollar bills" - that the Purger demanded continually these funds in preparation for emigration. Peter Chistiakov not infrequently allowed himself to become drunken, and some uncharitable souls equated the 'White Horse' with the brand of a Scotch whiskey (Field notes,

13/3/72). But the image is subject to wider application and interpretation. Thus Cecil Maloff mentions (data as above):

White Horse whiskey has been mentioned many times by [those of] our people who don't understand the philosophy, and they make joke out of it, but...the White Horse is the horse that we must follow ...it is a white understanding, clear, pure ways of thinking. It's the White Horse of reason, of true light.

When, however, John Verigin proposed a financial reorganization of the U.S.C.C., he closed with the phrase (Field notes, 11/2/71): "Then the horse will not eat the book..." Eli Popoff comments (Field notes, 5/8/71):

There was a dishonest accountant in one of the warehouses in the 1930's, and money that should have gone into the Community went into his pocket. Finally they realized something was wrong, so they came and asked him for the books. "Oh," he said, pointing where his office was near a stable, "The horse ate the books!" And since then, that's how we've called it when there is dishonesty or just bad management.

Such accounts diffuse between the religious and social life of the community. Other legends are more intimately oriented. Tarryl Popoff, a graduate student at the University of B.C., has commented (Field notes, 2/10/70): "Everyone had a grandfather or uncle who 'suffered in the Koot-enays.' From childhood every Doukhobor hears accounts of suffering, accepted to share in Christ's suffering." While within a family situation such stories may have the function of buffering faith and conservative belief - and hence social stability - they are usually told the outsider to convince him of the reality of Doukhobor experience, and thus tend to occur while rapport is being established; they are not required later.

Family legends may also be in the main stream of religious belief, such as this collected by Piontkovsky. While it is basically an account

of the efficacy of a charm, the stress of the legend is upon the effectiveness of the Lord's Prayer - something available to any believer; and the teller's grandfather, a patriarchal figure, is the hero. The struggle in the legend, however, is not physical, but ideological: grandfather does not escape, he rather demonstrates the futility of militarism to the soldiers.

My grandfather, Stepan Kanigin, died in Canada in 1935. When he and his family were arrested for surrendering their draft cards [in Russia], they were arrested and sent from Alexanderpol to Kars. They were being led through our villages. There is the river Kura there, when they reached the river Kura, grandfather knew how to read the Lord's Prayer. When you read[recite] the Lord's Prayer, you put a spell on a gun and it cannot shoot. Grandfather said to the leader of the escorting soldiers, "Well, you are leading fifty men. If they start escaping, what will you do?" "I shall use my rifles." There were five armed soldiers. Grandfather asked, "Can you hit that rock over there in the water?" The soldier aimed, but the bullet just dropped from the barrel. He tried again, again the bullet just dropped at his feet. The Officer grabbed the gun of a soldier, the same thing happened; so it repeated itself with all five soldiers. "Now what are you going to do in case of an escape?" I do not know what I can do." "Well, let me hold the gun for a while." The officer gave him the gun. Grandfather held the gun for a while, then returned it and said: "Now try it again." The officer shot, and the bullet flew to its destination. So he was telling us himself. Many others heard the same tale. This actually happened. (cf. Prayer for Healing, notes).

Another tale from Saskatchewan recounts the trouble of a grandfather in a time before the rule of vegetarianism and teetotalism was established. The incident around which the legend revolves is violent, yet the fault is forgiven in a coldly rational manner and with great tolerance: the chief concern of the narrator is with the miraculous skill of the healer. While the account emphasizes the medical element of healing, this is not essential to the verity of the legend.

This happened a long time ago, when the Doukhobors still drank. It happened in a dukhan [Caucasian tavern] that one man quarrelled with his neighbour, for they were both a little drunk. The man became so angry that he wanted to cut off his neighbour's head. He ran and got an axe, returned to the dukhan and stood outside the door meaning to cut off the neighbour's head as soon as it showed through the door.

When the neighbour was about to leave, he spoke to Ivan Paramonovitch Abrosimov, my grandfather. It so happened that Ivan Paramonovitch went out first, but in order to pass through the doorway one had to lean over, for the door was low. So grandfather bent down passing through the doorway. The man waiting outside thought it was the neighbour, and dropped the axe on his neck to do the evil deed. But suddenly he noticed that it was another man's face, and tried to hold back. It was too late to stop, and the neck-tendons were cut by the dropping axe.

At that time Ivan Paramonovitch lived nearby. One of those present sent for his son to call a man who knew how to stop bleeding by casting a spell. When this man arrived, the blood was caking. The man washed the wound, re-positioned the head, and said, "Ivan Paramonovitch, if you wish that I should save you, let no one come near you, and I shall do my work." So he began to heal Grandfather; he gave him nothing but broth from boiled pigeons. After a month the tendons had grown together and grandfather lived for a long time after this. Grandfather did nothing to the culprit, for it was not meant for him.

Eli Popoff recounts the skill of a Doukhobor in Russia, a self-taught engineer, as an object-lesson emphasizing the resources and positive achievements of Doukhobors in the past (Field notes, 24/11/70; Tape D-1):

[Martyrdom] is not the only thing the Doukhobors should be proud of Among every community, wherever they settled in the South of Russia, there always came out to be... there was even one [man] that, without any kind of tools or anything, he brought a stream for irrigation twelve miles distance, by just using... as a level, the only thing he could use as a level, was to have two prongs that he put into the ground and then he put a little piece of board that had a groove in it on top, then see which way the water would run. Just by those little prongs he kept going, and brought the stream for irrigation... those were his tools. This is the person that we want to [remember] at the same time as the one that was martyred.

One account collected by Piontkovsky may be a jocular tale cast in legend form: it does not mock the leader, but takes away some of the mystery that might be attached to his nickname:

While in exile in Siberia, a group of convicts, including Peter Vasilievitch Verigin, were to cross a river in a boat. Peter Verigin fell behind, and one of the inmates called: "Eh, Lordly! Hurry up!" - for he used to speak a great deal about the Lord. The nickname stuck. But most people don't know this.

IV. Summary.

Reporters, both exoteric and esoteric, who use subjective standards will discover more, and narrower, data than are really available from the people and culture they study. Generalizations range from Bradley's (1905, p. 297): "Entertaining...primitive but harmless souls..." and the journalist's account cited by Elkinton (1903, pp. 189-190):

The Doukhobors are people of the purest Russian type, large and strong, men and women both being of magnificent physique. They are characterized by broad, square shoulders, heavy limbs, and a massive build generally. Their features are prominent, but refined, and bear the marks of a life that is free from vice of any kind. The most striking characteristic of all is the bright, kindly sparkle of their eyes, which gives a winning expression to the whole face, and quickly wins confidence in their character. All their habits demonstrate that they are possessed of keen minds.

to Holt's wild labels such as (1964, p. viii): "...a society of potential killers," (p. 10) "a society that ...became...a despotism of the narrowest sort," (p. 22) "...an unusually high percent of outlaws and malcontents," and a host of other abuse. Romanticizing and hostility are common to both exoteric and esoteric reporters, though in the latter case the hostility is usually directed at other factions within the society of Doukhobors: any broader hostile expression would be destructive, and only one such expression exists, published by a disillusioned and



vindictive ex-administrator of the C.C.U.B. (Reibin 1952) whose motives may be suspect. The hostility of esoteric reporters is for the most part highly qualified, and includes approbation for one's own party.

Both classes of reporters, and the esoteric especially, tend to take more or less doctrinaire positions. The Doukhobors may appear - positively or negatively - as a vindication of the writer's idea of what an ideal society should or should not be. Outside reporters will find the society at fault for not recognizing the superiority of Western technology or politics (cf. Copping 1911), or for supporting an economic and administrative structure that is idiosyncratic (Wright 1940), or for refusing assimilation (Zubek & Solberg 1952; O'Neail 1962). They may also - as do most of the pre-1914 Apologists - argue that all societies would do well to follow the Doukhobor system explicitly. Doukhobor reporters, in particular the tellers of Legends, correlate history and religious doctrine - a practice which ought not to be faulted, but which should be identified when it occurs.

Exoteric reporters alone assume a patronizing stance: they find themselves able to smile benevolently down from the pinnacles of Western culture, upon a society of quaint, harmless peasants, or of insane fanatics. Having thus neatly labelled their subjects, they need go no further - all that is needful is to accumulate evidence that supports the cliché; all other evidence becomes irrelevant to the problem. It is striking that such reporters miss the distinction, say, between Doukhobors and other East European peasant-economy peoples; or between Doukhobors and other sectarian communal experimenters. They see no need for broad ethnographic



description, but need merely accumulate enough material to generate a stereotype. And a stereotype, to be convincing, must have no inconsistencies. But societies are so complex, having more than enough acceptable types of behaviour than any one member can perform, that occasionally inconsistent behaviour - behaviour out of stereotype - is to be observed. Such behaviour is the measure of the individual's reconciliation of his changing needs as a human with the multifarious requirements of his society's structure. It is to the society's advantage to have conflicting requirements, also; then it can not only accomodate a very wide range of individual behaviour, but it will awlays keep some 'abnormal' members in reserve, who, when external conditions change, may be equipped to meet those conditions with behaviour already sanctioned, if only by mere classification. Thus, in the third and fourth decades of Canadian domicile, a number of Doukhobors acquired some practical education, although traditionally schooling has been considered an impious and disintegrating force. The success of these individuals both within and outside the community has made it possible for a significant number of Doukhobors to qualify their belief by formalizing a distinction between the process of formal education and the ideologies which may be attached to that process. Of course, there was always education in the Doukhobor communities, as in any society: but it was by family precept and by participation in work activites. Now it has been possible to extend this concept of education to skills and knowledge acquired formally. Making such a distinction does

not require the believer to forego his often justified mistrust of the ideology with which schools may interlard their curriculum, but allows him to make his belief more finely applicable to present circumstances (Field notes and comment, 22/12/70; 26/1/71; 13/4/71; 12/5/71).

It would appear, then that those traits of Doukhobor culture which are unfamiliar to Westerners are seen as threatening and thus generate an emotional response, one of assimilation or rejection. Their difference is a threat because societies are seen as in some ways mutually exclusive. To the superficial or personally insecure individual, an observer arguing to himself by analogy from the behaviour of individuals, all societies occupy time and space more or less similarly. If he is to remain secure, his society must keep its niche either by assimilating a competing society to itself, or by driving it away. By a favourable stereotype, the competitor loses his alien quality, and may be assimilated; by an unfavourable stereotype, the competitor may be denied his right to exist. Thus, in the latter case, it is not until Holt has completed her long development of a negative stereotype - an abstraction from reality - that she is able to call for what sounds like - a horridly familiar term - a final solution to the Doukhobor problem, and to say (1964, p. 296):

...that the civil liberties of a gang of outlaws, who know only what they were taught, may have to be sacrificed for the civil liberties of the majority of law-abiding citizens.

But there is no way to distinguish between one man's civil liberties and anothers; and we all know only what we were taught.

OUR PEOPLE'S WAY: A STUDY
IN DOUKHOBOR HYMNODY AND
FOLKLIFE

Pt. 2

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VI. DOUKHOBOR RELIGION: THE SHAPE OF BELIEF.

I. Introduction.

The purpose of this discussion is to present, not an account of what a typical, average Doukhobor (if such an individual exists) believes, but a description of the elements of belief from which individuals construct their own systems. The expression and personal experience of Doukhobor religion - like that of most belief - are matters which are peripheral to language, and any attempt to verbalize them is inherently inadequate, but those elements which Doukhobors themselves commit to linguistic expression should be presented, as they will help to define the continuum within which personal experience moves.

In the past, some researchers have been a little too quick to assign plausible sources of Doukhobor doctrine antedating the Raskol. Thus Maude (1904, p. 7), Conybeare (1921, pp. 275-279), and Woodcock & Avakumovic (1968, p. 25) suggest or declare significant resemblances between Doukhobor belief and that of the Cathari and Bogomil heresies of Western and South Slavic Europe, especially stressing, in the case of Conybeare, the general rejection of church authority and sacraments, unorthodox descriptions of the Godhead and of the human soul, communal practices, and chiliastic eschatology. Examination of original Albigensian, Bogomil, Cathar, and Waldensian sources (Wakefield 1969) will

make clear, however, that these Western movements still maintained, in a significant degree, the use of a precisely defined hierarchy; a formal liturgy; sacraments (to which the Catharia even added one, the consolation - see Wakefield, pp. 465-494); the use of written scriptures; and the veneration of saints. In other words, the Western heretics retained the gross cultural system of the orthodox, but modified their content for their own needs. The Doukhobors, along with other and preceding raskolniki, and indeed perhaps in the steps of the Judaizers and the Paulicians (Maude 1904, p. 7), rejected in large degree the cultural systems of the orthodox. In fact, considering the vast rural districts of Russia; the fewness and dispersion of influential urban centres; and the very divergencies and heterogeneity that provoked the reforms of Nikon: orthodox systems may well never have been completely imposed upon much of the Russian peasantry.

The most reliable beginning point, one remaining (though not under that label) in Doukhobor tradition, is the doctrine of the pious schismatic Daniel Filipov, founder of the Khlysti and Skoptsi, whose reaction to conflicting old and new liturgies was to reject both in favour of inner, spiritual understanding. A Doukhobor hymn tells of his decision (Peacock 1970, pp. 57-60; cf. also Popoff, 1964, pp. 4,30):

A young man was walking,
And as he walked he wept profusely,
Letting forth sorrowful sighs,
Jesus Christ Himself met him and asked:
"Why are you weeping, young man?"
"How can I help weeping?
I have lost the golden book,
I have dropped the church key into the sea."

"Do not weep any more, young man:
 I shall write out another golden book,
 I shall cause the blue sea to dry up,
 And [shall] recover the church key.
 And I shall put you on the road of truth."

The nature of Doukhobor chiliasm is also singular, and the term is perhaps less applicable than millenarianism. The distinction is not one of kind, so much as of degree; it is usually applied to sects having two related traits, a highly developed eschatology of apocalyptic character and a direct mapping of this eschatology onto the present, and the recent past and future. Chiliastic sects are composed predominantly of those who perceive that apocalypse as a single historic event under way right about them; when radical changes in the world do not occur according to pre-determined schedule, their date is either moved forward slightly, or the change is stated to have indeed occurred, but to be hidden to all but a few. Against this system of belief should be set those sects for whom Apocalyptic experience is an on-going thing; for whom, as it were, the Apocalypse is not a single historical event but is, perhaps allegorically, the state of all history. The latter model does not require continual major adjustments; and it is adaptable to a high level of change in external conditions. It is also more suitable for the construction of a sectarian community, since any simple chiliastic community can by definition be only a very temporary affair. This is not to say that millenarians do not expect change, judgement, and the retribution of sinners and vindication of believers; but they do not expect it with the consistent immediacy of the chiliasts. One of the major arguments for this

distinction is the occurrence of chiliastic movements within Doukhobor history; such have been present (e.g., 1902 march to Yorkton, and occasional Svobodnik movements and declarations since), but they have been both temporary, and the activity of a minority no more doctrinally conservative than many who did not join them. Such chiliasm has always been opposed by the tradition of Doukhobor rationalism, the trait which first attracted and then maintained ties with Quaker individuals and groups.

II. Theology.

God is an eternal, spiritual being, the first creator and last judge of all things; he helps the suffering who call upon him and those who seek to come close to him, but he cannot help those who choose to turn from him. He chooses to speak through the mouth of man to other men. This is the doctrine of psalms 61 and 64 in particular, and of the first few clauses of psalm 1, but it recurs continually throughout the psalms. It is expanded in a detailed and consistent but not inclusive form in the pamphlet Doukhobors, Their Faith (Doukhobor Society of Canada 1961, pp. 5-6). The link between God and the Believer is the believer himself, as psalm 6, clauses 118-119 attests:

- Q. Where was God, when he was not in heaven, nor on earth, nor in the streams of moonlight, not in the adorning [light] of the stars, nor in the radiance of the sun?
- A. God was then in the mountain of faith.

Q. And what is the mountain of faith?

A. Who trusts God, he is the mountain of faith.

Also (psalm 147); "Where Love is, there God is too." The D.S.C. pamphlet adds, from an incompletely identified psalm (p.5): "God is a spirit without form; God dwells in the souls and hearts of men." A saying reports the immanence of God (Field notes, 31/1/71): "God sleeps in stones, wanders in animals, and awakens in man - though he is not often crowned in man." Beyond this, there is generally little need to describe God. Psalm 6 opens, not with a description of God, but with a list of God's requirements from the believer. God is not approached through intellectual description, but through the believer's needs and obligations, his moral experience. "God is Divine Reason...a spirit...man." (psalm 6 Var./23).

Christiology is diffuse and not rigidly developed. Often in the psalms, Father and Son are addressed interchangeably or identically, and on at least one occasion Christ is identified as an angel (Christ Is One...). The Quaker Allen (1846-47, p. 61) learned that:

[The Doukhobors] believe...in the Deity of our Lord and Saviour ...as fully as any Christians we ever met with.

Lynch (1901, p. 111) is in agreement. But Allen's companion Grellet reports to the contrary (1864, pp. 455-456):

They look upon Jesus Christ in no other light than that of a good man. They therefore have no confidence in him as / a Saviour from sin.

Doukhobor sources are not so precise in either direction. Psalm 141 certainly possesses a strongly evangelic base; against it may be set the

statement from psalm 1, clause 12:

A. Jesus himself was and is the New Gospel that is eternal and ever alive,...

Clause 13 of the same psalm rationalizes the gospel miracles in terms easily applicable to the believer's existential state:

Q. Did Christ really perform miracles on earth, bring dead people back to life again, give sight to the blind and make the deaf to hear?

A. We believe, because we ourselves were dead in sinfulness, we were blind and deaf. He brought us to life, forgave our sins, and gave us his commandment so that we should sin no more and not break God's laws anymore.

The Resurrection is defined by the alteration of the old Orthodox Easter greeting, to which the reply becomes (cf. Father of All): "In the faithful Christ is resurrected," or "In the hearts of his faithful followers ..." (Popoff). Christ is also the man through whom God spoke most perfectly (Field notes, 25/11/70), in whom the greatest proportion of God's spiritual substance was found. His teachings, not as they are found in books, but as they manifest themselves within the heart, are the believer's guide in life.

The Holy Spirit is not often mentioned in intellectual terms, and then only as part of the Trinity, though many psalms are addressed to it. It seems to be understood as that aspect of God that acts in the world and upon the human soul, at specified times and places; whereas the Father is eternally immanent, and the Son is continually revealed through the acts of believers.

The Trinity is rarely mentioned; psalm 6, clause 48, states:

Q. To whom do you bow?

A. We bow to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit,
that is the Holy Trinity.

The same bow occurs in the psalm Father of All, and is the first bow-to-earth of the Molenye. The variant reading of psalm 6, clause 55, states the case a little different:

Q. To whom do you pray?

A. To that God who is Divine Truth itself, to the Spirit of Truth;
to Jesus Christ who was Truth incarnate.

Two other clauses, however, give a highly complex definition. Psalm 1, clause 5, states:

Q. In what category do you place the Holy Trinity, how do you interpret it?

A. We place the Holy Trinity in an unattainable category. In mortal man it is interpreted as: God the Father is our power of memory; God the Son is our power of Reason; God the Spirit is our power of Will. God the Trinity is one.

This is further developed in psalm 64:

The body is formed out of earth, but the spirit is in the sacred image of God and through it, we have a threefold power. In every quality of the spirit, the human power is this: Memory, reason, will. By memory we are likened to God the Father; by reason we are likened to God the Son; by will - to the Holy Spirit, thus in the Holy Trinity there are three persons, yet they hold one spirit; three spiritual powers, but one God.

The same is also cited by Kravchinsky (1888, p. 508). The statement appears to be a description of the Trinity based upon a three-part model of the human mind, but some commentators and Doukhobors have given it a narrowly literal interpretation too. The present consensus seems to mediate between both extremes (Field notes, 23/5/71), declaring that the divine part of man is composed of memory, reason, and will, and that Father,

Son and Spirit can be best known through these attributes.

The position of the Blessed Virgin is obscure. Numerous psalms include her as a figure worthy of honour, and the healing psalms in particular imply that she possesses quasi-divine powers and attributes. The psalm Maiden Bearer-of-God is intensely Marian. To various rationalistic Doukhobors the existence of this lore sometimes seems a positive embarrassment, and the psalm Maiden Bearer-of-God is excused as being comprehensible only by the application of an abstruse symbolic key, averred to be well-nigh lost. There is, however, a tradition of symbolic interpretation which, though it may not be of wide distribution, is known to many rationalists. It is briefly noted in the D.S.C. pamphlet cited above (1961, pp. 10-11):

Doukhobors reason, that every woman is a mother of God; just as every person is a human God. Every woman "from time immemorial to the present day is a virgin; from her is born and was born Jesus Christ", that is, that beginning of life which gives people "meaning to life". Every woman, every virgin brings forth into the world God's way, - its fulfillment. Woman is the medium through which appears into the world that which is above all else - man. That is why every woman, every "mother of God", who "sings and proclaims" dwells "on the clouds of blessedness", that is, in the position of sincerest and highest respect and esteem.

In the same way, then, that each Believer is held to share the nature - or a portion thereof - of Christ; the nature of the Virgin is an ideal part of every female Believer.

Angelology is not complex. "Christ is one of the holy angels," begins the recent psalm of the same title, probably defining angel by going on to say, "who revealed to the people eternal life." The vision

of Savenkoff, in his legendary Testimony for Michael Verigin, depicts angels as giving special revelation; also, perhaps, as sometimes being the souls of departed leaders. Two angelic figures occur repeatedly in the psalms, though, the Guardian Angel whose daily protection is sought in prayers (e.g., psalms 300, 306, 307); and Michael the Archangel, who binds up Satan for good in the Apocalypse. Woodcock & Avakumovic recount (1968, pp. 323-324) that Michael Orekoff/Verigin claimed a youthful vision of the Archangel, and that in time he fostered the belief that the Archangel characterized his share of the Divine nature. Devils and demons are not mentioned as such, though the Healing psalms do refer to anonymous evil and unclean spirits. The cryptic figure mentioned in the Healing psalm Against Witchcraft on the Way, "Shaloshi-maloshi", may be either such a figure, or a pre-Christian spirit surviving from an earlier faith. Satan is mentioned occasionally, but only in apotropaic fashion (cf. psalm 301), or in Apocalyptic accounts (e.g., psalms 71; We "Cossacks" Sing a New Song, etc.), in which his overthrow by Michael or Christ is suitably celebrated.

Heaven and Hell are rarely mentioned in a strictly doctrinal sense. Psalm 1 defines them, very briefly, respectively as attributes of the society of believers, and as the state of life of the sinners, finding no other comment necessary (psalm 1, clauses 20.21):

- Q. What is the meaning of heaven and what are the different [categories] of heavens?
- A. The [categories of] heavens are thus: The first heaven is - Meekness; the second heaven - Understanding; the third heaven - Self-Control; the fourth heaven - Benevolence; the fifth heaven - Brotherhood; the sixth heaven - Enlightenment; the seventh heaven - Lord. Where there is counsel, there is enlightenment; where there is love, there is God.

Q. What is hell, where is it, where do evil spirits dwell?

A. Hell is within people who have no enlightenment; evil spirits dwell within them.

The seven heavens appear as a separate psalm, 147. Psalm 6, however, mentions a Jerusalem that is the goal of every believer (clauses 98-106), and that resembles the New Jerusalem of Apocalypse XXI. Psalm 166 describes the struggle of believers to reach that city; yet the concluding line implies that in their faith they may already be in it, though they do not recognize it. It may, indeed, be the heavenly Kingdom to which every believer is invited, and which is promised to him in all the apocalyptic psalms, of which 150 should be compared with 166. The archaic psalm 123 catalogues the torments of a Hell of a type familiar in mediaeval allegory, in which bitter crimes are met by correspondingly bitter punishments. It is not easy to distinguish between these very rational and very affective styles of belief, and Kravchinsky's comment (1888, p. 511), "They do not believe in either hell or paradise," must not be taken to exclude beliefs founded upon emotional needs. The existence of the rationalistic viewpoint is, as Stark notes (1967, pp. 156-157), an important boundary in the continuum of belief.

The Church is any assembly of worshipping believers. As an institution of human organization, it is despised. The Catechetical psalms argue:

Q. Where is your church building?

A. Our church building[is] not in the mountains, nor in the logs, nor in lifeless walls, but our church building is in the spirits and hearts of men, [in] the righteous and the lovers of Him, those who truly serve Him (psalm 6, clause 21).

Q. Why do you not go to our Christian church, to the great Russian church; why is it so abhorrent to you?

A. Our conscience does not allow it. We do not consider it to have any godliness or holiness; we do not consider it to have any saving powers because it is a corruptible[organization], there is nothing eternal in it (psalm 1, clause 22).

Q. Where is your church to be found?

A. Our church is found there, where in freedom, and in the spirit of God's love, people gather together, and in word and in deed enjoy brotherly, fraternal feelings mutually. (psalm 6 Var./53).

Q. Why do you not attend services at the stone- and wood-built temples of the Greek-Orthodox church, and do not pray to the wooden icons therein?

A. Because the Lord forbids us to pray and bow before these, or [any] other objects made by human hands; so that from this unreasonable, false practice, we ourselves would not get traits of being wooden-natured or stone-hearted. You will eventually become like the kind of god you worship. Our God is the omnipresent Spirit, and prayer and bows to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit must be made in spirit and in truth. This is why we do not join the throng indulging in such vanity, we scorn with righteous indignation the Church which is based upon hypocrisy, and we avoid all other forms of entangling devices set out by the devil. It is better to have the sight on one eye, even if you, thus, see not too clearly, rather than, from the obscuring tactics of the church preachers, to be totally blinded. (psalm 6 Var., clause 56).

The church is also where the believers rejoice (cf. psalms 79, 320), and where God speaks; it is a place of instruction for them (psalm 187, perhaps from an Orthodox source); it characterizes the Doukhobor Community (A Doukhobor is one...).

The Doukhobors, with many sectarians, avoid prominent use of the Bible. This position is clearly inherited from the teachings of Filippov, cited above, and embodied in the argument that what is essential is not subject to written types of recording. The book must be a Living Book, "Written on the heart, revealed through the mouth" of the believer, and indeed through his whole life. Cecil Maloff says (Field notes,

13/4/71; Tape D-1):

When the [Bible] was written...after the last word, surely there were wise people after that, or even before it was written.... To us, if you are in contact with this world, this law [of God, discussed earlier in the tape] I was telling you about, you wouldn't need the Scriptures, because the Scriptures are in you, because they flow out of you. Everything that's in the Bible is within you, first, before it came out in the Bible. And of course, also, it's been translated and re-translated many times; a lot of it has been lost by the men who did not understand these things. Therefore, there's a lot of good in it, no doubt - I think it's the best book in the world...[But] a book is a book. Once this flame, this fire is kindled in you,...you are united with all people who understand this....It's within us, everything is within you, it's beautiful, as long as you cultivate it and bring it out of [yourself].

The statement is in agreement with other conversations I have had with Doukhobors; Peter Makortoff adds that he has noticed conflicts between Old Russian and Mormon translations of the Bible, and that this characterizes Doukhobor mistrust, not of the Bible per se, but of physical texts (Field notes, 12/5/71). Michael Chernoff of the Doukhobor Society of Canada, however, speaking for the Society, takes a less exclusive position (Field notes 26/4/71, slightly abridged):

Our Society accepts the New Testament, which is our basic guidance. We are brought up in the belief that the Old Testament is very complicated - for example, it involves wars and allows many wives - [that therefore] the New Testament is the latest and most understandable [revelation]. The Old Testament is a very old, out-dated book. There are a lot of good scriptures in the Old Testament, but it takes [phrase lost- approx., 'a great deal of wisdom'] to separate the good from the bad....

The psalms, and the letters and speeches of leaders, take the place of Biblical counsel because they are seen as arising by the same divine inspiration, but as enhanced through their utterance from the God within the believer and his leader, through human minds and mouths rather than

from books. Stark (1967, pp. 108-111) characterizes such estimation of the Bible as an expression of an ideal of freedom, in which the Scriptures are characterized as authoritarian, and are more to be feared and rejected for their association with legalistic authority than they are to be cherished for the truth, concealed as it were by paper and ink, that lies within them.

III. The Believer.

The soul of the believer is his essential part; psalm 6 describes its origin and nature (clauses 3,8):

Q. From what did God create you?

A. From a body and [an] undying spirit.

Q. What is the spirit?

A. The spirit is the image of God, a heavenly image, it sings and speaks.

(It is noteworthy that an essential quality of the soul is its ability to communicate.) Eli Popoff (Field notes, 5/8/71) summarizes belief regarding the soul by stating that there is a portion - a 'spark' - of God within every person; that it is either recognized and developed so that it is perceived more clearly, or it is crushed and made dumb; and that such persons as the Doukhobor leaders, each in his time, have had a greater portion than others around them: their leadership was the natural result of the recognition of this greater divine in-dwelling. Cecil Maloff (Field notes, 31/1/71) says much the same. Thus the third bow of the Molenye is

not to man as such, but to the divinity within man. Conybeare comments (1921, p. 274):

Sylvanus[sic] Kolesnikov, according to Novitsky, held that "one believer must bow to another, on the ground that we are the first fruits of God's creation, and among all creatures in the world the living impress of his hand, an image of God on earth." Thus, having no proper feast days, they reckon that day a festival when one of the sect visits another. Such guests they welcome with spiritual songs.

Thus, says the writer in the Obzor, they identify God and man; for the two are indivisible.

To digress from his quotation from von Haxthausen (ibid., pp. 277-278), a doctrine of the "transmigration of souls" was taught by Kapustin; "he also taught that Christ is born again in every believer; that God is in everyone; for when the Word became flesh, it became thus for all time..." Developing from this, "The soul of Jesus...must necessarily have animated another human body!" Thus the same soul, in turn, animated the leaders of the Doukhobors. The degree to which this doctrine is held in an extreme form is debateable, and von Haxthausen's reliance upon a hostile Mennonite guide must also be taken into account; nevertheless, it is apparent that a certain number of Doukhobors have held this view for a very long time; it has been reported of the Svobodniki surrounding Stephan Sorokin, and in his pseudonymous pamphlet ТРИ ДНЯ И ТРИ НОЧУ В ЗАГРОБНОЙ ЖИЗНИ ('РАПТЕС КИРОСОН', 1950) ("Three Days and Three Nights in the Grave [and] Living"), Sorokin argues within the terms of the tradition. If the soul, then, is both eternal and subject to incarnation, it may also move from generation to generation of believers: thus Kravchinsky reports (1888, pp. 511,512):

...the individual immortality of a man consists in the memory which the deceased leaves behind him among his fellow men.... the soul enters the child's body from about the sixth to the fifteenth year of its age, the period when the child is learning from the 'Book of Life'[Living Book]....

There is not much to support these doctrines in the content of the psalms themselves; certainly there is no obvious statement of transmigration. The believer is, instead, promised an eternal rest and rejoicing with God and the angels in paradise (cf. psalm 79).

Sin is an evil state from which the believer must extricate himself by recognition of his true nature, of the divinity that waits within himself to come to his aid. On his desk Cecil Maloff keeps a notice, a conventional comic card: "The most important thing about a man is his appearance...and the sooner the better!" How was this a basic truth, Cecil asked? - "It is the man, his real 'appearance' as against his 'seeming' - his body, clothes, his words. The sooner he becomes his true self, the better." (Field notes, 13/4/71), As Stark summarizes the idea in more abstract terms (1967, p. 125):

In view of the fundamental position which the doctrines of original sin and vicarious satisfaction - two strongly anti-individualistic dogmas, since they assume the solidarity of all mankind in guilt and merit - have occupied in the Christian tradition, it is not surprising that most sects have reinterpreted rather than abandoned them. But the most radical, and hence most typical, sects have given them up and replaced them by teachings which see both fall and redemption in purely personal terms.

As we shall see, such is more the letter than the spirit of Doukhobor doctrine, since the experience called Suffering is generally applied to the individual's movement toward perfection as a member of the Community; for it is as a member that he suffers, not in isolation.

When the believer comes to realize the divinity hid within himself - surely, by the grace and guidance of God who placed it there (psalm 266) - then he has Spiritual Knowledge. This great trait is identified with God himself, it is the unity of divine memory, reason, and will. Psalm 277 says of this trait, calling it a power:

[It is] a good feeling for our souls to ponder over Your holy will. Teach our tongues, that they may glorify Your power; change all our desires into Your holy will, so that we do not ask you for that, which is useless for our souls....You our Creator, work upon us, [upon] all our movements; yet if You will not help us by Your power, then we will not escape eternal torments. Lord, our God, we wholeheartedly want to attain this, that you would speak with us inwardly, but we ourselves do not have this power, without Your guide, Your holy spirit.

Psalm 384 explains:

I profess the law of my Lord Jesus Christ and I do not think of this in an outward [manner], but [as] inward. When we live within the will of the Father, our Lord God, then the Lord lives within us, enlivening us, he enlightens our reason as with radiant light.

Psalm 1, clause 23 uses the term baptism to describe this awakening:

A. Baptism with water is of no use to our soul; baptism for our soul is when one accepts the message of God within himself; we are baptized of Christ with the Holy Spirit.

Psalm 6, clause 123, identifies the experience with the Eucharist:

Q. Do you take heart in your holy sacrament?

A. I [indeed] take heart. The holy sacrament is to know the secret truths of God the Father and Christ, to be in their treasury, even His innermost mind.

Compare also psalm 146: "He will feed you with the heavenly bread of His knowledge," psalm 299: "Grant to me, Lord, Your servant, that I will... demand the holy secrets of Your law; this day I will call upon the holy

secret of Your name and Your law,...", psalm 316:"Into you alone will I go deeper, [with] all my inward [mind]....I will be wholly in You, and You in me," and the psalm With Prayer I Call:"Send us understanding, strength, to know the power of your Wisdom, that flies [about since] before the creation of this world, and heals [every] created thing that was made for our happiness." This Spiritual Knowledge is the source of the faith that has strengthened the Doukhobors through long centuries of persecution and bitterness; it is the power they have perceived in their leaders, and by which the leaders have guided them. It is also the power that has, on occasion, led some to strange acts - to defy the power of property by burying their houses, to defy human law and convention by taking off their clothes. For other Svobodniki, it has been the force that inspires a hitherto unknown and quiet person to take a position of leadership; and by it those that follow recognize the leader and follow him. It is a power that has a double edge: both confusion and great achievement have been the results of its operation, and sometimes it has been difficult for the most clear-sighted believers themselves to discern which.

Spiritual Knowledge includes sharing in the truths of Christ, according to psalm 6, clause 123. For Doukhobors, perhaps the most profound truth is that of Suffering. The concept of Suffering, not as a negative intrusion upon life, but as a channel through which the believer might approach perfection, is one of long standing in Russia; thus the Abbot Theodosius, in the Eleventh century, thought (Ware 1963, p. 89):

Of noble birth, he chose in childhood to wear coarse and patched garments and to work in the fields with the slaves. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ', he said, 'became poor and humbled Himself, offering Himself as an example, so that we should humble ourselves in His name. He suffered insults, was spat upon, and beaten, for our salvation; how just it is, then, that we should suffer in order to gain Christ.'

With the growth of influence and long hegemony of the Orthodox church, the actual performance of such devotion became rare. For the sectarian movements of Russia, on the other hand, intense and unreasonable persecution became, from time to time, a rule of life. As serfs and as peasants their lot was harsh enough; as religious schismatics, it was occasionally to become intolerable. Crummey (1965, p. 4) and Stark (1967, pp. 220-221, quoted here) have given accounts of the persecution of the Staroveri:

A decree of [Tsarevna Sophia, the Regent, in 1684] threatened every impenitent Old Believer with the stake, and the government was in dead earnest. [Believers might recant or be burned; missionaries were burned out-of-hand]. Of the 20,000 suicides estimated, only 3,800 are said to have occurred before 1684.... When whole communes refused to turn from the old ritual - which would have meant symbolically to accept, to approve of, the new order of things, including their own enservment [and to damn themselves by giving allegiance to an authority that by its stance had identified itself, in their terms, as the antichrist] - troops were sent, and it was then that the villagers would lock themselves up in some large [building] and lay the torch to it. Better to die voluntarily at home...than to be killed - after suffering the excruciating 'threefold' torture prescribed by Sophia - in some distant prison yard alone [or, worse, to be forced to recant and hence damn oneself].

Several references in the psalms appear to point to these events: the promise of psalm 140:

Endure, my friends, suffer for joy in Christ. [If] it will not be possible for you to endure - run away into the gloomy forests, [and there] starve to death, you will not die forever, you will live forever.

The wilderness/death association appears again in psalm 143:

[Antichrist]...turned loose his evil tormentors upon the whole world, upon the whole Universe,[there is] no escape for My servants, neither in the mountains, nor in the caves, nor in the wildernesses far off; My servants live in exile and are[put] to slaughter for the sake of the word of God....

It is a matter of record that the Staroveri possessed secret hiding places in which to retreat from their persecutors, though these were to fail from time to time. With this should be considered the bitter prayer that concludes psalm 345:

We pray to you, blessed one, do not send us into torment; We ask you, Lord, all-bountiful one, [let us] finish [our] Hell here, [and] come with the christian family into your kingdom.

This is not to say that all these references point directly to the experience of Staroveri, or that they are so interpreted at present; but rather that the experience of the Staroveri was an archetype of all the experience by which the Doukhobors came to define Suffering. The concept is most perfectly expressed by a clause in one of the Catechetical psalms (1, clause 24):

- Q. The holy communion of the flesh and the blood of Christ in the form of bread and wine, how do you understand [it], or what power do you see within it?
- A. We understand thus: bread is made from wheat, and wine is made from grapes and is of no use to our soul; but we have our communion with His holy, sacred, godly, life-giving, fearful, eternal sufferings; the sufferings of Christ in the shedding of sin, which go right through the bones and reasoning powers of human beings; even to the extent of sharing his suffering of the soul and the spirit of power-to-reason, in our communion with our Lord God.

It is no accident that the syntax of this response becomes fluid: it must convey not only an intellectual message, but a deeply-felt emotion, which the psalms occasionally express by a heaping-up of phrases. This Suffering

is, moreover, a creative, redeeming experience; of it, psalm 1 says
(clause 15):

- Q. Did Christ really suffer in the flesh and was [he] crucified; why did He accept for Himself such a wretched death?
A. We recognize that He had been crucified, and with this He shattered the shadow of hell, brought the dead to life, and gave to us an example of suffering.

The experience is described in the late psalm 139; the catalogue of sufferings offered to the Lord is resolved by the triumphant paradox of psalm 243:

They beat us and they tortured us on account of the word of God, on account of the name of the Lord, on account of [our] witnessing for Jesus Christ. But we are glad and we rejoice.

Before the Burning of Arms, the Doukhobors who had been conscripted laid down their weapons on Easter Day, 1895 (Woodcock and Avakumovic, 1968, pp. 97-99); their punishments were harsh in the extreme (Chertkov 1897, pp. 50-56) and continued in a penal battalion and Siberian exile from which they were not, for the most part, released until 1910 (Field notes, 5/8/71). Yet it is with their express experience in mind that Doukhobors still use a proverbial saying, "The sufferers make the path easier for those that follow." Such martyrs do so in two ways; practically, they are held to demonstrate to the authorities the ineffectiveness of violent coercion; symbolically, they prove to fellow-believers that true martyrdom is within their grasp, and they attract the attention and sympathetic activity of people of good heart in the outside world to their general defense. It is by suffering that one achieves, not only closer union with Christ - with God; but also security, even a measure of influence, within the community: the suffer-

-ing believer has proved, through the most profound self-commitment, the truth of his community's values and his right to a place within that community. In such a context must Svobodnik publications and propaganda be considered. When a pamphlet (Perepelkin 1959) is entitled Doukhobor Problem in Canada / A Prototype Copy of the Hebrew People in Egypt, it is meant in the deepest seriousness, and is to be understood in an allegorical sense of great consistency. In the same place, we find (p.44):

Doukhobors are a PROTOTYPE COPY of the Hebrew people in Egypt; the more they will be oppressed and persecuted, the more will the Doukhobor confidence rise that they are a "People of God" and that God wants them to become united and strengthened in faith. And the more they will be hunted and the more policemen will break into their homes, the more will be the Doukhobor "back to the Motherland" movement grow....

We are ready to suffer, and we have become accustomed to suffering. We are being threatened with confinement, but that shall not make us cringe, for confinement is our salvation, and death - an attainment.

While the Svobodniki have on occasion suffered without wrong on their part, there have also been times when some among them - with or without general approval - saw to it that suffering was made accessible, in over-generous amounts, to all. But these are not to be compared with the so-far unexplained cases where, without apparent provocation, people under no apparent internal stress have destroyed their belongings or sought arrest by disrobing in unsuitable places. It is possible to see such acts as repentant purgations, affirmation of spiritual over material values; but then the same, or similar persons, proclaiming themselves and indeed generally behaving as non-violent, have destroyed the property of others. It is significant that, having done so, the demonstrators have on occasion awaited arrest. It seems necessary, then to conclude that in

contemporary Canadian society, opportunities for spiritual growth through suffering are not as clear-cut and as easily perceived as they were in Czarist Russia. Conflict with the authorities was always productive of suffering; if then the authorities prove intransigently lenient, pressure must be brought to bear upon them, in order that they may be taught to behave in accord with the harsh expectations taught, - so very well! - by the centuries of Russian persecution. And when the authorities respond with arrest, trials, imprisonments, they are conforming to the traditional pattern, condemn themselves as one with the forces of antichrist, and have vindicated their victims. It is easy for a Westerner, a comfortable and bewildered Anglo-canadian, to see the demonstrations and crimes of Svobodniki as wholly irrational and anarchic; but he rarely has the opportunity to understand the history that made such acts conceivable. Many Doukhobors outside the ranks of the Svobodniki found the actions wholly irrational and destructive, violent. They had accepted, albeit with reasonable mistrust, the less threatening Western government. Many others have avoided the problem, not by this rationalization, but by relinquishing their old belief (which may in itself be a form of rationalization). With conservative zeal and undiminished faith, the Svobodniki have retained their belief; but many of them did not learn in time that the outside world was really different from what it had been for more than three centuries, that it was a little more gentle, that perhaps the Lord did not demand suffering of that sort from his believers for a while, perhaps even that it was a time for active teaching. The future of this doctrine is unclear; Suffering will remain a great ideal, but perhaps it will be experienced in gentler ways.

Leadership is a status, by definition, to be expected of only one person in the larger community at a time, though persons with a quality of leadership - which is to say, a greater portion of divinity - may co-exist in reasonable numbers. The suffering and the divine spark of a leader are not necessarily concomitants, or even cause-and-effect; but it is no matter for surprise, that a leader should suffer. Kapustin lived in isolation for two years after his supposed death (Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968, p. 52); Peter Gospodnie Verigin was imprisoned in Siberia and suffered what many consider a martyr's death; Peter Chistia-kov Verigin died early "after many years fighting to save Community from moral and spiritual disintegration" (Perepelkin 1959, p.17); and Peter Yastrebov Verigin died in imprisonment in Russia. Among Svobodniki (of whom some suppose Stephan Sorokin to be, in fact, Peter Yastrebov), others have, from time to time, provided leadership for a while on a lesser scale than that of the role of Spiritual Leader. Thus, without necessarily abrogating any special authority to herself, Florence Storgeoff led the group that marched from Krestova to Agassiz. John Lebidoff and Michael Verigin have directed the activities of their separate minor parties while claiming a leadership never accepted by a majority. Among the Svobodniki, the protective doctrine of misdirection has on occasion been applied to leaders too, and to their instructions. Thus one leader's counsel against arson was labelled an "upside-down" instruction for a burning campaign, because his tie was deranged when he gave his warning (Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968, p. 351), and another who was seen in a window lighting a lamp was said thereby to have ordered a

series of burnings (Field notes, 2/8/71). In opposition to such a style of doctrine, Peter Makortoff says (Field notes, 12/5/71):

Once one knows the [Doukhobor] rules, they can be applied in any case - just as the same rule gives the area of any plot of land. [So the Svobodniki are in error, seeking secret signs of leadership, or secret communications], because with the Burning of Arms the time of concealment was over. The leaders are now in the openAnyone who looks for secrecy cannot be a true Doukhobor - he does not understand the rules!

Independent Doukhobors do not acknowledge divinely-inspired leadership in the sense used by Community Doukhobors; while the Statute of the Doukhobor Society of Canada uses the words of the 1934 U.S.C.C. Declaration (as it is now named) (1967, p.10):

...we affirm, as our ancestors did, that we "Believe and Profess, Jesus Christ, Son of God, who came in flesh and was crucified.. He is our only Leader, Saviour, and Hope."

Michael Chernoff adds to this (Field notes, abridged, 26/4/71):

The moment we have the appearance of an individual classifying himself as a second Jesus, some will split away....Leaders have allowed themselves to be worshipped as Christ, instead of the people centering around Christ - around God. No-one is perfect, and temptation is very strong, when you are living in a country where you can have everything you want. Some have been excellent examples, but others have failed themselves....

The concept is, thus, highly flexible in expression and understanding between different Doukhobor subsects.

IV. Existence.

Believers have not specially chosen isolation for themselves, but over the past three-quarter-century have maintained, to some degree, above implicit communal living patterns, a formally instituted organization.

For the Community Doukhobors, this has been the C.C.U.B. and the U.S.C.C. that survived it; for Svobodniki it has been a number of structures, sometimes loosely, sometimes tightly defined; for Independent Doukhobors it has been, as a rule, loosely defined structures having a tendency to slow integration. These corporate bodies have, within a Doukhobor frame of reference, political functions (rising out of the Russian Mir (MMP) system of village government) and economic functions (highly developed in Canada, and especially in B.C.); but they have also maintained religious functions as well, and continue to do so. Kapustin's institution of the СИРОТСКИЙ ДОМ, 'Orphans' Home', though primarily an economic institution for the administration of community funds, also served the needs of visitors, of community welfare as implied in its name, and fostered propagation of the Living Book (Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968, pp. 44-45). With the formation of the C.C.U.B., a religious 'Constitution', the Common Views (psalm 144), was promulgated. This did not set forth a rigorous organization statement, but described spiritual development, and proclaimed mutual love and aid, pacifism, diet regulations, and the Golden Rule. Organization as such was confined to the letters and messages of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, who was also, within this broad religious framework, able to enjoin sexual continence during the period between the Burning of Arms and arrival in Canada (Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968, p. 325; Maude 1904, pp. 167-169) - no doubt anticipating the coming hardships the community was to face, which it could better bear without the additional responsibility of little infants. In 1928 Peter Chistiakov recommended a group of regulations, primarily

social, to Delegates of the Society of Named Doukhobors (the prototype U.S.C.C.); this was adopted in the form of minutes (hence the Russian title ПРОТОКОЛ, 'Minutes', merely transliterated Protocol), and was to become the major organizational statement for a reformed communal body. This vital document is presented in translation in the Appendix. In 1932, the Society issued a Declaration. When the U.S.C.C. was formed from the membership of the Society and others in 1934, the Declaration was re-affirmed and today remains the fundamental Community statement. It is a lengthy argument against mundane, non-Theocratic government, and in favour of pacifism, repudiation of participation in Government (or elections); and asserts Christian religion, and civil disobedience when necessary, limited only by conscience. Likewise, although in most parts it is a very practical document, the Constitution of the Spiritual Community of Christ, a minor Svobodnik party of some ascendancy in the early 1950's, opens with religious definitions (1950):

1. "Spiritual Community of Christ" with Leadership (by a Divine Right) to be designated by the Lord God Himself.
3. The object and purpose of the Spiritual Community of Christ is to attain the highest blessing promised by Jesus, namely "eternal life in unutterable joy." Spiritual Community of Christ proclaims as did our Divine Teacher, that we have come into this world, not to transgress the law of God, but to fulfill it, which conception justifies our present and future conduct. Spiritual Community of Christ cannot serve two masters.
7. Spiritual policy of the "Spiritual Community of Christ" is a re-affirmation of the original beliefs of our faith which are detailed under sub-indications of this paragraph seven.
 - 7(a). Canadian methods of schools and education are considered detrimental to the cause of the Spiritual Community of Christ and are therefore rejected.

- 7(b). Statistical Registration (recordings of births, deaths and marriages) are considered as not essential and are rejected.
- 7(c). Service in armed or alternative forces are contrary to the faith and so are irrevocably rejected.
- 7(d). Proposed citizenship of any country and subjection to any flag is rejected.

Likewise, too, the Statute of the Doukhobor Society of Canada is religious rather than formally organizational in form. All these documents, with the exception of psalm 144, are included in the Appendix, and should be examined in some detail.

It is apparent that Doukhobor organizations, of whatever scope and policy, have required a religious basis for their existence. Having this basis, they have on occasion been the instrumentalities for regulating custom; hence the inclusion cited above of continence for C.C.U.B. members under appropriate circumstances of hardship; hence, too the clauses of the Protocol dealing with community marriage and judicial conventions. It is, also, within the organizational frame that the injunctions against the use of meat and alcohol are extended. It is not frequently possible to reinforce one's stand as a pacifist in this society; but every day one has the option not to sin through the eating of meat, to take a symbolically pacifistic stance. It is not necessary to observe the injunction for it to have the reinforcing effect: many Doukhobors do not eat meat, but there are certainly some who eat meat from time to time and then feel guilt. The act itself is good or bad, depending on one's religious premises; but regardless of how the believer acts, his feelings of virtue or guilt will reinforce his awareness

of his religious society. As with the Orthodox Jewish housewife, who sees Torah daily manifested in the milchik and flayshig compartments of her kitchen cupboards, the products of the C.C.U.B. jam factory, the vegetarian meal, the communally owned, worked, and inhabited lands have been a constant sign of spiritual integrity; in the decline of the Community organization, the vegetarian meal, the Co-op stores are still the sign. Beyond that, there is the undefined unity that impels any Doukhor gathering within the community: the common spirit of the Molenye; and the oblique, non-parliamentarian democracy of sobranie, in which (for requirements of unity conditions by the needs of existence under the Czars) argument is usually by individual statement rather than formal debate, and those in opposition do not vote negatively, but abstain. This unity is the face that is turned towards the world.

In the world are Sinners. Not all men are Sinners, by any means, but there is certainly a class of such people - in spiritual and physical opposition to Believers. Sinners are those who persecute believers, as those in authority (psalm 1, clause 14) persecuted Christ before them. Sinners, for their own ends, make war and the suffering of the innocent a reality. The psalms speak of sinners, as a rule, in three contexts. One is the special instance of the believer who has sinned (psalm 172): his case is special since he may be assumed to be repenting and returning to the Lord. The next is that of those who cause the believers to suffer, by oppression, torment, and slaughter (e.g., the Antichrist-figure of psalm 166) and who set stumbling-blocks in the way of the righteous (cf. psalms 75, 182). From the activities of such godless persons arise the

occasions of war - these are the unjust impositions of antichristian authority. Hence Peter Gospodnie Verigin is able to quote verbatim from the 1838 Garrison Declaration of the Society of Friends In America (psalm 384):

This task of ours brings upon us insults, injuries, suffering, even death. We [may] expect: misunderstanding, false interpretation, slander; against us shall rise up a storm of the proud, the phar-isaical, the ambitious, the cruel governors [and] rulers - all these may join together to destroy us; in that way did they deal with our Lord God, Jesus Christ....We will not wonder at those trials, which we undergo, but we will rejoice in them, which made us worthy to share the suffering of Jesus Christ.

Likewise the conclusion of Questions Concerning Citizenship:

We are citizens of the almighty Father; but your citizenship of emperors and kings separates people and forces them to fight.

From these concepts is derived the religious base of non-participation in government and education, as well as the more obvious pacifist position. Historically, any contact with government officials in Russia was liable to be disastrous; families with sons had, in the late 1700's and early 1800's, the further threat of a draft system that entrapped the conscriptee for a quarter of a century, literally; no less, save by death or desertion. What could be accomplished, in the way of self-defense, by evasion and misdirection was accomplished; the rest was resisted. When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, their only model of government was that of the Czars. By that model, it was not difficult to see the use of vital statistics as a cunning means for acquiring knowledge that could be used against conscriptable young men. It was easy to see citizenship and an Oath of Allegiance as the first, the easy step

towards involvement in the system of the sinful authorities. Today, those who reject participation in elections argue that if they voted, and the nation were to go to war, the war would lie upon their consciences. Clearly education - which had not been available before - might be a chancy thing; it was possible to see certain pernicious elements in the curricula that were presented in Saskatchewan and B.C., as the C.C.U.B. Delegation from Ootischenie and Fruktova testified (Evalenko 1913, pp. 53-55):

The way school is taught to children of the present generation, with boy-scouting and military drill and rifle-practice, we consider all this the most pernicious and malicious invention of this age....Look where we may, we find it is those very educated men that are the strongest adversaries of the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth and who are enslaving the plain and working classes of the people. The highly educated and much read capitalists sit tight on the neck of the common people, and like parasites keep draining their blood in the most efficient manner...who have a great need of arithmetic and rapid reckoning, in their insatiable greed for easy money and luxury....We have cast all this aside....

The third context for Sinners in the psalms is that of judgement; ultimately they are to be condemned by the Last Judge. All the apocalyptic psalms mention this event, but the psalm We "Cossacks" sing a new song perhaps explains the state of the Sinners most clearly:

The Lord Adonai will thunder out with all His seventy-seven thunders, and he will speak to all the seventy-seven faiths: Where are you now, scribes, and wise self-questioners, darkness of this age, O but will not God seize upon your wisdom? He will take it away from you, and your fame [also]. Then the sinful souls will cry out with diverse voices and will pray aloud before the Lord: Lord, Lord! Take our sinful souls into Your Heavenly Kingdom. Then the Lord Adonai will answer them: It is not possible to change your darkness into light. When I called you, you did not come to Me. I spoke to you, you did not listen to Me; I sent prophets, you did away with them. Go away, [you] enemies, into eternal fiery-torment, perish because of your deeds.

Such an ending is not imposed upon any, all are called to repentance (psalm 276):

Arise, you that sleep, wake from your lawlessness....

The believers, while proclaiming judgement, still call for mercy and grace for the sinful(contemporary variant, psalm 187):

The unrighteous will be destroyed [utterly], but the righteous will be joyful. Lord, do not turn Your face away, even from the unrighteous.

It is obvious that, however strong and resourceful the Sinners and their forces may appear, they are not ultimately to triumph.

It is in their reliance upon this apocalyptic view of their situation in the world that the Doukhobors must be considered Millenarian. The essence of this millenarianism, as has been argued above, does not consist in a chiliastic apprehension of the specifically imminent supernatural re-ordering of the world. For one thing, the rationalistic aspect of Doukhor doctrine is usually cautious of literal application of mystical expression such as that of the Apocalypse. For another, a reasonably well-established tradition permits the believers to see the Apocalypse as an on-going process in the life of the community. As long as the suffering survive, they have a good measure of vindication; as long as the unrighteous persist in their evil, by definition (psalm 1, clause 21), Hell surrounds them. And the whole of life itself is in a continual process of change, a slow process structured similarly to the visibly rapid concept of the Judgement. Thus psalm 6 Var., clause 12, argues:

Q. Why are you a people of a wandering, pilgrim race?

A. We hold ourselves to be people of a wandering, pilgrim nature because we are always moving from a [symbolic] land of Egypt [or land of oppression], - from a state of confusion -, towards a land of enlightenment, of truth[or, that is, a state of contentment and peaceful living].

The image has often been applied literally: but it permits the believer - as many choose - to expect progress through the constant flux of daily life. The argument, perhaps in leading towards the clause on pacifism, is renewed in the Fifth and Sixth clauses of psalm 144, the Common

Views....:

The World is based upon going forward; all things strive for perfection, and through this process seek to rejoin their source, as seeds give back ripe fruit.

In all that is in our world we see changing steps toward perfection, as, for example, beginning with stones, it passes on to plants, then beasts, of which the very last one can count is man - in the sense of life, in the sense of a thinking creature.

This is not the position of typical Chiliasts; if all sects rise through the real insecurity of their members, one of their functions is to find security for those members. The chiliasts who look for sudden vindication do not expect any natural change, especially for the better, in the world as it has been from the time of Christ to the present. Such a change would threaten the rigidity and relevance-to affairs of their tenets, the rigidity that stabilizes them and relevance that gives them meaning. The Doukhobors, by an application again of rationalism, have made a virtue of the uncertainty of life under the Czars, and have carried it into the maintenance of a continuing millenarian world-view. The intensely organized communities of the first four decades of the century

were not a stop-gap till the Last-Judgement; for the religious, they were a model to which all might ultimately come. The Chiliastic position generates an intense and destructive tension with outside societies. Stark argues (1967, pp. 234-235):

...the conflict of the sect with society must be solved somehow, for it is an acute crisis that cannot be turned into a lasting state. Millenarianism, with restriction of the future to the few days or months ahead, is the credal experience of the underlying and overpowering impatience, of this conviction that either there is victory soon, or disappointment and defeat are inevitable. Once it is realized that victory is unattainable - and this means ...once it is obvious that divine intervention, the fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecies, is not going to take place - the sect finds itself before an inescapable dilemma: it must either withdraw from society or learn to live with it....If the latter road is chosen, the end of the road is de facto integration; but then, by definition, we have no longer a dissenting group;...

The Doukhobors have not restricted their millenarianism to "the few days or months ahead." So long - even as the Svobodnik document cited earlier states - as the established stressful interactions occur between the believers and the world, so long as the Doukhobors can not only maintain their style of life but maintain it in or close to the world, then so long the prophecies are fulfilled, and victory is not "attained", but it "goes forward." It should be noted that the ideal state is one of co-existence. Violent interactions may strengthen faith, but while they are actually underway, the symbolic wanderers are not yet in the "promised land." Suffering is good: but it must end in the vindication of the believer and his community, for from that the world can best learn the law of the Lord, his Path; "the thread must follow the needle."

V. Conclusion.

The symbolic expression of religious beliefs and systems among Doukhobors is fairly restricted in form and occasion. No sacraments, in the orthodox sense, are used. The Bread, Salt, and Water on the table at the head of Molenye are signs, not symbols. Thus Peter Makortoff states that they are a sign of Doukhobor belief because (Field notes, 12/5/71):

Just as bread, salt and water are the minimum physical needs for bodily survival, so Doukhoborism is the minimum need for the soul; that is, the essential basis for survival. After a meeting, the bread may be eaten, or, on past occasions of necessity, given to farm-animals; it is not consecrated, and may be left as long as convenient in the Molenye Dom. The water may be drunk at need - "After all, it sustains life!" (AS was demonstrated when my wife fainted in a Molenye in Grand Forks, 23/5/71, whereupon a concerned member brought water from the table.). It too may be left, or (in cold weather) thrown out to forestall freezing (Field notes, 31/1/71). Eli Popoff comments (Field notes, 25/11/70; Tape D-1):

...even these symbols, Bread, Salt and Water; some of the people insist that this is so much our own...yet,...it is beyond the Christian era in Russia...actually it goes way back - not that it has been preserved in tradition - when you greet another person with food, that means you are greeting them with peace, that you are willing to share what you have, and that's all that it's supposed to denote. The Doukhobors took it to themselves that this would be [their] symbol, that we greet everybody with peace and in love...[some] people do say, do have it that they are the symbol of Toil and Peaceful Life, that they are a symbol of hospitality, but yet some of them would...say, well, bread is supposed to denote Christ's body, and the water, his blood, and the salt, his teachings...things that, to my way of thinking are alien to Doukhobor thought, yet, who can say - that somebody at one time thought that

was a good way of interpreting it, and as an elder did maybe say that...with most of the people, that just doesn't go along....

The use of burning and nudism by Svobodniki is obscure in origin. Pion-tkovsky (unpublished paper) suggests that the same activities were carried out by an early 17th.-century sect, the Iurodivye, or "Fools in Christ," but no connection has ever been traced. As Stark points out (1967, pp. 80-81, citing Braithewaite), nudism at one time served the Quakers as a means of witness. In Oxford, a "Very modest, grave young woman" of sixteen, Elizabeth Fletcher, though (ibid.)

...contrary to her own will and inclination, went naked through the streets as a sign against that hypocritical profession they then made there, being Presbyterians and Independents [i.e., Cromwellians], which profession she told them the Lord would strip them of."

- a mode of expression chosen also by Leavens, Simpson, and Peares;

"Fox approved of such demonstrations...." This is not too different in kind from the argument of the rare broadside Nudism and the Destruction of the Altar of Satan published by the Spiritual Community of Christ (Svobodnik) in 1944, which in part states:

...as long as mankind will persist in following its old habits to be governed by external appearances it shall not ever come out into the clear path out of the terrible stupifying mists of the befuddled civilized age....Herein is revealed the true purpose and meaning of Doukhobor nudism. It symbolically designates the second regeneration of man who has died in Adam, and has become born again (resurrected) in Christ Jesus...

Hence, let our nudism serve to all the world as a symbol of peace and as a blazing example of how the labouring people throughout the land are unjustly and unmercifully denuded (dispossessed by wielders of power and wealth under present Twentieth Century false conditions in life. And that in the final outcome, all people must repent in their error of violence and oppression; come out of the congested cities, forsake the various false gods of civilization and return back to the simple life of nature, in the sweat of the brow deriving the daily bread from the bosom of moist-Mother Earth.

Note should be taken of the almost Adamite sense in which nudism is viewed here. It has certainly been a means of non-violent aggression at times, but it has not often been only that. While most Doukhobors would always emphatically reject the practice of nude demonstration, few would challenge the premises stated here - premises, indeed, that stand without the support of nudism.

The performance of some of the more personal rules of Doukhobor belief deserve some attention. A particular instance is the degree of observance of the dietary rules. These forbid the consumption of meat and alcohol. As has been pointed out, this does not mean that all believers observe the rules strictly; but it does mean that those believers who break the rules do not do so without a feeling of guilt, and that in any case their belief is reinforced. It is to be noted, also, that the rule against consumption of meat is observed much more strictly than the rule against alcohol. Some less well-off families will even claim(Field notes, 10/2/71) that they do not eat meat, not because they would not, but because they cannot afford it; yet non-Doukhobor families of similar or lower income seem to have no difficulty in obtaining some meat in the course of the week. It is clear that very strong values are attached to eating, more so than to drinking, and that certain food habits are unconsciously held to be an essential part of Doukhobor identity. This function of food has been fixed by two things; the tying of the regulation to the revitalization movement at the time of the Burning of Arms; and by the uniqueness of Doukhobor Foodways in Canada, as Russian peasant/Vegetarian. Food sustains both the religious and social

community: but that is a distinction Doukhobors do not draw; it is enough for them to distinguish it as a religious community.

It is well to remember these distinctions when we are arguing in Western terms, however, and to remember that the Doukhobors, historically, have never comprised a single monolithic sect, but rather a grouping of sects and individuals in greater or less accord, served by a common body of doctrine subject to a wide range of interpretation. Doukhobor society is just that - a complex structure that has developed or gained access to gross means of self-adjustment; allowing, however secretly, for a very broad continuum of belief within the basic tenets. The interaction of belief and social structure is a serious problem to be discussed at the close of the paper. For the present, it must merely be observed and acknowledged, that subdivisions are a real and to some degree functional rather than disruptive part of the greater Doukhobor community.

Stark characterizes sectarian thought as revolutionary and irrational (1967, pp. 155-157 passim):

not...turning backward, towards mediaeval conceptions, but moving forward, towards ultra-modern ideas, and this is fully in accord with their general revolutionary animus....

These elements of rationalism...are significant, for they show the linkage of the sects with the intellectual leftists in secular society. But, on the whole, the sectarians make their protest against the orthodox, not by rational, but, on the contrary, by highly irrational means, for two reasons. Firstly, sectarian thinking arises from an irrational root, a feeling of alienation, resentment, and hate,...and secondly, the world against which the sectarians protest is, taken all in all, a basically rational world, the world of capitalism, science, and technology, and if it is rejected, then irrational beliefs satisfy the rejector more than rational ones ever could....all re-

...-ligious non-conformists have experienced an irresistible fascin-
-ation by the Book of Revelations, one of the greatest mysteries
of all the world.

This argument for the ascription of irrationalism seems unsoundly based.

It is a matter of opinion rather than of fact, that the world - here, ob-
-viously, the world of Western culture, and not the global society - is
basically rational. Our society is certainly superficially rational,
even to some depth, it constantly struggles towards rationalism: yet rat-
-ionalism is not among its roots, but among its instrumentalities. It
is not the sectarians alone who are responsible for their "feelings of al-
-ientation, resentment, and hate;" certainly the sectarians reject the
world, not only its rationalism, by which it justifies its abuse of the
sectarians, but its irrationalism yet more, by which the very inequities
arose that give birth to sectarianism. Rationalism is not limited to, or
even always best served by "capitalism, science, and technology," as
these ideas find human expression or use. The Apocalypse may indeed be
one of the "greatest mysteries of all the world," but it is not for its
mystery that it appeals to the sectarians. Rather, they have generated
systems whereby a sufficient portion of the mystery is replaced by a type
of knowledge, applicable to their present and anticipated situation.

This is not to say that sects may not move by irrational means, or to
protest that they chiefly move by rational ones. It is merely to point
out that the history of sectarianism must be considered as a set of inter-
-actions in which all sides have used rational and irrational means acc-
-ording to the occasion. Then it will not be necessary to attempt to

trace those particular traits and seek their line of origin or import-
-ation, but only to determine the causes for the use of a given tech-
-nique in a given place and time. As for the Doukhobors, we must then
conclude that both rational and irrational means have been and are op-
-erant within their community, in ways different yet still comparable
to like means in Russian and Canadian society. There is no need to
predicate irrationalism upon the Doukhobors merely because they are a
sect.

VII. DOUKHOBOR MATERIAL CULTURE IN CANADA:

AN ILLUSTRATED SURVEY.

When the first Doukhobor settlers arrived on the Canadian Prairies in 1899, one religious factor and two historic factors defined the material style of their lives. Their heritage was that of Russian peasants; that is, their houses, clothing, food, and major technology were those of an East European rural-agricultural people. This heritage was limited by the past and current requirements of exile and migration; it can be shown that significant traits were accepted from peoples, Russian and Anglo-Canadian, among whom settlement has been established. Style of material culture was again influenced by the needs and values of the two major periods of intensive communal living during the first forty years of Canadian settlement, 1899-1906 in Saskatchewan and 1907-1940 in British Columbia. This life-style was largely a corollary of the religious leadership of the two Peters, Gospodnie and Chistiakov Verigin, who through these years realized the most intensively communal interpretation and expression of Doukhobor ideals of which adequate records remain.

Doukhobor Folklife has never received much attention; for most Doukhobor commentators it has been a matter of common knowledge rather than of record. The only series of ethnographic photographs are those few made in the early 1920's by Edith Watson, and the broad collection

assembled by Koozma Tarasoff. The Turn-of-the-Century apologists, like the less sympathetic Journalists who were to follow them, usually recorded aspects of Material Culture from a position of amused or scornful ethnocentrism. Only in the past year (1971) has the National Museum of Man begun the acquisition of materials for part of an Ethnic Minorities Collection; only in the past year have the initial acquisitions and buildings of a local museum been established. While the Glenbow Foundation of Alberta has for several years now held a collection of Doukhobor artifacts (largely acquired from one local collector), these are displayed with minimal differentiation from artifacts of other societies (e.g., Mennonite, Hutterite). The currently viable local craft of Spoon-carving is scarcely known outside the immediate area.

This survey examines five areas of material culture: Dwelling patterns, Foodways, Popular Crafts, Spoon-carving in particular, and Burial Marker style. Most of what is significant in the areas of Dwelling Patterns and Popular Crafts are surviving and probably non-viable products of the intensely communal period, yet it is far too early to dismiss the influence of either Architecture (which has acquired for some a symbolic quality) or popular crafts, some of which, though much adapted, are still highly viable. Spoon-carving is a traditional craft appreciated equally by Doukhobors and non-Doukhobors, though for the latter it appears to carry affect-associations related to those traditional foods to which it necessarily pertains. Certain items of traditional repast carry strong symbolic meanings, religious and social,

obvious and covert, that are apparently quite uniform across the various Doukhobor subsects. Burial markers are a complex and individualistic map of community experience of both conservatism and assimilation.

For logistic reasons, it has not been possible to provide as exhaustive a survey or as technically excellent photographs as might make the argument more precise. Even what is here, though, may supply much that has been hitherto lacking, and it is after all for such a purpose that it is offered.

The reader's attention is called to the Appendix, where a recent two-part article (Harshenin 1964, 1967) on English Loanwords is discussed extremely briefly, and its included vocabulary analyzed for areas of cultural content; it is a suitable supplement to this chapter.

I. Dwelling Patterns: House and Village.

This discussion surveys the evolution of Doukhobor architecture from settlement in Saskatchewan to contemporary dwelling in British Columbia. One item of material from the early 19th. century proves illuminating, outside which it has been impractical to attempt any serious comparison with Russian dwelling types, with present small resources.

Two aspects of living are surveyed: the house and the village. The integration of the two appears characteristically Russian. It is probably a result of the needs of rural isolation as influenced by social imperatives incompletely defined at this time: compare with the scattered Breton farmhouses and cohesive villages, both of which were transplanted to the New World and may be seen on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River in Québec; the roadside-and-valley-oriented villages of southern England; the isolated houses of the Irish and Scottish coasts; and in North America, the isolated farms and villages of the Southern Appalachians and the extremely isolated houses of the Far West. The rectilinear orientation of Doukhobor settlements in Canada takes its gross conditioning from Government surveys of the land originally claimed, yet in its finer detail is an obvious accommodation between a rectilinear house type and a predominantly flat, subtly featured landscape. With the exception of Pass Creek, all the settlement areas in mountainous British Columbia are on glacially flattened valley bottoms or river benches; sites are chosen to which the rectilinear plan can be easiest adapted.

The basic construction material seems always to have been wood.

The Saskatchewan buildings were of logs, plastered within and outside with mud; British Columbian buildings were first plastered inside with mud, and many had a brick veneer, but upon wood frames nonetheless. Contemporary residences are conventional wooden frame houses, often finished with plaster stucco.

Descriptions of Russian living do not describe occupancy, but it is safe to assume that homes were occupied by at least a small extended family, including the three generations and possibly a 'poor relation'; accommodations could always be found for visitors. The Saskatchewan homes were occupied by families extended fraternally, the Communal Villages in B.C. by an average of 75 persons. Independent Doukhobors, Svobodniki, and contemporary Community Doukhobors maintain, within need and ability, the domicile of three generations. It is considered a sin to wilfully fail to provide living space and food for one's parents in their old age: thus there is at least room about the house for Babushka and Dedushka, and in those cases where the family occupies a newer home while the old one remains on the property, the old folks will occupy the latter somewhat in the manner of a Gross-dawddy Haus. Those old folks who have property of their own are in many cases the makers and recipients of frequent visits to and from their children; those who live alone and whose children neglect them are considered unfortunate indeed.

Till perhaps the late 1920's, nearly all furnishings were manufactured by the Doukhobors themselves; after this date some commercially produced materials began to appear. With the collapse of the C.C.U.B.,

nearly all materials were purchases, and at present no craftsmen produce furnishings, with the exception of a few women who weave cloth and rugs, the latter commonly of processed rag material, and those who do lacework and plain, conventional quilting. A very few cabinetmakers may produce an occasional dresser, stool, or table for their own use; but the frequency is insignificant.

The most striking feature of earlier dwellings is the archaic oven with its chimney oriented centrally within the house. This not only provided a great capacity for baked goods, but also a mediocre sort of central heating. The custom of the old, the ill, and the very young sleeping on the oven on cold winter nights continued through the communal occupancy of the British Columbia villages; some remember it from the private occupancy that is not yet ended..

The treatment that follows, after an introduction through Russian data, is divided into three chief parts:

A. Dwellings of early C.C.U.B. in Saskatchewan.

B. Dwellings of C.C.U.B. in British Columbia.

C. Dwellings in British Columbia: Recent and Contemporary.

Each of these headings, where possible, follows a pattern of roughly this sequence:

- (a). Plan drawings.
- (b). Individual building units.
- (c). Village or community pattern.

This sequence is not followed strictly, since the materials discussed are themselves variable, but it is used as a rationale for the organization of available materials.

It has been impractical to provide drawings of the buildings in the third class: style is extremely variable for Recent buildings and seems to have been much influenced by the size and substance of what materials were available at what moment for what amount of money or what opportunity. Contemporary buildings, while largely built by their owners, follow the style of Anglo-canadian dwellings in the area, and are largely non-descript, excellent imitations of the North-Western 'contractor'built' house, with quasi-modular floor plans that are easily juggled to the builder's desire.

The aerial photographs were taken through the generous courtesy of the Department of Aviation Technology, Selkirk College, who on two occasions (the film broke, first time up) kindly ensconced the field-worker in a tiny aircraft and provided a student pilot to househop. The unfortunate grainy quality of the prints must be directly attributed to two uncontrollable and diabolic influences: commercial processing; and serious air pollution from a local pulp mill (locally anathematized as Smellgar), which rendered light-meter readings delusive. I am very grateful to AvTech for their cheerful aid.

The following data give rise to these conclusions: Doukhobor house styles in Canada have been defined by two forces operating upon traditional patterns, religious values and governmental control. The period of transition from the former to the latter is diffused over the twenty years between 1940 and 1960 - that is, from the collapse of the C.C.U.B. to the initial land restoration purchases. Contemporary

houses are not to be distinguished by style from local dwellings of non-Doukhobors.

There has been no pressure at any time to define Doukhobor house style, other than that of function. When the religious function of dwellings could no longer be maintained, their primary purpose of accommodation remained, and for that, the indigenous style (if it can be dignified with that title) was the standard. If any Doukhobor traits remain, the predominant is a certain rather subjective quality of Plainness; a plainness that for the time being is not without economic roots, though by all means the religious roots are also there, and run deeper. For the most part, assimilation of Doukhobors is most conspicuously evidenced by their contemporary housing: an evidence that cannot and should not be applied too widely to other areas of Doukhobor life.

Introduction: Early Dwellings in Russia.

Little data is available concerning the style of early buildings. Woodcock and Avakumovic assert that the buildings of the Milky Waters settlement were imitated from those of the Mennonites there (1968, p.41), but the source of this information is not given.

Von Haxthausen presents, with captions but little comment, two illustrations of the village of Terpenie[ТЕРПЕНИЕ,Patience] in the Milky Waters region of Tauridia district. These are reproduced here, the first a photograph of p.419(Haxthausen 1847), apparently a hand-coloured line cut of some sort;the second a plan of the same site from p. 418; the annotations are translated.

The following elements should be noted in the Photograph: the approximately rectangular relationship of the enclosure and its contents, and the foreground buildings; the first-story balcony on the large foreground buildings; gambrel fronts in several buildings; wood construction; placement on site; the building just outside the gate, with four apartments, possibly analogous to Apartment section of B.C. Villages.

The building identified in von Haxthausen's plan as a 'large house' is probably the Sirotskie Dom or 'Orphan's Home', a community and management centre as well as a hostel. Compare the relationship of dominant (a,b) and other buildings here with that of B.C. Communal Village elements; the same enfolding design obtains, even here where most buildings are already within an enclosure. (Rotate Fig. A/2 90° to right).



A/1. Drawing of Village of Terpenie, Tauridia district, Russia. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

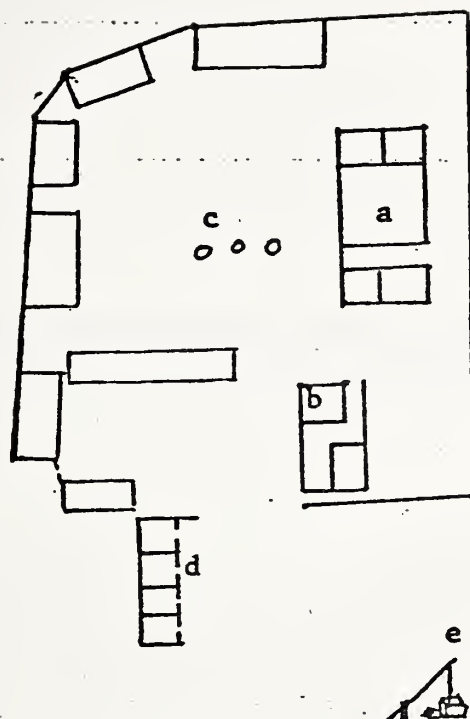


Fig. A/1. Plan of Terpenie, Village occupied by Kapustin. After von Haxthausen 1847, p. 418.

The establishment [Schöst] of Kapustin in Terpenie:

- a. Kapustin's large house.
- b. Kapustin's small house.
- c. The three Babas [? sic].
- d. The house with four compartments.
- e. The Well.

Of the other houses nearby, some of them are village houses [Borrathauser] and barns [Biehställe], others dwellings of the followers and friends [Bertrauten] of Kapustin.

A. Saskatchewan: Early C.C.U.B. Buildings.



A/2. Plan of Community Village in Saskatchewan. Location (if applicable) and source not known. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

To be noted here is the fundamental relationship between structures; houses are placed side by side, gambrel-wise, and face each other across a central street. the central buildings are not identified, but unquestionably include the community baths and probably a hall for general assembly, shops for textile work etc., and a warehouse. The smaller structures behind the houses are barns. It is possible that the postlike markings on the streets represent tree plantings - see trees in like locations in (A/5).

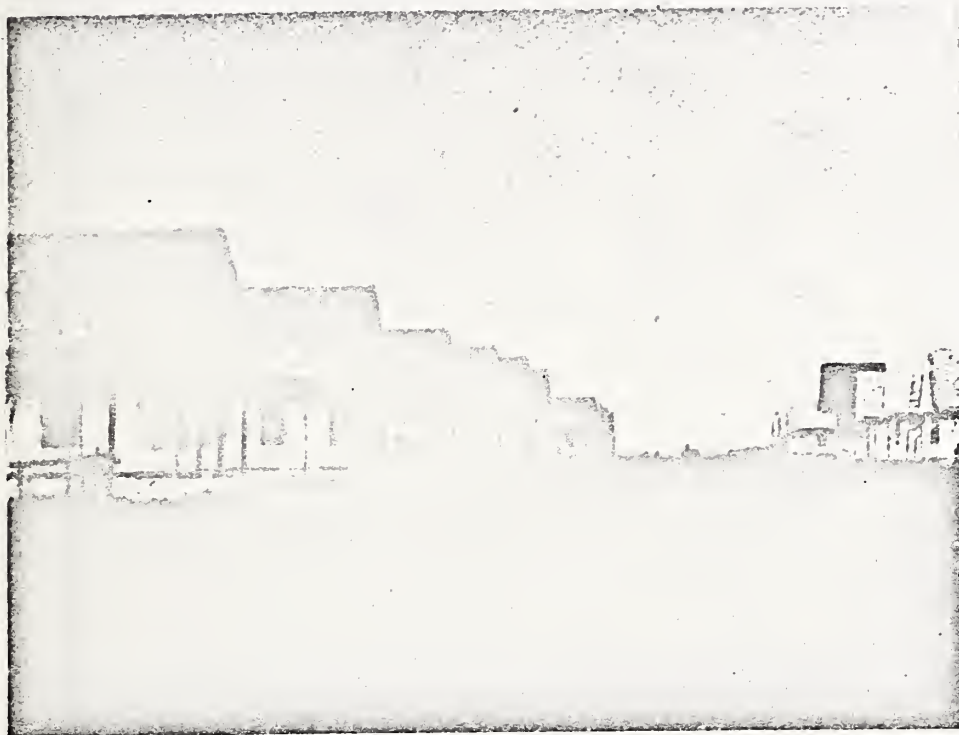


A/3. Village of Khristianovka, Saskatchewan: single house, c. 1910. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

Note group (12) in house porch; first-story balcony(cf.A/1, A/25,26); central placement of chimney areguing central placement of oven(B/1); ornamental use of wood in gable arch, gate, turned porch pillars, and shutters; garden area immediately in front of long side of porch; barn behind house; additional structure added by real wall of house(cf. p.627-629); plastered exterior and thatched roof.

These houses were occupied by fraternal families; brothers, as one informant (Field notes, 18/2/72) states, and averaged a population of 20 persons. If family groups were larger, a wing might be added to the house, as appears here.

The village's name may be rendered "Christians' [place]."



A/4. Village of Voskrisennie, Saskatchewan (near Kamsack). From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

The photograph appears to date from c. 1899-1900, judging by the minimal wear sustained by the central road, the smallness of the trees, and the buildings not yet completely thatched.

The photograph should be examined in conjunction with the plan, (A/2), and the relative placement of buildings noted.

The village's name may be rendered "Resurrection".



A/5. Village in Saskatchewan, c. 1910. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

The original print bears a much-obscured caption that apparently reads "Hristianovka", and the photograph is so identified in Tarasoff (1969, p. 70), so it is the location of (A/3). Note the more fully-grown trees than those of (A/4); costume, especially of children; family groupings, which are thoroughly mixed; the garden plots before the houses - the plot before the nearest house on the right appears to be producing sunflowers - and the bench placed in the shade of the birches.

B. British Columbia: C.C.U.B. Dwellings.

The following illustrations are derived from a set of drawings made for the Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society in 1971 by Elmer Verigin of Trail, B.C.; upon these the Society's present reconstruction project is based. The drawings are taken from measurements and cross-comparison of three villages in Glade; some key measurements have been cross-checked with buildings in Ootischenie and Grand Forks. This comparison determined that average difference in measurements between individual units is about one inch overall; the villages are thus, for all practical purposes, identical.

The origin of the village designs is not certain, though tradition ascribes them to Peter Gospodnie Verigin. It is said that a village at Brilliant was constructed from a rough set of drawings, and that other villages were copied directly from measurements made of the first, without recourse to plans. The minor variations between individual units indicate that this is not improbable. English measure appears to be used.

At the height of Community activity, an average of 75 persons was accommodated in each village complex. Each 'Big House' accommodated eight families in the upstairs bedrooms, and perhaps five to eight more families lived in the 'Apartment' unit, which also provided guest accommodation and shop and storage space. Basements were used for storage, mainly of dry and preserved food. Barns varied a good deal in form; some were rectangular sheds, some came to have salt-box roofs, and in some areas simple log or stave sheds were constructed. The barn shown here

has a late style of roof. Bath houses were divided into two large rooms - male and female - and held large cauldrons settled on a base of stones. Few if any of these buildings survive intact, and nearly all are beyond practical restoration. Roofs and interior mud plaster are in most cases much deteriorated, and the mortar used for binding the fieldstone foundations used on most buildings has decomposed.

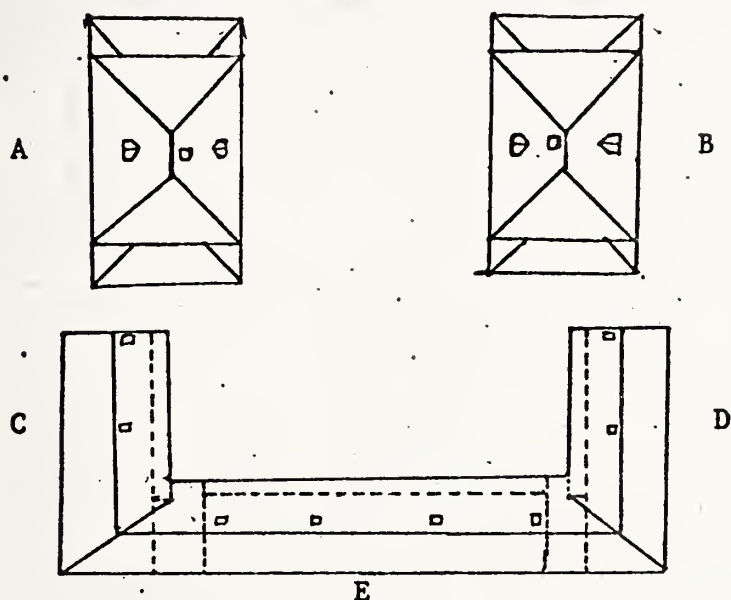
Two exterior finishes were used; the earliest and some later buildings were finished in unpainted rough-sawn siding. Middle period (c.1910-1920) buildings have a veneer of brickwork supplied from the C.C.U.B.'s own factory in Grand Forks. Buildings from this period constructed in outlying areas were built without the veneer, since transportation any distance from a railway siding was impractical.

Interiors were generally finished with mud-and-straw plaster laid in by hand (thereby achieving a very fine uneven texture) over thick lathes - split poles, in some early houses. This plaster was covered with several layers of lime whitewash, of which the last few were tinted with laundry blueing, achieving a delicate azure of great permanence. Most houses now in use have been refinished with light wall-board. Floors were of softwood, not finished though possibly oiled, and swept regularly with twiggen brooms. Early lighting was by kerosene, with no conversion to electricity before the late 1950's. The kitchens were equipped with dry sinks, and three or so outhouses supplied the needs of digestion; two-holers for the use of old and young have been noted.

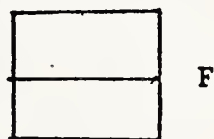
Fruit trees, especially plums and cherries, and sometimes willows

or birches were planted in the courtyard area; front porches were also set out with a yellow variety of rose known as 'Community'; only a few of these plants remain, none near the old buildings. Herb beds and forcing frames were commonly located on the south or west sides of the villages, in the lee in this area. Other fruit trees, sometimes including nuts (filberts?) sometimes grew behind the main buildings, independent of orchard settings.

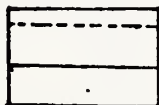
Grateful thanks are offered to the U.S.C.C., which made it easy for the fieldworker to go on private property for photographic purposes, and to the K.D.H.S., which gave permission for their drawings (copyrighted) to be used as the basis for these illustrations, and without which the illustrations would have lost much in accuracy and information.



1"=48'



F



G

Fig. A/2. Community Village Plan. Village first constructed in 1912, Glade, B.C., and occupied by families of Eli Mahonin, Sam Polon-onikoff, Alex & Fred Soloveoff, and Koozma and Gregory Konkin.

- A, B. Big House: cooking and dining, assembly; dormitories.
- C, D. 'Apartment' wings: sleeping; storage; shop areas.
- E 'Apartment' centre: sleeping.
- F. Barn.
- G. Bath House: Steam ('sauna') bathing.

After 1940, when occupancy of buildings dropped, 'Apartment' rooms were converted for cooking and dining as well as sleeping. Examination of recently occupied buildings shows doorways cut between such rooms, as well as addition of windows. Compare Unit 'E' with item d, Fig. A/1; Continuity seems highly probable and may be assumed, pending correction.

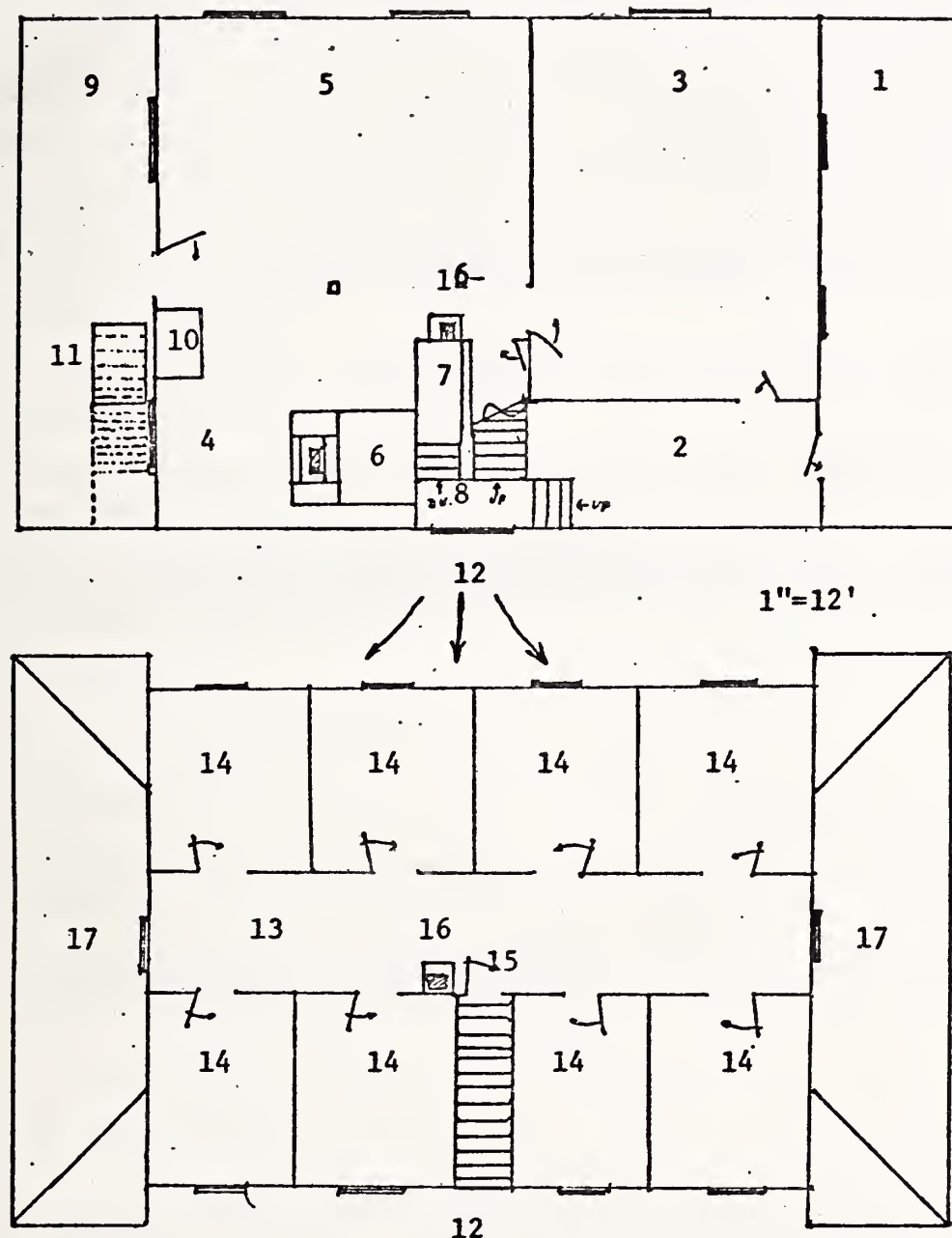


Fig. A/3. Ground and First Floor Plans, Big House.

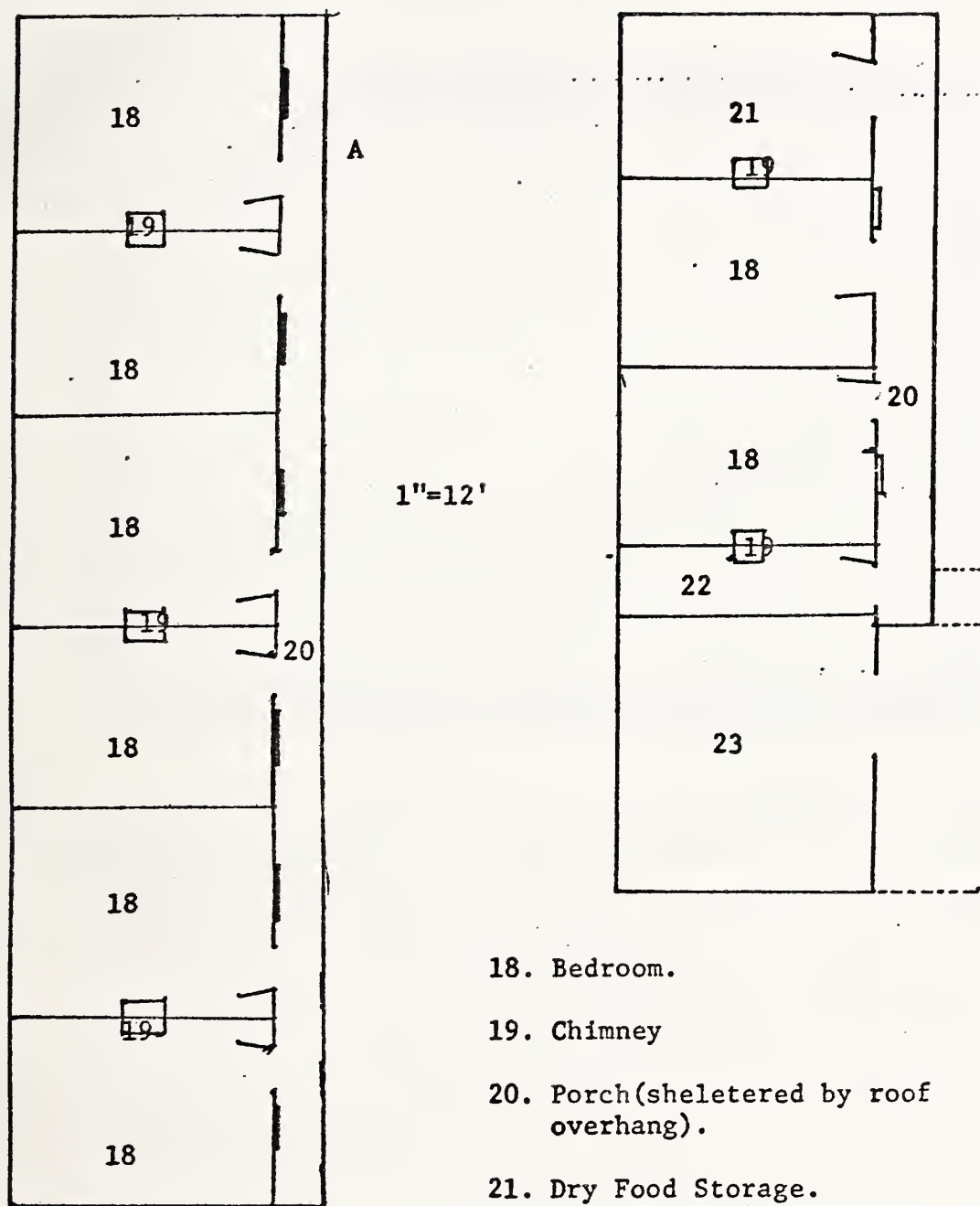
The location of the chimney shows that this building corresponds to Building 'A' in Fig. A/2.

Key overleaf.

Double thickness indicates window.

Fig. A/3. KEY

1. Front Porch.
2. Entrance Hall.
3. Assembly Room: Village meetings and relaxation, including entertainment of guests.
4. Kitchen: Cooking. A large table was usually placed under the window. Families took two-week shifts at cooking, laundry, and cleaning.
5. Kitchen: Dining. Note large supporting beam. Long tables with backless benches were placed in this area.
6. Oven. Bricklined, plastered and insulated with mud. Chimney rose to attic, where a brick flue linked it to central chimney (A/16-18).
7. Pantry area.
8. Stairway up to first floor.
9. Back Porch.
10. Dry Sink. Some were converted by the addition of commercial basins and drains.
11. Trapdoor-Basement entry. Basement extended only as far as wall dividing Dining area from Assembly room. Dry and Preserved Food.
12. Courtyard area.
13. Upstairs Hallway.
14. Bedroom: each accommodated one nuclear family. Doors of light construction (cf. A/14). In some houses, built-in closets appear, some lit by windows from stairwell, etc., but no data on distribution of these is available.
15. Stairwell from Ground Floor.
16. Chimney.
17. Porch Roof.



18. Bedroom.

19. Chimney

20. Porch (sheltered by roof overhang).

21. Dry Food Storage.

22. Tool storage. same level as 18, not walled off from 23.

23. Shop area: Blacksmith stores, carpentry, harness, bootery.

Fig. A/4. Apartment Units.

A: Centre Unit - cf. 'E', Fig. A/2.

B: Side Unit - cf. 'C', Fig. A/2. The unit corresponding to 'D', Fig. A/2, would be a mirror-image of B above.

Undivided attic space over apartments used for storage of flax, looms, and junk.

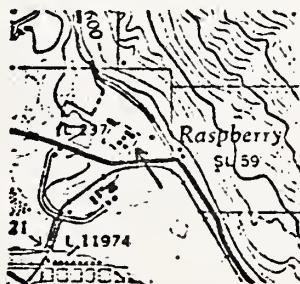


A/6. Old Raspberry Village. Located just E. of Pass Creek and W. of Brilliant. The unit to the right in the photo is presently occupied by a family.

Note additional windows in First Story Front; trees originally planted before courtyard; location of chimney, visible through fallen roof of unit to left in photograph.

The right-hand unit shows two attic gables. The occurrence of these lights is variable: some houses show a pair, but a minority can still be seen with four gables, or none. The latter case appears true for the left-hand unit here, though the gable structure may be fallen.

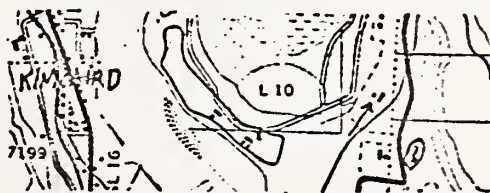
(See pp. 460-461 for local map tie-in.).





A/7. Kanenoya['Stony'] Village - Ootischenie, above old C.C.U.B. Saw-mill site and located opposite Brilliant on Columbia River. c. 1920. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

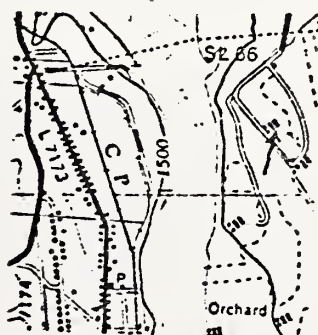
Highway 3a now runs approximately across the top of the 'Apartment' section of this village, but the unit seen on the left in this rear-view photograph is extant and occupied. Note, in foreground, bath-house; next, barn behind bath-house; lean-to sheds for minor storage; outdoor toilet on left; ornamental curving of passages through ends of side and central 'Apartment' wings; garden plantings to left of Bath-house and right of whole site; vines trained above shed to left of right-hand passageway. The view includes the townsite of Castlegar in the background; the bluff to the right overlooks Robson; the river is the Columbia, just SW of its confluence with the Kootenay.





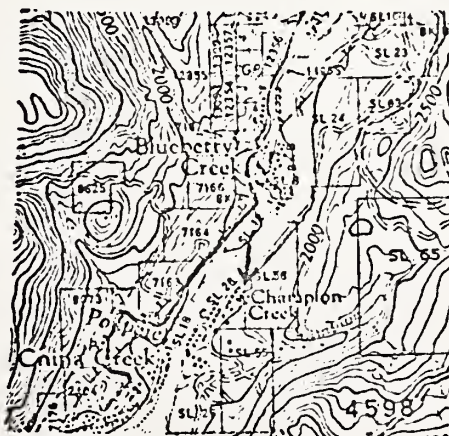
A/8. Village SW of Castlegar Airport, Ootischenie. Aerial view, 29/11/71. View to NW.

Note disappearance of Barn, Bath-house; remnants of orchard; conversion of left end of central Apartment unit to modernized structure; brick veneer on one large unit but not on other; lack of extra windows in end walls (cf. A/6).





A/9. Blagodatnie['Paradise' or 'Abundance']. or Champion Creek, 4 miles S of Ootischenie. North village: right-hand unit from passage-way.
 Note gable design; siding; cedar-shake shingling; turned porch posts; doorway and window location at staircase landing; fieldstone foundation.





A/10. Blagodatnie, North village. Courtyard exposures of Big House units, from passageway.

Note tree plantings; turned porch post, and ornamentally sawn porch pickets on Apartment porch; ornamentally curved arch of passageway; and characteristic orientation of riverbench sites to view river. This attention to the landscape resources of the site is common, and the only notable variation occurs in Brilliant, where under half the villages constructed were oriented towards C.C.U.B. industrial sites, and the railway and access roads. As a rule, most Community Villages look across a valley from some eminence.



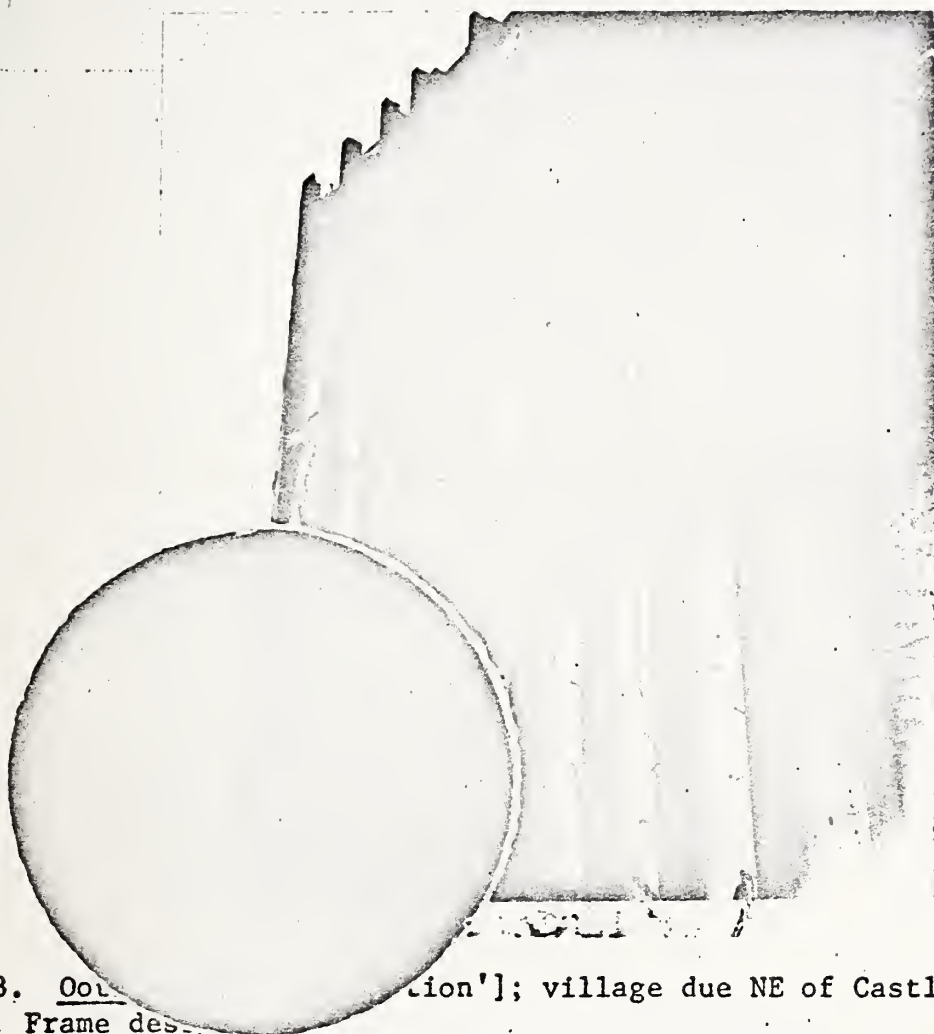
A/11. Blagodatnie, North village. Left passageway and adjoining Apartment wings.

Note trees in courtyard area, before porch; raised porch on Left wing (underfloor space used for storage); deterioration showing underlying roof design; hand-laid mud plaster visible through Apartment window; tallboy of local construction abandoned in passageway (beyond restoration but in use for reconstruction, by the way).



A/12. Blagodatnie, North village. Foundation of unit seen from front as left-hand.

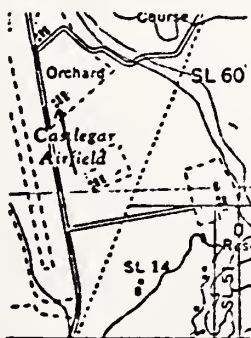
Note design of foundation and plates supported thereby; and deterioration of mortar. The latter occurrence has made continued occupation or restoration of most of these buildings impracticable.



A/13. Out [ion']; village due NE of Castlegar Airport.

Frame des.

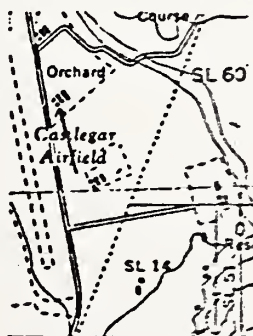
View of side wall of village being dismantled to supply materials for K.D.H.S. Museum reconstruction. Note stud and plate design and brace, insulating layer of paper, and spikes protruding from studs. The latter supported the brick veneer, as mortar surrounded them - a fairly conventional building practice.

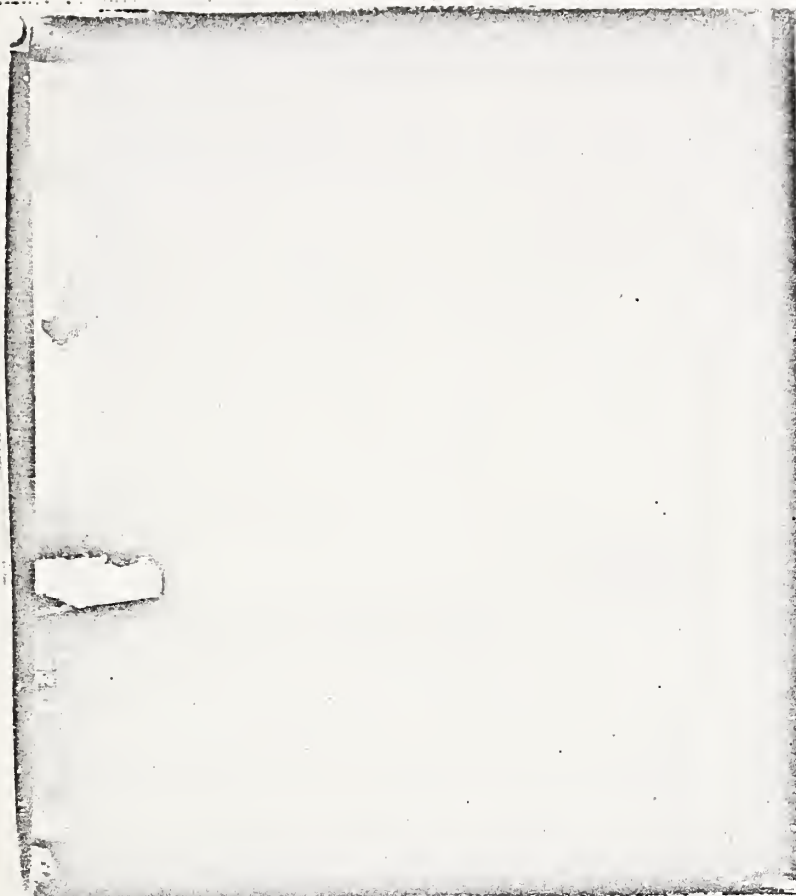




A/13. Ootischenie['Consolation']; village due NE of Castlegar Airport.
Frame design.

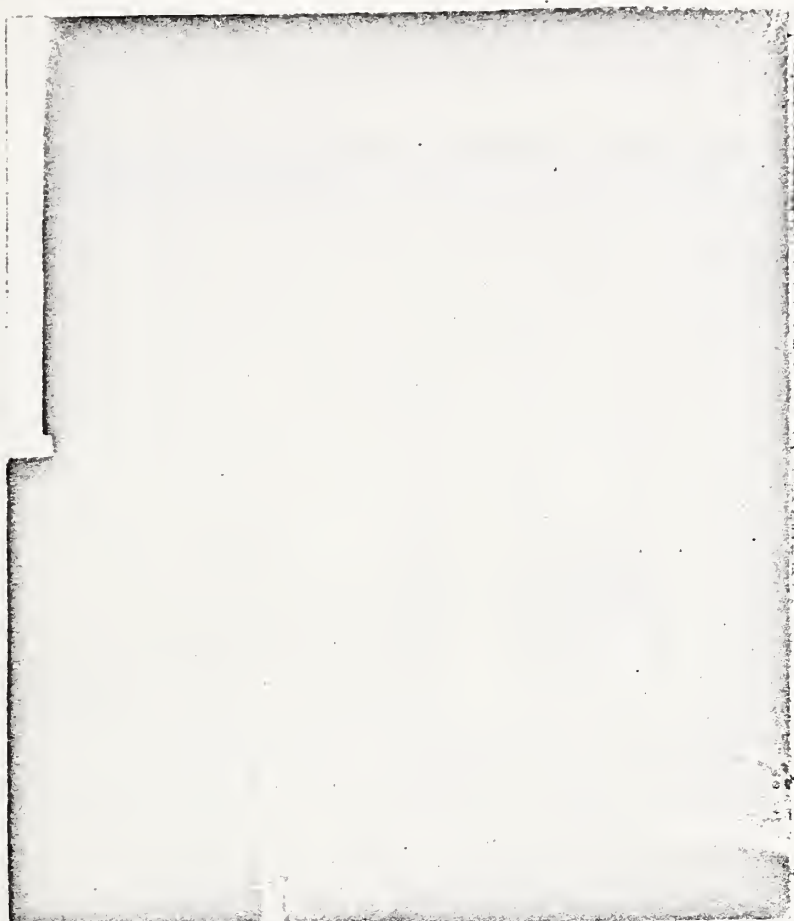
View of side wall of village being dismantled to supply materials for K.D.H.S. Museum reconstruction. Note stud and plate design and brace, insulating layer of paper, and spikes protruding from studs. The latter supported the brick veneer, as mortar surrounded them - a fairly conventional building practice.





A/14. Ootischenie, dismantled village. Interior First Floor; Room 3 to left from front; Doorway, Hall, and Room 3 to right.

Note mud plaster work; ornamental carving of lintel-ends and door. The plank set into the wall, visible at lower right, allows bed to be pushed against wall without damage to fragile plaster. This rub-board, door, and lintel are all painted an olive-brown; plaster was uncoloured on this floor. Debris is plaster from ceiling; most dislodged by dismantling crew, but some fallen on account of damp.



A/15. Blagodatnie, North village. Big House unit, left from front. First floor, Room 1 left. Detail of bedroom wall.

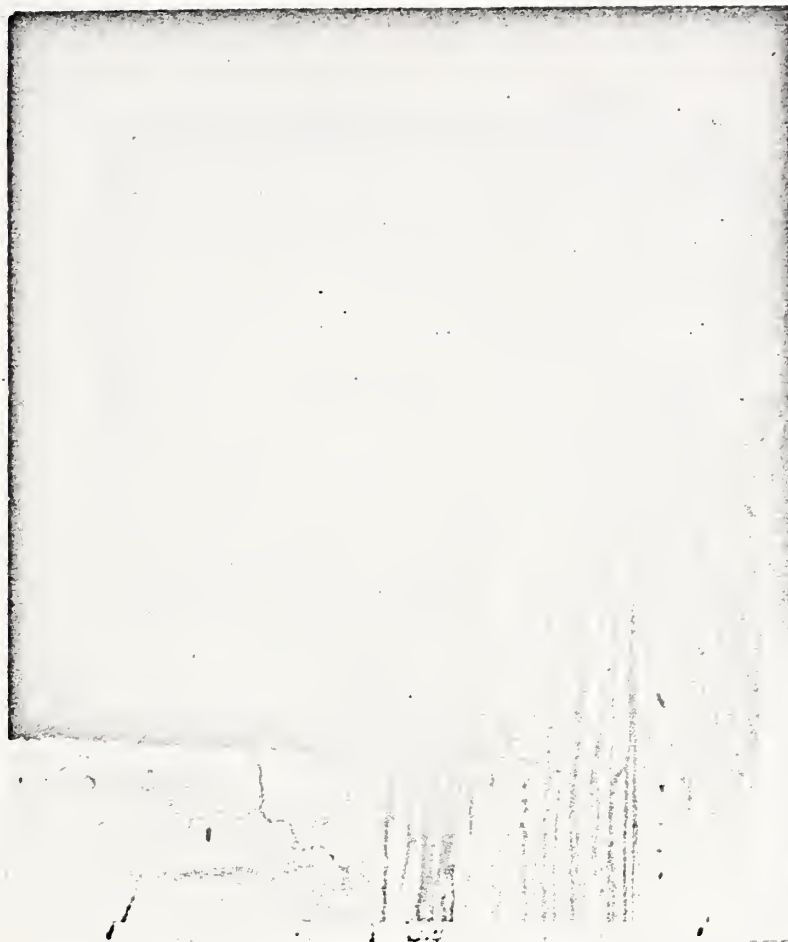
A unique room 'papered' with a fragmented floral design and trim line painted directly on blued plaster. The floral design is applied in green and purple, now much faded, and in proportion and spacing much resembles platok embroidery (cf. C/24, VIII/2). Note also texture of hand-laid plaster.



A/16. Ootischenie, dismantled village. Russian oven.

Note wooden base with ornamental fretwork; inner brick casing visible at door; flat top, allowing for rising of dough, drying, sleeping on cold nights; chimney at front. Oven is insulated with heavy mud coating.

For cooking, the oven was loaded with wood - usually birch, which burns hot - and heated for about two hours. The coals were then swept out with an oven rake (cf. C/4) and goods could be baked for some four to six hours, depending on season and ambient temperature, by means of heat trapped in the oven's case. Interior area c. 3' x 3' x 6'.



A/17. Ootischenie, dismantled village. Russian oven: chimney detail.
Note design of chimney, which passes through one bedroom, rear wall of Room 3 left, supplying some heat; unceiled joists; flat top and trim.



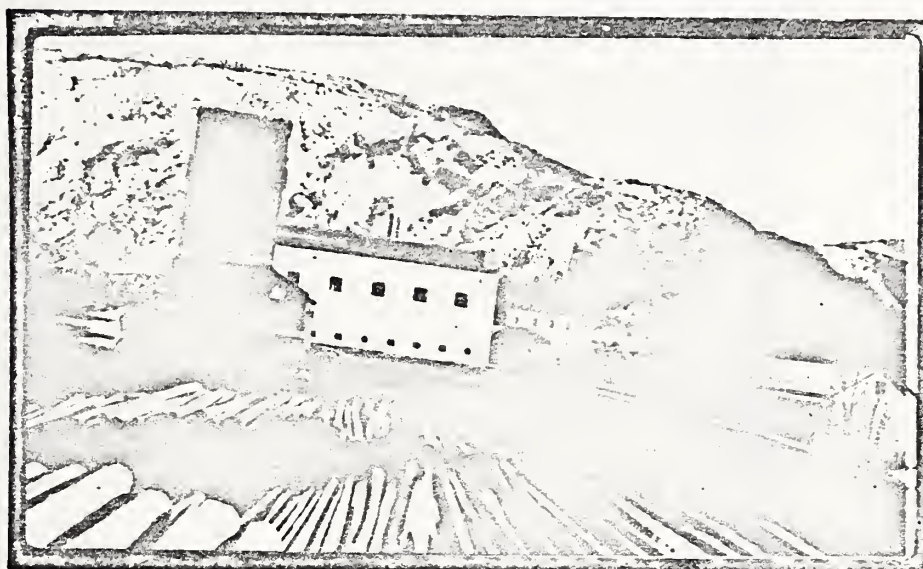
A/18. Ootischenie, dismantled village. Russian oven; Firebox detail.

Note ornamental fretwork of oven base. The steel firedoor's lower lip is turned outword, both bracing it in place and providing a tool to scrape ashes away from oven mouth.



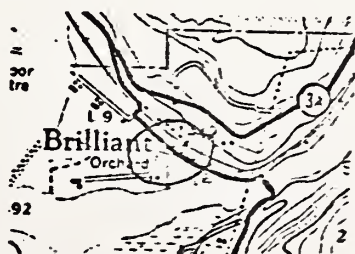
A/19. Blagodatnie, North village. Barn.

A small barn, used apparently for only two cows. The stave construction is not uncommon in smaller buildings, and has been seen in one house, though it is probably not characteristic. Hay storage in upper loft of barn; the shed behind, in dilapidated condition, appears to have served as a dairy.



A/20. Brilliant, c. 1925. C.C.U.B. establishment. Foreground, storage for lumberyard; L. to R.: railroad station, grain elevator, Kootenay-Columbia Jam Factory, warehouse, residences for C.C.U.B. administrative staff. View to East. Author's collection.

In the 1920's and 1930's, Brilliant was the religious, industrial, and executive centre of the C.C.U.B.. Here was the famous Jam Factory, the home of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, and major community warehouses and minor industrial buildings. The Verigin residence was destroyed in the 1930's, and most of the other buildings in the 1940's. Most of these burnings are ascribed to Svobodniki, though on at least one occasion (see Bibliography, Rex versus Alfred J. Cleeton) attempts were made by vindictive Anglo-Saxons to set fires that would be attributed to Doukhobors. It is believed (Field notes, 2/8/71) that the Brilliant C.P.R. station was burnt down in a similar fashion.





A/21. Suspension Bridge, Brilliant--Ootischenie. View to SE.

The bridge was built in 1913 by the C.C.U.B., at a cost of \$70,000. Of this sum, the C.C.U.B. paid \$50,000, the Provincial Government \$20,000, with an undertaking (never fulfilled) to be responsible for maintenance. The bridge remained in active use till 1966, when it was replaced by the present Highway 3a crossing, a few hundred feet down the Kootenay River (E/24).

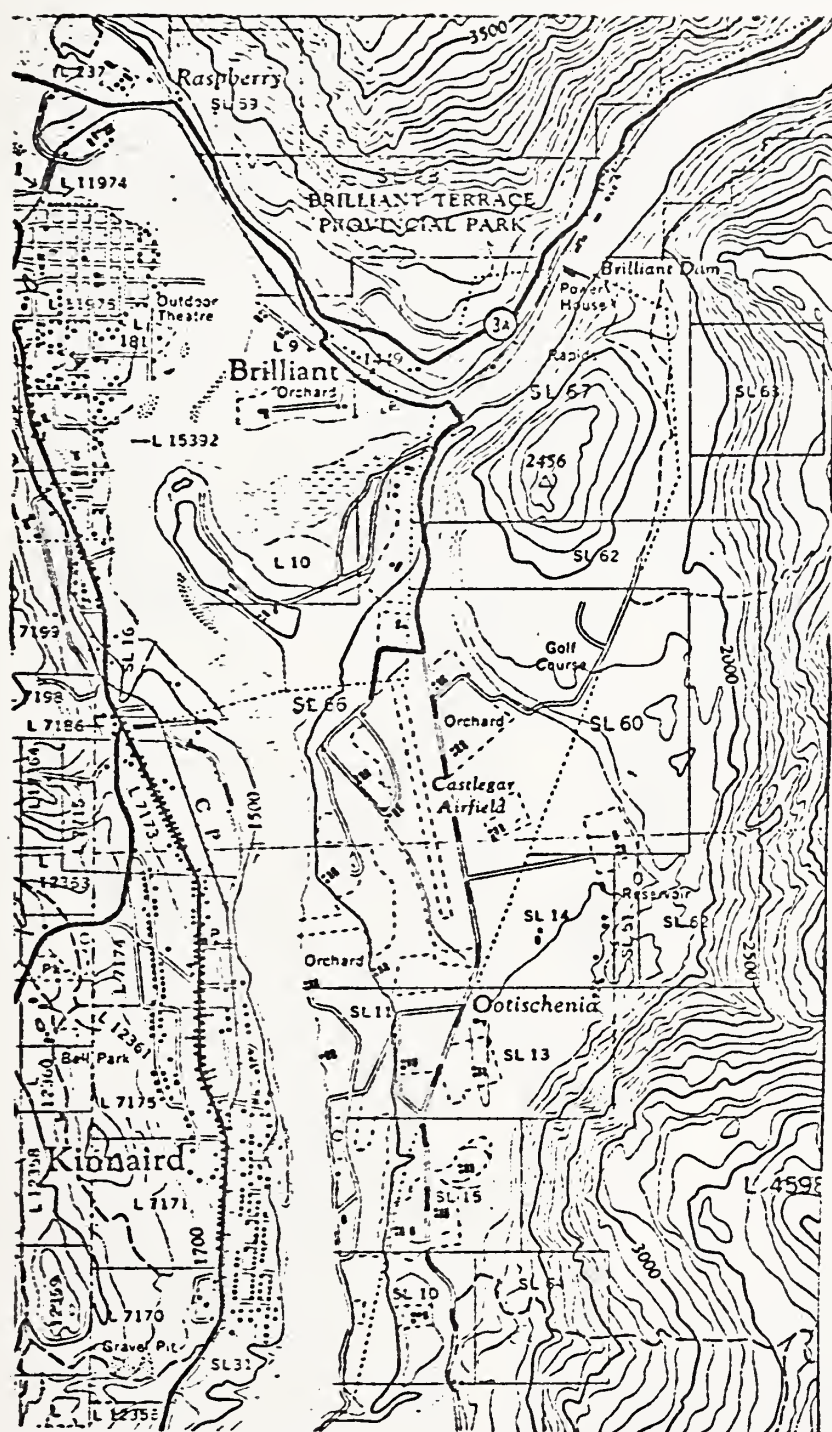


Fig. A/5. Ootischenie. Detail, Canada, Castlegar sheet, 82 F/5 E.
 Grid orientation N. Culture check 1959.
 Comment overleaf.

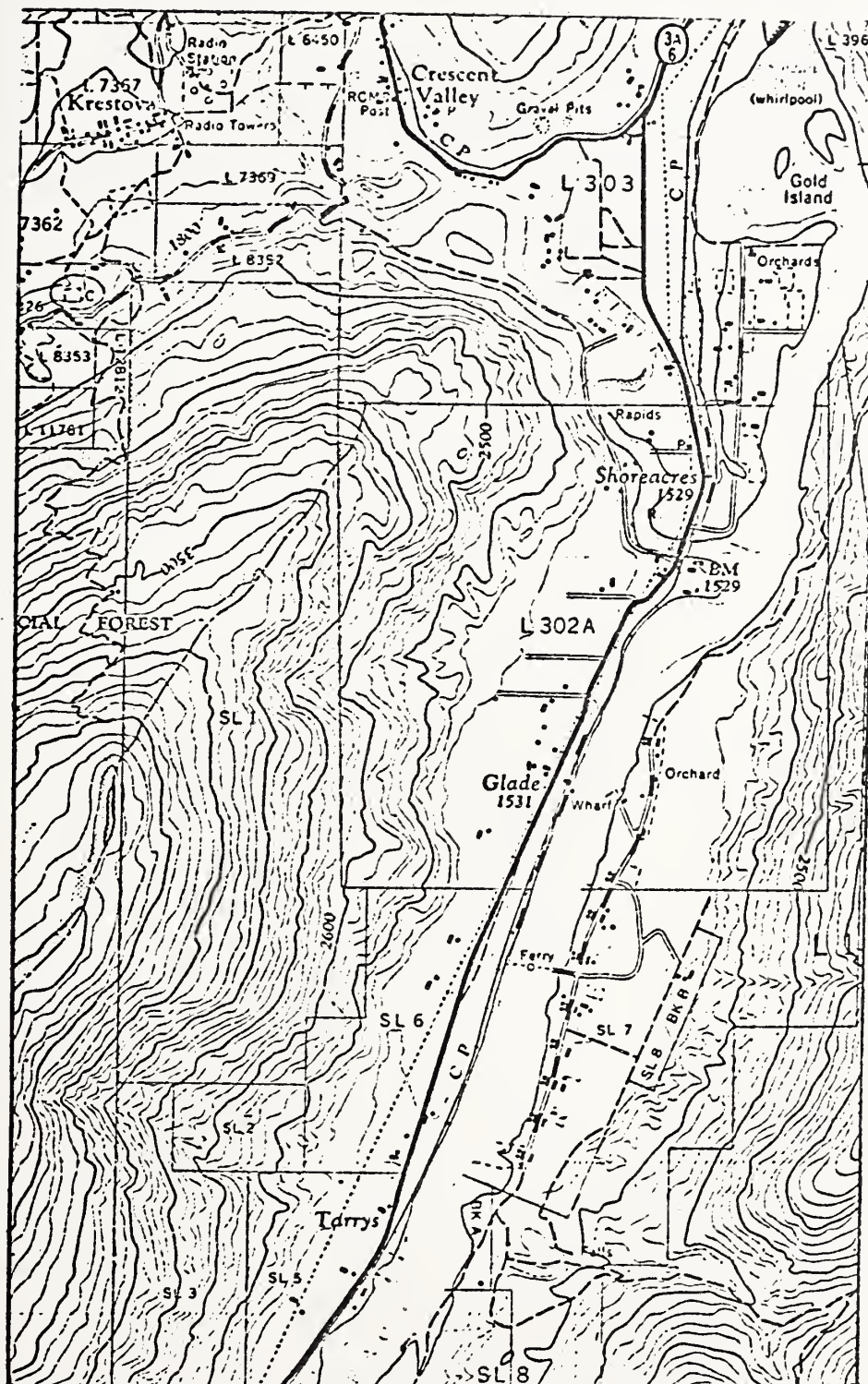


Fig. A/6. Glade. Detail, Canada, Castlegar sheet, 82-F/5 E. Grid orientation N. Culture check 1959.

Note relationships between villages and landscape. Most are oriented towards the Columbia(Ootischenie) and Kootenay(Glade) Rivers, though in Ootischenie the site furthest East is skewed.

slightly, 'enfolded' by the initial slope of the mountain to its rear. The regular spacing between villages is partly an extension of the rectilinear organization already noted, scaled by the 100 acres of arable land allotted to each village. In Ootischenie, the irregular availability of water caused hardships emphasized by the spacing; the reservoir there is a Doukhobor artifact that solved this problem with but partial success (A/5, E. centre). Irrigation projects have only been initiated in the past year or so.

C. British Columbia: Recent and Contemporary Dwellings.

With the collapse of the C.C.U.B. in the early 1940's, the life of the Communal Villages was violently disrupted - not for the first time, but certainly for the last time. B.C. Government 'Trusteeship' meant, to the vast majority of Doukhobors, that they no longer owned their land, their homes, or their livelihood. Local enterprises such as irrigation, and the field and orchard agricultures, were effectively annihilated. The people no longer owned their resources; and if anyone had taken a position of authority, he would have found no-one willing to risk yet another massive loss. Even if such had been found, no capital to support restoration was available, nor would loans be forthcoming: no collateral now existed. If the B.C. Government had forestalled the "social disaster" of mass eviction (Hawthorne 1955, p. 56), it had done so by the creation of a social disaster of mass impotence.

Since that event, the major influence upon living style has been the restoration of land, beginning about 1961 and largely completed by about 1965. In the intervening twenty years, those who were prevented from prospering as a community were encouraged - by, among other things, official attitudes towards the assimilation process - to prosper privately; many accumulated reasonable if not large savings. With these many bought their land outright; others were in many cases backed by the U.S.C.C.

As a result, four major styles of living can be seen today.

These are: residence in the remaining Community Villages, though these establishments are no longer occupied on a communal basis; residence in fragments of Community Villages; residence in houses built about 1940; and residence in houses built within the last ten years.

Independent Doukhobors and some Svobodniki have in the past lived in houses similar to those built by Community Doukhobors just after 1940, to be distinguished from the houses of their Anglo-Canadian neighbours by slightly steeper roof-pitch, unfinished horizontal plank siding, and small size - when distinction is possible. In recent years, a few Svobodniki and most Independents have built conventional homes; houses, at least, are not sectarian.

Many contemporary houses lack a certain amount of exterior and interior finish. In some cases, this is a matter of unwillingness to go into debt; in others, it is the persistence of plain values. The usual evidence is a house complete except for one or more of the following: exterior wall finish; one or more interior walls (usually in living room) deliberately left unfinished; floor finish. Stucco is a favoured exterior finish, since it requires less care than painted wood.

Nearly all houses have been built by the occupants (or, of course, their immediate predecessors). As has been mentioned, floor plans are highly variable, and no uniform style sharper than "Western Contractor-built" appears at present. Interiors are largely furnished from commercial sources, and traditional furnishings beyond textiles are rare.

Bath-houses are still used. These are of a pattern common over all of Northern Europe, and of great antiquity. Most consist of two minimally divided compartments: a dressing/changing area and the bath area proper, which is equipped with a stove with an open-topped steel jacket filled with large stones. A large water container is placed or mounted atop the stove. A fire is built and, when the stones are hot, water is spilt on them, producing plentiful vapour. Bathing usually takes from 10 - 30 minutes, according to preference. Some bathers lash themselves with the boughs of local wild nut trees, "to open the pores," or douse themselves with cold water after the bath for the same purpose (Field notes, 8/8/71). This form of bathing, above others, appears to be considered to best fulfill the Doukhobor ideal of Cleanliness(cf. psalms 1/10; 6/12, 43, 114), an outward sign of an inward virtue.

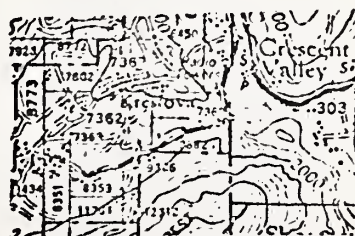
To this section are supplemented a selection of Children's drawings. These were requested from a local school of largely Doukhobor population, and include data relevant to contemporary dwelling patterns.



A/22. Krestova ('[Place of the]Cross'), Upper Village. Aerial photo, 29/11/71. View NNW.

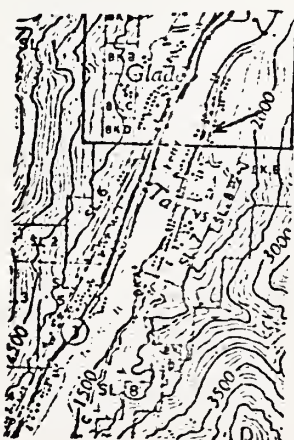
Note buildings laid out side-by-side, and facing across main street; compare with plan of Saskatchewan villages, A/2,4. Most of the buildings in this area cannot antedate c. 1955, but a much earlier - and presumably Russian - village plan has been retained. Note snowfall and compare with other photographs of same date: the area is considerably less hospitable than the Kootenay and Columbia valleys for farming purposes.

In the 1920's and 1930's, a number of Community Villages were situated in this area, but have since been destroyed by fire.





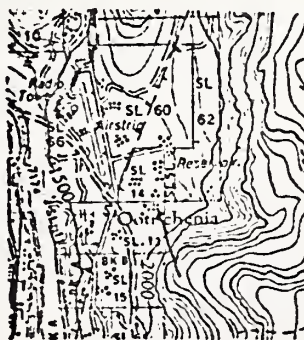
A/23. Glade, 4th. Village North. Aerial photo, 29/11/71. View to E. Example of a Community Village occupied by one or more families living independently. The Kootenay River is just out of sight in the foreground. Note disappearance of outbuildings, bath-house being replaced by roadway; and appearance of small isolated home to left of village; also large garden next to road.





A/24. Ootischenie - village in extreme SE location. View to SE.

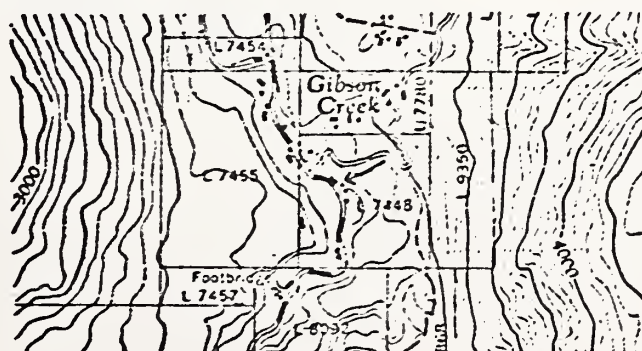
Example of continuing use of partially dismantled Community Village site. One village building remains partially inhabited, and a small separate house is also occupied.

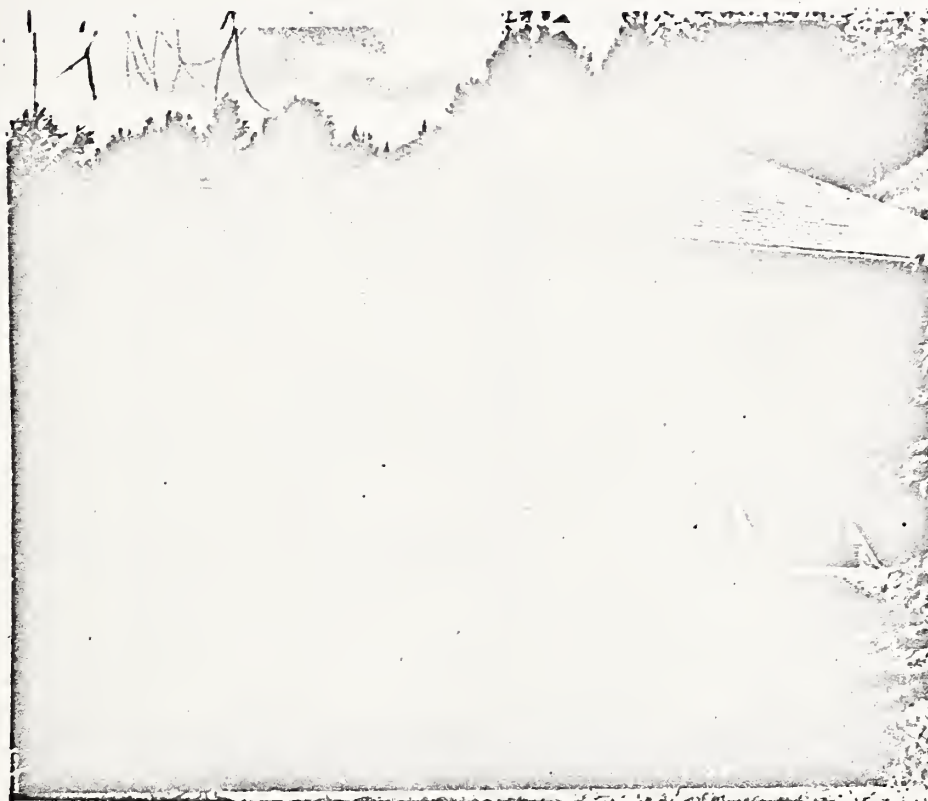




A/25. Strelaieff House (Built by Goluboffs, c. 1940). Front View (NE), 1/6/71. Pass Creek.

A unique house preserving a characteristic Russian feature, the full first-story porch. The house itself is of log construction; the porches are not added, but integral. Rear sides and wall are of fieldstone construction. The porch is valued for clothes-drying in dubious weather: wind will go where rain cannot, and clothes dry outdoors nearly year-round. Note locally-crafted chairs and bench on ground-level porch. Cf. A/1,3, for upper-level porch variants.





A/26. Strelaeff House, Pass Creek. South Side view (view to NNW),
1/6/71.

The first floor is the main living area; the ground floor appears to be mainly used for storage. Approximately floor-plan overleaf.

KEY

1. Living-room area, first floor.
2. Kitchen area, first floor.
3. Porches, upper and lower.
4. Storage room, ground floor.
1. not examined.

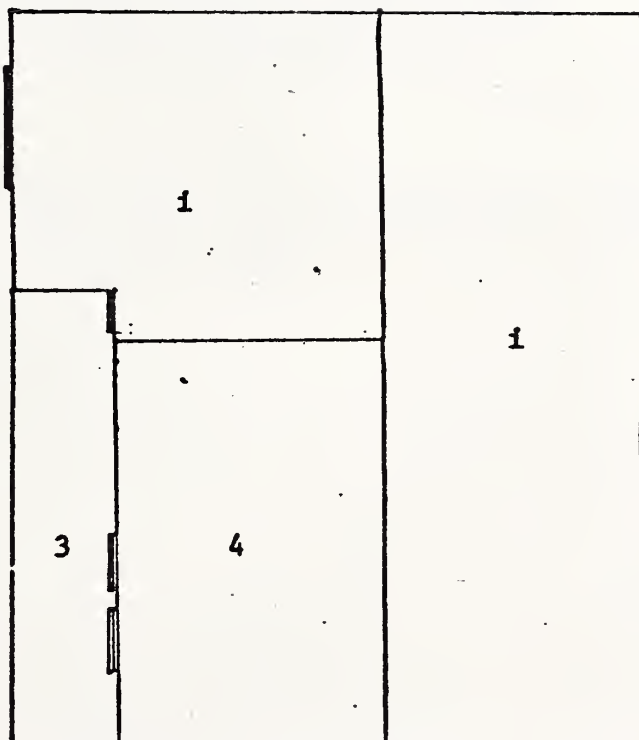
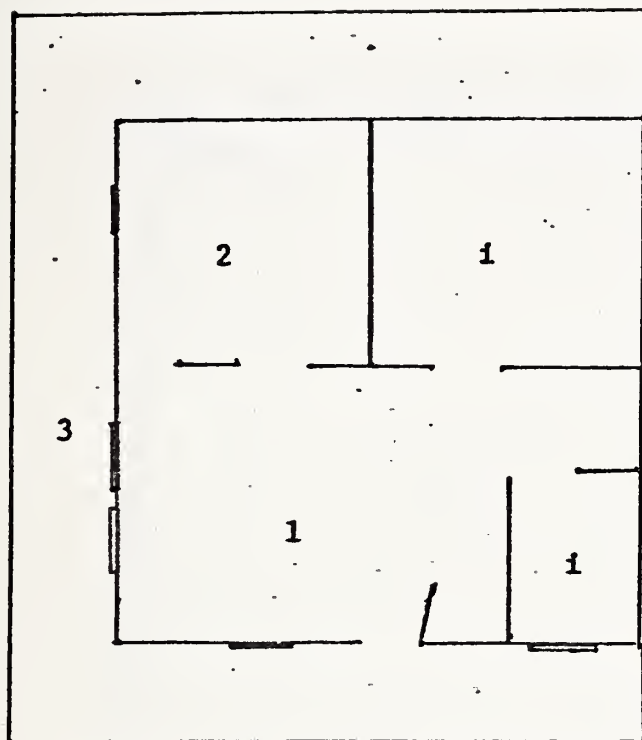


Fig. A/7. Floor Plans, House designed and built by Goluboff family, c. 1940. Orientation approximately NNW. All proportions are approximate, since drawing is based upon photographs and ocular inspection only. Key on p. 471.



A/27. Ozeroff family house, Glade. View c. SW.

A typical contemporary home, awaiting final completion, Note, though, already permanent flower beds. The house is of standard frame construction on a concrete foundation.



A/28. South Village, Glade. Aerial photo, 29/11/71. View to E.
Example of old Community Village area with adjacent recent and independent contemporary houses. Note older structures to right of Village; many newer structures near roadway. (The anomalous white streaks confirm that it is Monday afternoon). This site is next South of A/23.



A/29. Shoreacres, B.C. Aerial photo, 29/11/71. View to ENE. Location c. 1 1/2 miles N. of Glade, W. bank of Kootenay River.

This settlement is occupied by no dwellings of Community Village provenance, since all were destroyed over the years by fire. The thoroughly suburban rectilinear landscape visible here is conditioned by two factors: surveying and parcelling were carried out by the Provincial Government, for resale to Doukhobors; and the U.S.C.C. discourages ownership of land blocks larger than 4 acres. The 'plan' is no longer truly Russian in character, since distances between houses, other houses, and the roads, are no longer similar and proportionate, though an apparent relationship remains and is no doubt enhanced to a degree by traditional patterns. Yet houses are no longer aligned, and a new pattern unique to rural settlement in British Columbia is generated. The same may be seen in an almost exaggerated degree in West Grand Forks.





A/30. Chickenhouse, Ozeroff farm, Glade.

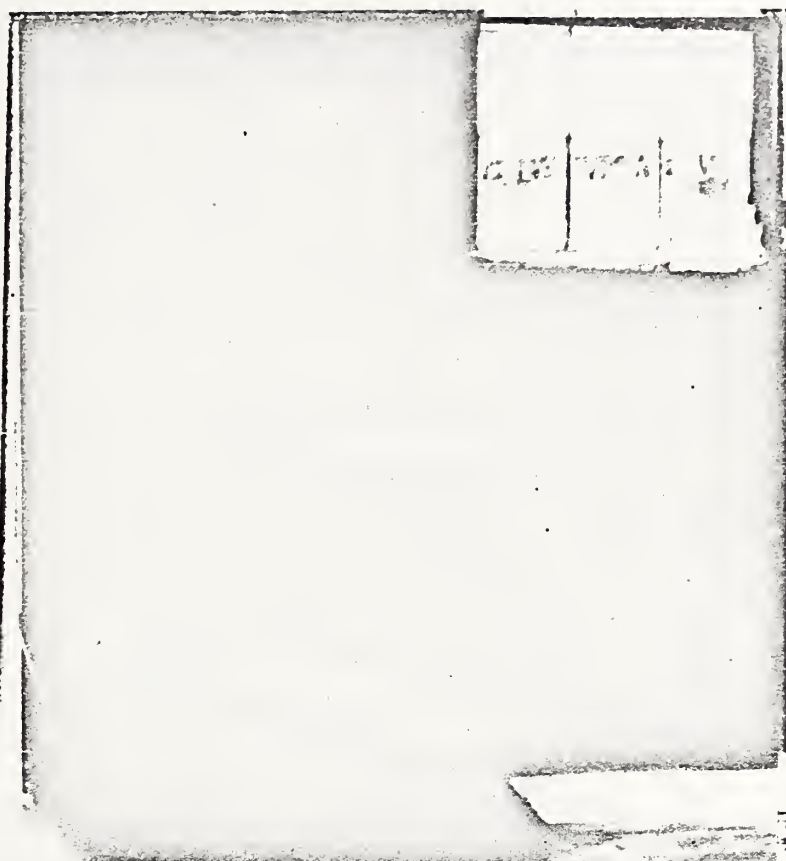
Note stave construction continued in this contemporary structure. Such buildings are not seen outside Doukhobor settlements, but are a significant minority of the small outbuildings in use. (cf. A/19)



A/31. Pereversoff family Bath-house, Pass Creek. 8/8/71. View to E.

Bath-house exterior. Building is c. 14' wide, 10' deep, 8' high, of frame construction, sheathed with planks outside and veneer inside. The walls are filled with sawdust insulation, and the ceiling is covered with sawdust under the roof for the same purpose. Note suspension of chimney.





A/32. Pereversoff family Bath-house, Pass Creek, 8/8/71. Bath-house stove. A converted 45-gallon drum is filled with water and heated from below; when it is at suitable heat, water is ladled out onto the stones forming a partial jacket at the stove's base, producing a plentiful steam. Earlier examples are often fully jacketed with stones, and are considered superior by some users.



A/33. Pereversoff family Bath-House, Pass Creek. 8/8/71. Benches.

These extend slightly over half the room-width from the wall opposite the stove; the lower is about 2', the upper about 3' above floor level. Here the bathers sit during the steaming process.



A/34. Pereversoff family Bath-house, Pass Creek. 8/8/71. Changing area. This is separated from the benches by a shallow partition just to right of the entrance. Bathers may rest or lie on bench (which extends width of room) after initial steaming. Mirror is an old artifact from a Community Village house; rugs are hand-woven. (With grateful thanks to Mrs. Alex Pereversoff, who explained everything).

Supplement: Children's Views of Home and Community.

In March and April 1971, 122 children at the Tarrys Elementary School (Mr. John Plotnikoff, Principal) and the Shoreacres Elementary School (Mrs. J. Waters, Head Teacher) co-operated to produce a collection of drawings. They spread over five grades and seven years of age:

II: 9/ 7-9.

III. 29/8-9.

IV: 32/9-11.

V: 24/10-13.

VI: 28/11-13

Totals: Boys 40, Girls 57, Not Indicated 25.

Children were asked: "To draw Where You Live." If further instructions were asked, no direction was to be given beyond: "It can be anything from your own room up to the community." Four fairly consistent classes of drawings resulted:

1. Room - a single interior view.
2. House - a floor plan; or a house exterior, dominating picture.
3. Landscape - house and site about equally emphasized.
4. Village - 3 or more buildings in relation; or map.

(2) and (3) admit of some overlap; under (3), three drawings showed no buildings at all. No significant preferences by age appeared, except that more Grade VI children drew houses, more Grades II-IV children drew landscapes. As many Grade V children drew Village settings as in all other grades. The developmental aspects of the drawings are

normal or better(more mature) than those of most North American children in rural areas, but this is a fairly subjective opinion based on an admittedly small and uncontrolled sample, and should only be considered for further study, not for immediate conclusion.

Of the 20 children who drew Rooms, 4 selected a living room, 1 a kitchen, and 15 a bedroom, no other rooms appearing. Furnishings noted include beds; chests of drawers with mirrors; carpets, some hand-woven; chairs; record players; desks. One room had posters. Living-room drawings emphasized sofas and television sets, with a number of small bookcases appearing. The kitchen was dominated by a sink with dishes being washed. Ornaments included flowers, curtains, and knick-knacks. Only three drawings stressed pictures as such, an odd datum, since these are not uncommon in Doukhobor homes.

To these, the other pictures add: domestic animals (cats, chickens, dogs, cattle, horses, by frequency); flowers (potted and in ornamental borders); many playground-sets of swings; automobiles; vegetable gardens; carports and garages, some with tractors; tricycles and bicycles; birdhouses, barns, and outbuildings; a few television antennae, screen doors, fields, and creeks; the Glade ferry; 5 clotheslines with washing; and 1 each of a snowman, ball-basket, 'pond for ducks', dog-house, railroad, highway, and service station.

30 of the 122 children taking part included the mountains of their district with great skill; at least six residents of the Glade-Shoreacres area are fully aware of the general proportions and relations of the mountainous backdrop of their home community, and reproduce it in quite

recognizable fashion. Many also reproduce old orchard trees with great accuracy.

House styles shown are all rectilinear, mostly one-story. Some 'contractor' decoration, such as wrought-iron railings, chimneybox flowerbeds, and mixed exterior finishing media, are recorded. Many drawings include earlier houses (one labelled 'Grandmother's House').

As a general rule, Boys preferred to draw in the House and Village classes, Girls preferred the Room and Landscape classes. These figures seem reliable, given the distributions found; none approach a clean split.

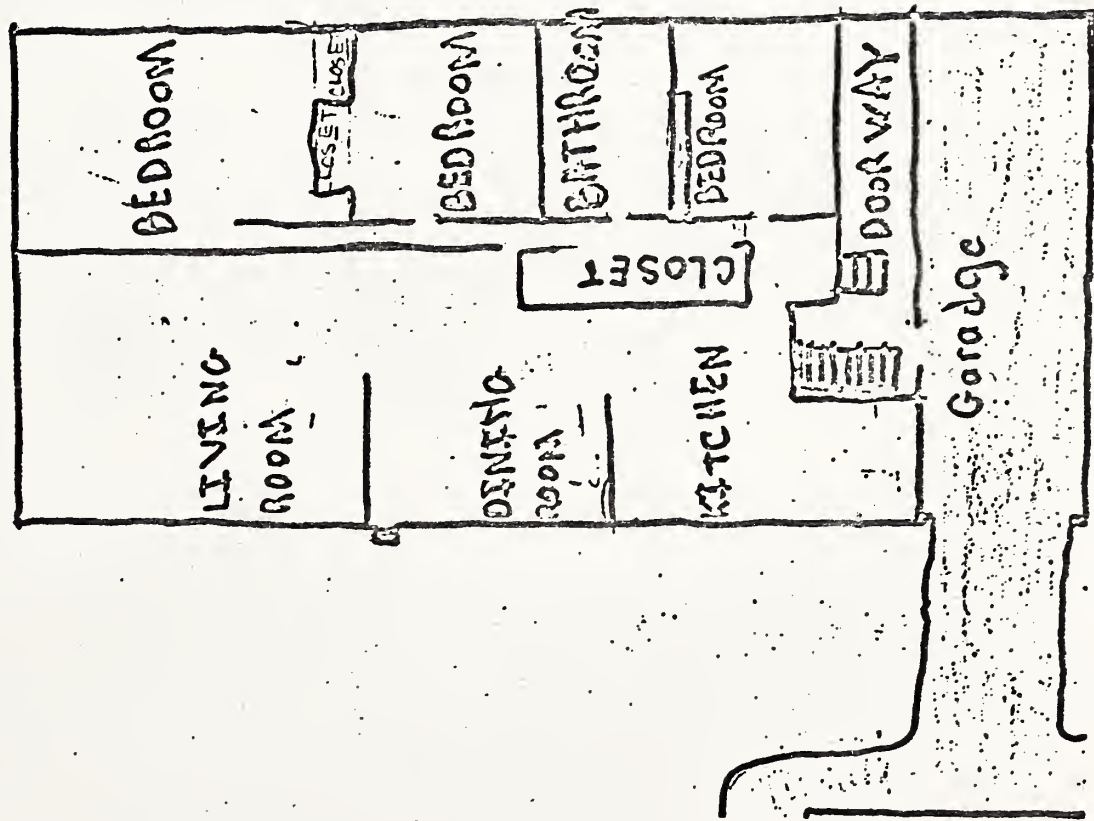
It is not suggested that any sweeping conclusion be drawn from this exercise; the pictures convey much information, but it is not always directly reliable as an iconographic source of data - witness the treatment of pictures. If any one element appears, and should be noted, it is the tendency of many children to include small groups (three or less) of buildings in their residence models, though these buildings may not be associated directly or necessarily with 'friends'. It may at least be argued that the children have no inhibitions against seeing themselves as part of some kind of community by mere fact of residence.

Black and white facsimiles of some representative drawings are included here to illustrate the comments above and to give a general impression of the quality of material. The two house plans are included as a useful supplement to contemporary house style information; though

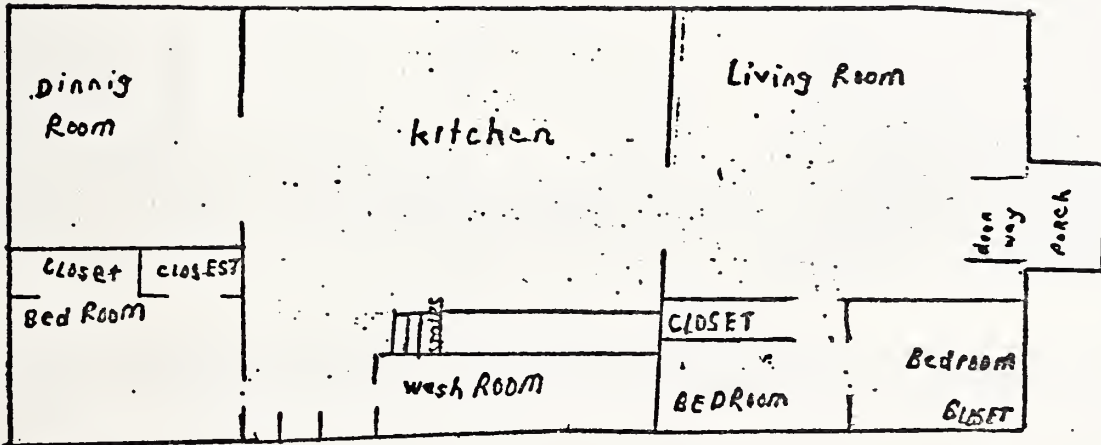
their proportions are not necessarily reliable, the numbers, types, and relationships of rooms will be. The drawings are as follows:

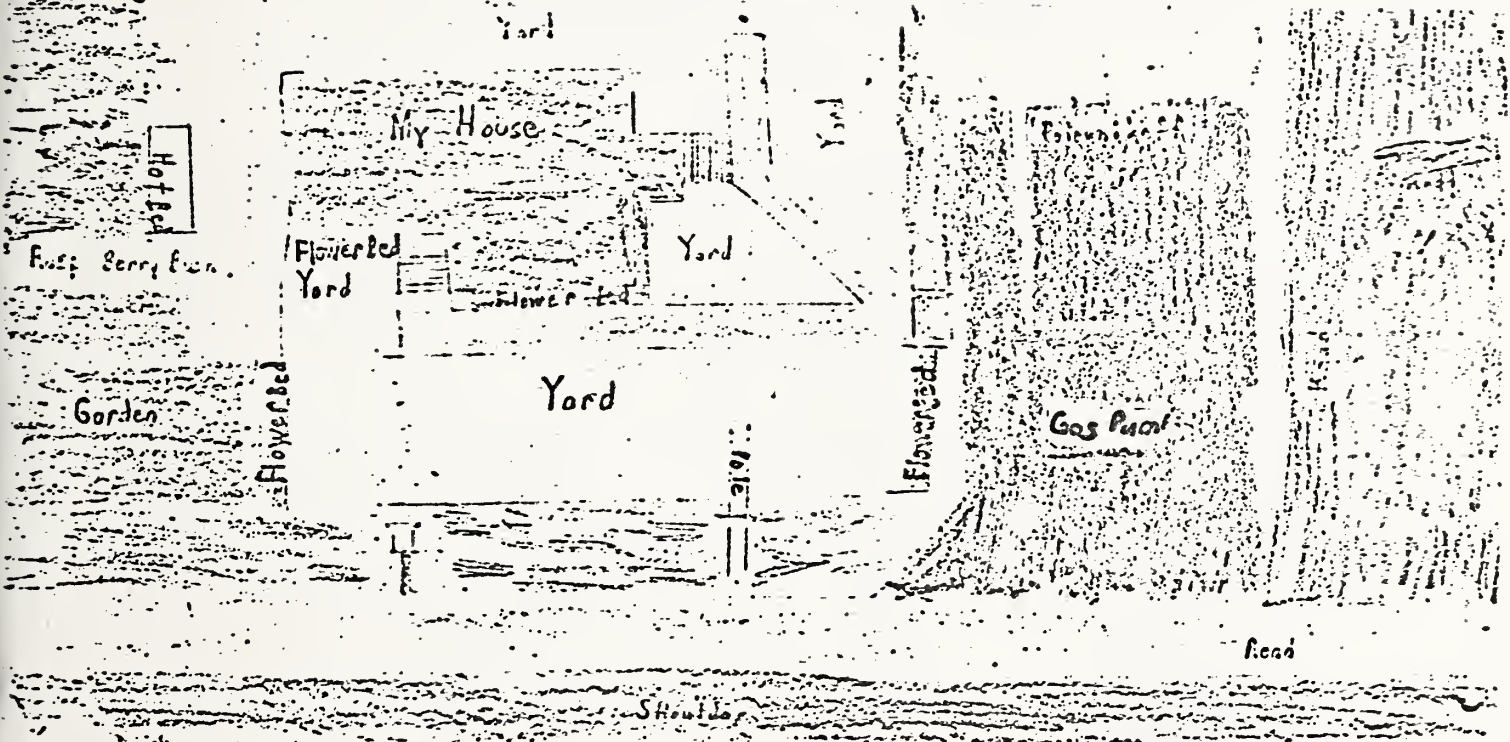
- a. Joe S., 11 years. House plan.
- b. Freddy Z., 13 years. House plan.
- c. Sammy P., 10 years. Map. Note agricultural areas.
- d. Nettie C., 9 years. Bedroom interior. Note handloomed rug.
- e. Violet S., 10 years. House exterior. Note window-box.
- f. Bonnie S., 11 years. House exterior.
- g. B. Wasilenkoff, 9 years. House exterior; Glade mountains.
- h. Dennis D., 9 years. Landscape. Note old apple trees.
- i. Patsy T., 9 years. Landscape. Note neighbour's house, boat-house by Kootenay River, barn with cultivators, old apple trees.
- j. Eilenna D., 11 years. Landscape. Identified as Glade by road to ferry on opposite bank of Kootenay River. Note orchard; 'Grandmother's House.'

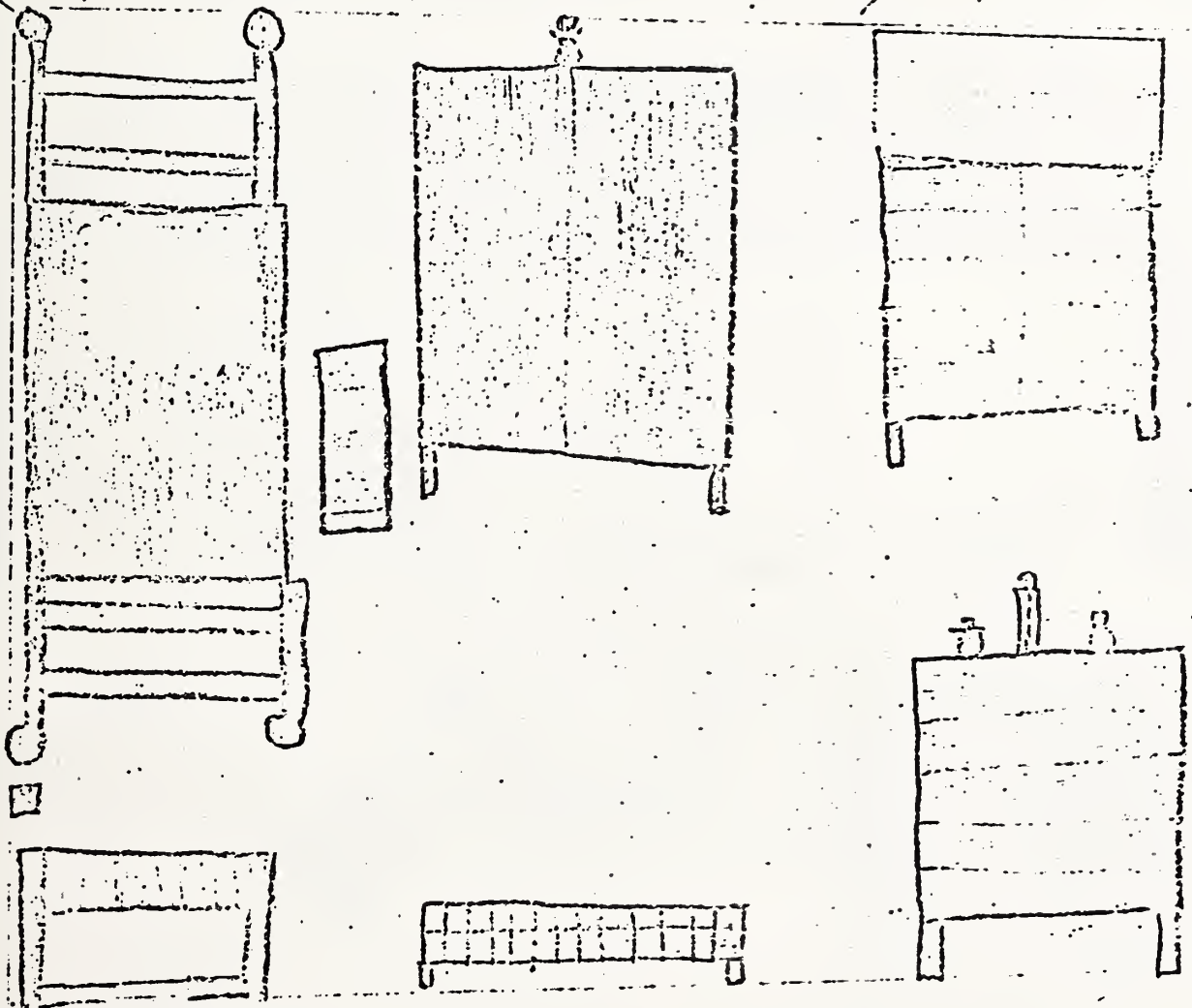
WHERE I LIVE

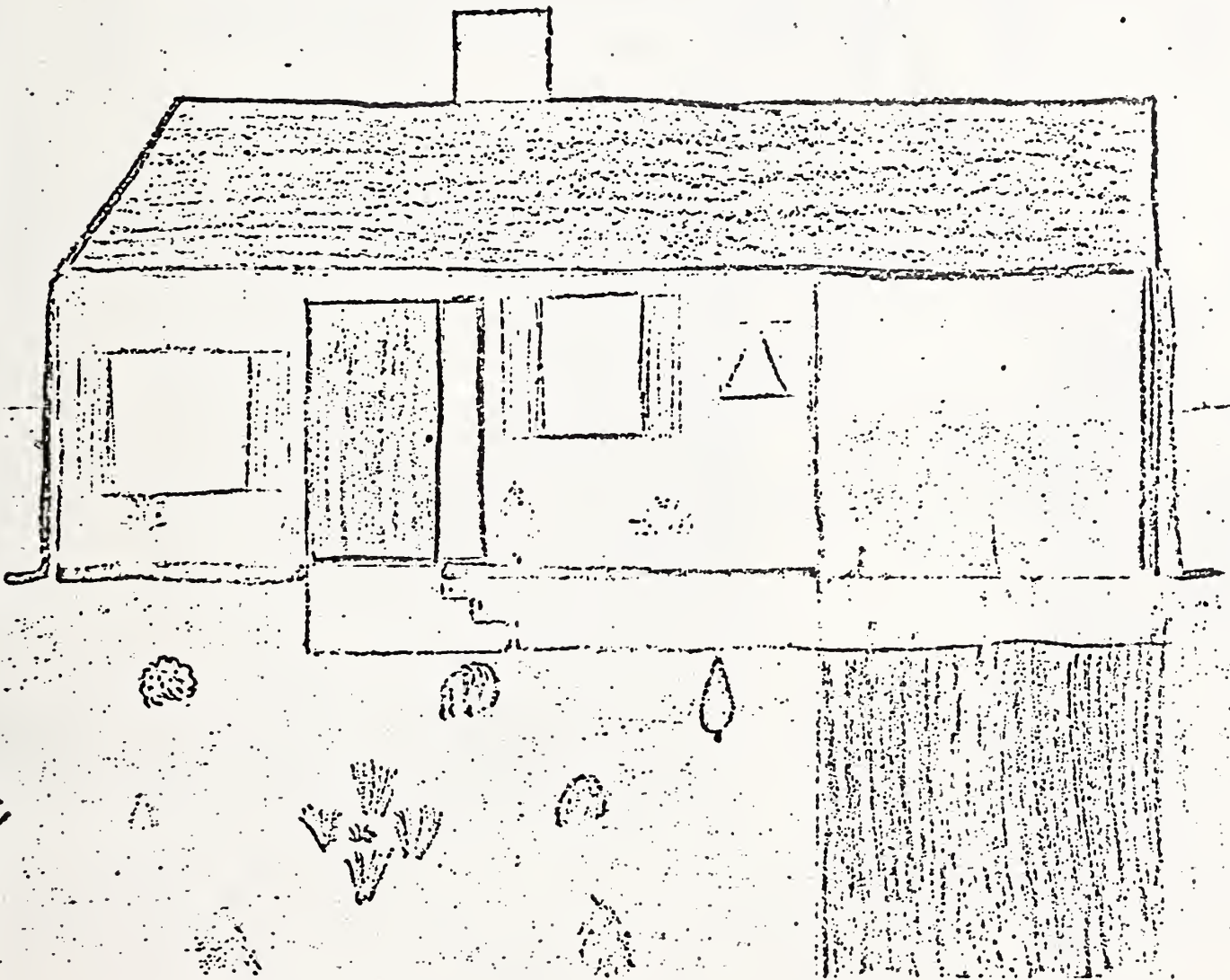


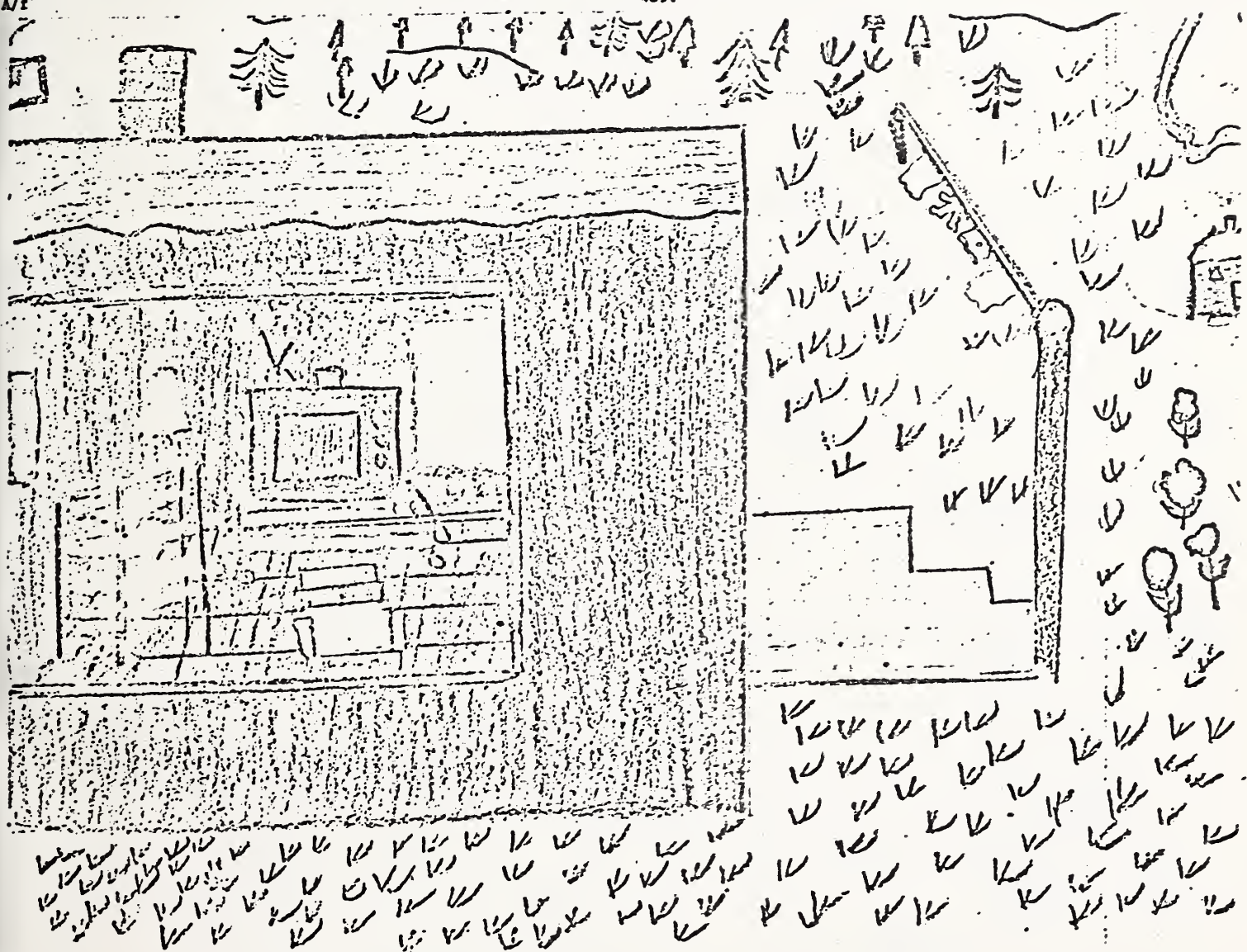
Where I Live







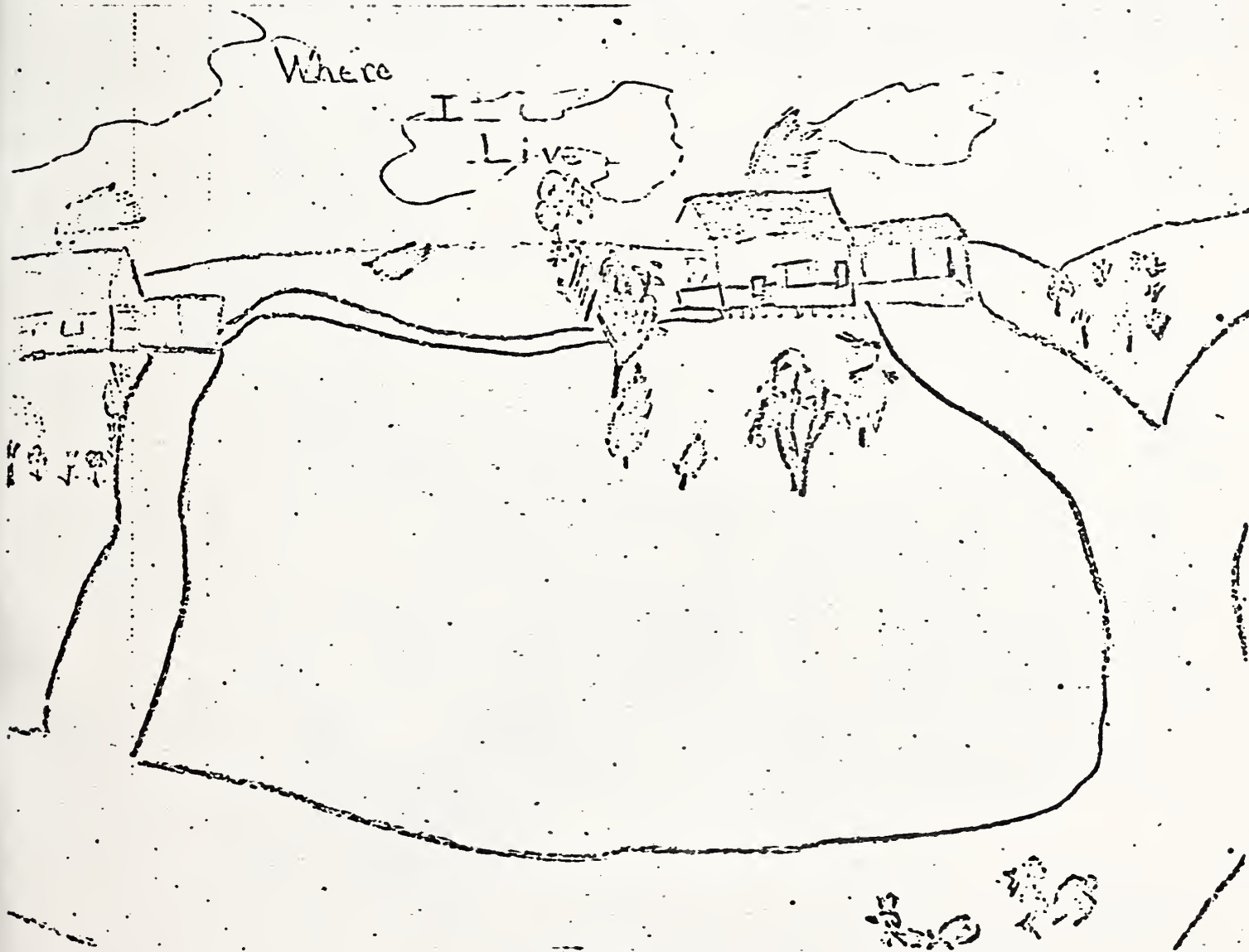


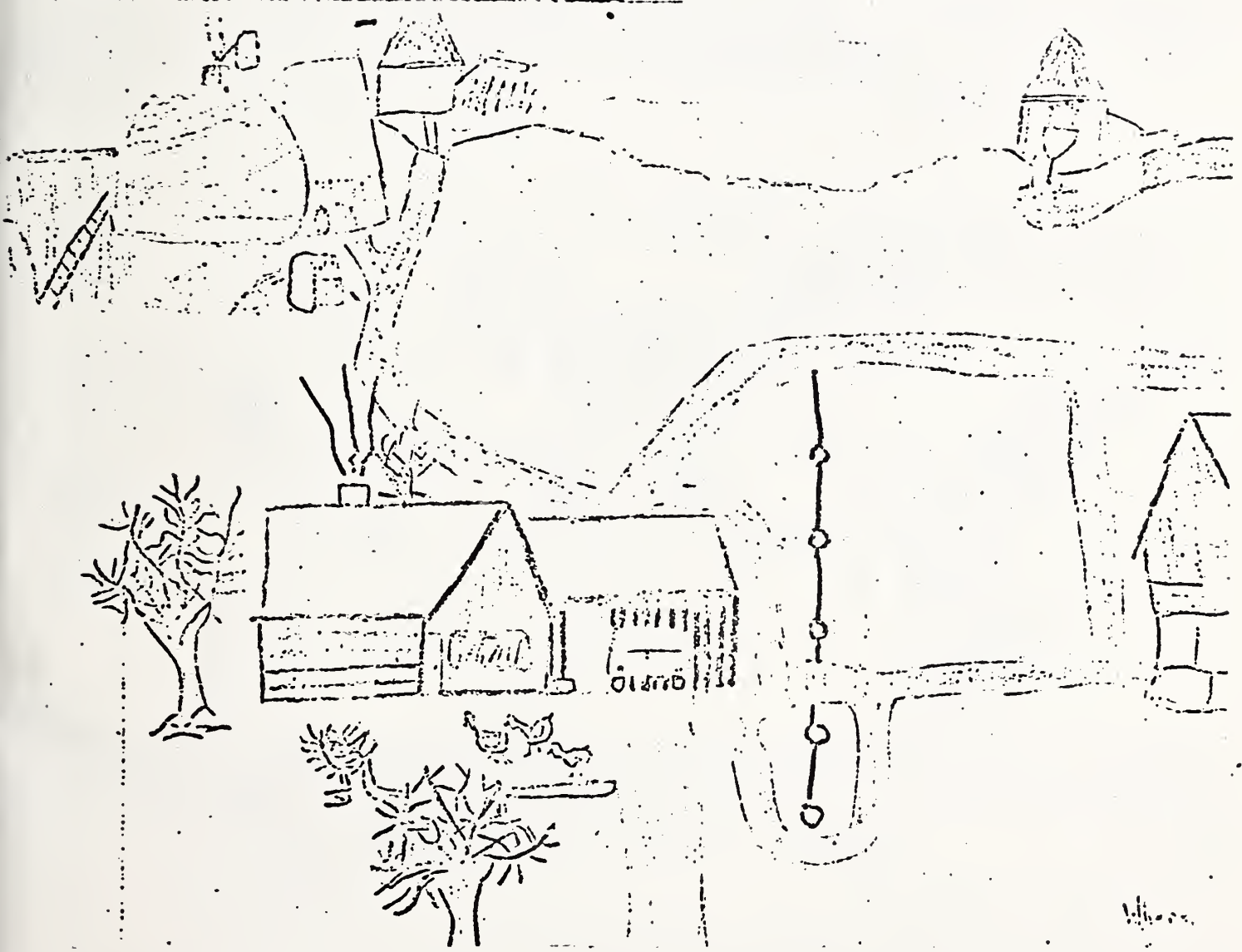


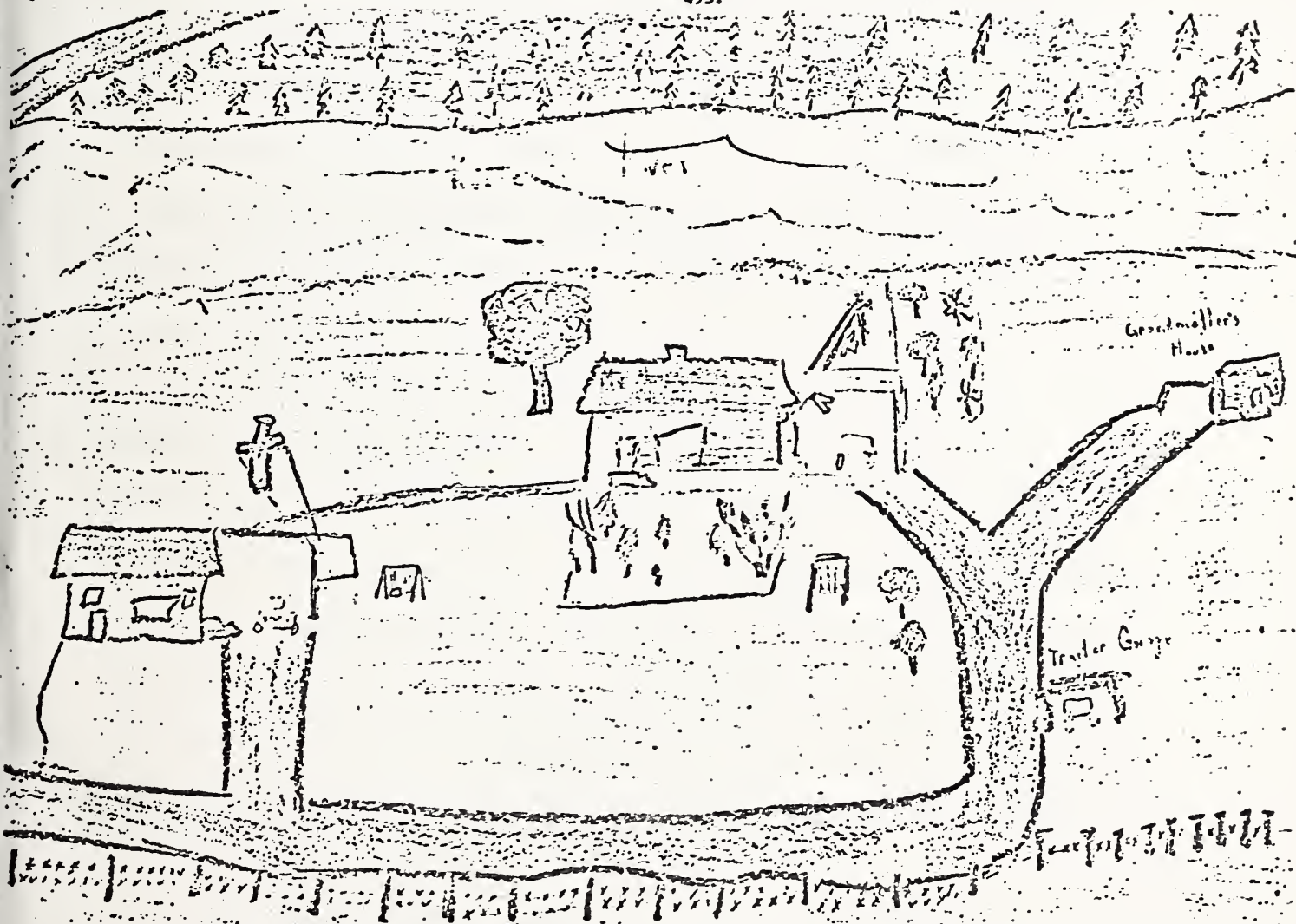


Where

I Live







II. Foodways: Gardens and Cookery.

For at least the last three-quarters of a century, ideal Doukhobor cookery has been vegetarian, a practice firmly established during the revitalization period of the 1890's, though not uncommon previously.

In Saskatchewan and British Columbia, individual villages were made responsible for large-scale agricultural production. It is not clear whether or not the two-family houses of the Saskatchewan villages had their independent gardens, but certainly the communes of British Columbia were expected to maintain both the large, approximately 100-acre tracts upon which each was situated, and kitchen gardens directly beside the buildings (cf. Bockemuhl 1968, pp. 36-39), which mainly supplied herbs. From this land were supplied, by quota and barter, the needs of the individual village, of the full Community, and the requirements of villages specializing in other types of produce. Surpluses beyond village needs satisfied Community quotas, supplied Community flour mills or the Brilliant Jam Factory, or were sold at local markets. While Bockemuhl mainly records Orchard, Grain, and Potato agriculture, it is obvious that vegetables were produced on a large scale.

In British Columbia, cooking was a community matter in the villages, and certain families took turn about preparing food. The great Russian ovens already described were used for baking (A/16-18); once warmed, they could be used for a day. Slightly smaller versions were used in the homes in Saskatchewan, as depicted (B/1); one such is still said to



B/1. Baking bread in Saskatchewan in 1899. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

The tool in use serves both for scraping out ashes after oven is heated, and for managing pans of bread or other baked goods. Note woman in doorway with ornately formed carrier for dairy products, and mens' boots drying beside oven.

survive in use, but this use is a matter of occasional enjoyment rather than of daily necessity. A fire is built in the oven, burns down, and is scraped out; then pans are placed in the oven till the contents cook. Wood stoves were used for other cooking, but canning could be done with the big ovens. Timing is a matter of experience, though the ovens are even in heating.

Since the collapse of the C.C.U.B. and the dispersal of people to individual land allotments, most West Kootenay Doukhobors live on lots of approximately 4 acres, of which usually about one half-acre is devoted to a garden. These are privately maintained; the Community gardens, of course, were worked communally(B/2). Other land may be used to support a few cattle, goats, or fowl. The practice of using hotbeds and forcing frames is continued from Village days, and may include the use of indoor seed sets and of small greenhouses; the latter will produce very creditable cucumbers by early April(Field notes, 13/4/71). Women are generally responsible for the gardens, although men will often be expected to help with such heavy work as the setting up of tomato frames or the use of small machinery (Field notes, 12/7/71). Major crops are potatoes, peas, beans, tomatoes, onions, garlic, carrots, cucumbers, beetroot, radishes, and sunflowers. Herbs such as mint, dill, and horseradish are grown, and wild herbs such as Lambs' Quarters and a root resembling Ginseng are gathered or encouraged. Some people maintain hives, but no specific bee fodder seems to be grown, and the most common, clover, is rather associated with pasture for larger livestock.



B/2. Women weeding field, Ootischenie, c. 1925. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

In spite of the ascription, it seems more likely that the women are thinning a setting of carrots. Work like this was done by all ages of women; one-and-a-half hours work to one-half or three-quarters of an hour's rest was average.

The only distinctive tools used are wooden rakes made locally by a very few craftsmen, and not used universally, and hand-cultivators that differ from most factory-made examples in this area by having three rather than five curved tines (cf. C/3). Hand-made iron rakes (ibid.) are not uncommon, but do not seem to be produced any more.

The photograph(B/3) shows a portion of a contemporary garden in mid-Summer, as maintained by two members of one family.

All women who keep garden can a large amount of vegetables, often pickling beetroot and cucumbers. While orchards are not maintained, many utilize old trees or trees used in more recent landscaping; chief among these are apples and cherries, then plums and pears. The latter three fruits are commonly canned. It is by no means unusual for one woman to lay up between six and eight hundred quarts of preserves every season; the surplus may be sold next year (or retained as security against the following winter), but much of what remains beyond the family's immediate needs is given away to guests, relatives, friends, and needy neighbours. Seeds are kept for next year's planting, which is expedited by generous sowing and subsequent thinning. In several areas it is a matter of mild competition to be the first to have one's garden in, in Spring; on the few occasions when early gardens are nipped by late frosts, those who were not so impatiently industrious are ostentatiously amused.

Root crops are stored in root-cellars, but at present no other structures seem to be used specifically for produce storage. The interaction of Doukhobor Vegetarianism with the Health Foods movement - an



B/3. Ozeroff family garden, Glade. View to SW. July 1971.

Mrs. Alex Ozeroff (foreground) is speaking to her mother, right. The vines to her left are probably raspberries; behind and slightly left of them, being watered, are lettuce and young beans (with poles); the foreground bed probably consists of first-year garlic, which is left to winter in the ground before being harvested the following fall. Not visible to the extreme right of the area shown are rhubarb and a small forcing-frame.

interaction which may well go back to the Doukhobor visits to and settlements in California of the 1920's - has produced a strong emphasis on the use of organic rather than chemical fertilizers, usually composts. A few individuals have learned and are spreading the practice of straw-mulching over winter and for weed-control.

Sunflower seeds are grown and dried, and are used by a large proportion of the population as a snack; this practice is sufficiently widespread and idiosyncratic to be used by local Anglo-canadians as a means of identifying the composition of a departed crowd (the residue of empty seed shells being diagnostic), and to form the key-word in the chorus of a song of genially slanderous blaison populaire, Sunflower Seeds, wryly sung by young Doukhobors. It should be noted, however, that a large proportion of Anglo-canadian children throughout their school years assimilate the practice of eating the seeds. Young Doukhobors themselves sometimes refer to the seeds as "Krestova Krunchies" (Field notes, 12/5/71); the term is not widely known among Anglo-canadians, and seems to have associations of conservatism rather than of prejudice.

Indian Hemp was used extensively in Russia as a source of fine linen; cloth woven from it, as judged from one fine century-old piece (Field notes, 12/7/71) is tough, supple, and has a fine glazed, almost "mercerized" quality. The herb was apparently grown widely in the 1920's and '30's; the seeds were pressed for a cooking oil, and fried for a snack. One informant commented, "You had some of those seeds and then you didn't feel hungry all day." (Field notes, 31/1/71). Some older people still prepare a herb tea from the plant, as a mild sedative.

In spite of the doctrinal ban on alcoholic drinks, some Doukhobors prepare a mild wine (KBAC, 'kvass'; the name was formerly used for a drink of vegetable - chiefly cucumber - juice) from surplus berries, cherries, plums, etc.. One highly admired local product is made with birch sap collected in late winter rather than with water. It should be noted here that such products tend to have a fame almost disproportionate to the actual volume of production.

It seems probable that the techniques of cottage industry were simply expanded, rather than altered, when the Kootenay-Columbia Jam Factory at Brilliant was in production. While the merest handful of photographs remains to give any clue as to its operation, that reproduced here (B/4) implies that production was a small-team matter, and traditional cooking methods would apparently have been employed.

A wide range of fairly familiar Russian foods are used by Doukhobors, but several of them have special functions, and are described by Doukhobors themselves as 'traditional food.' Earlier reporters have mentioned the foods, though not in any detail regarding cookery, and the first Cookbook was, apparently, that of Verigin and Gulley (1957), printed locally and still distributed by the U.S.C.C., the Practical Cook Book.

Tarasoff (1964, pp. 108-114) notes that Peter Gospodnie Verigin gave up the use of meat in 1893; this would have become customary for most Doukhobors some time in the next six years; thenceforth strict Doukhobor diet was to rely upon vegetables, grains, fruits, and dairy



B/4. Girls in Brilliant Jam Factory: posed photograph. Note cans, cloth sieve, and additional cans on side table. c. 1928. Author's collection.

products.(cf. psalms 144/9, Basic Rules.../Nine). Eggs were accepted as a vegetarian food - as is fowl, by some strict observers - in spite of their animal origin, and the fact that to consume an egg is, presumably to destroy a chick. Most informants claim that an old phrase legitimizes this hard-to-classify food, but cannot recall it, and are content to live with the anomaly(Field notes, 17/5/71; 5/8/71). One, however, says(Field notes, 13/4/72):

Basically, the rule applies to food from animals[Mammals]. My mother says, there is a prophecy of one of the old leaders: "The Doukhobors would someday eat two-legged but not four-legged." Chickens, birds, have only two legs, but four-legged animals we must not eat.

With the identification of a range of food as acceptable in religious terms, the same range of food became a trait of the society possessing the religion; thus the use of the food reinforces Doukhobor identity. Quantitative data is not available at this time, but it seems likely that even the most estranged individuals use some traditional foods frequently. It has been noted elsewhere that some people use unsound economic arguments to justify their adherence to the religious prescriptions; such arguments may in actuality be offered the outsider, in order to placate him, and to permit the speaker to cling to as much of his Russian identity as he can permit the in-pressing majority society to grant him.

In the 1920's a fair number of Independent Doukhobors visited California, and some lived there for a while or settled permanently, eventually becoming assimilated(Maloff MS, 352 ff., 384 ff.). Some kind of contact has been maintained with these and other - especially Molokan-

- assimilated Russians, and with other individuals. Hence it seems possible that some interaction may have existed at a quite early date between Doukhobors and the Southern Californian proponents of the Health Food movement. Certainly Doukhobors have for many years been adherents of the movement, usually in a more rational manner than was generally common in the past in North America. They retain the strictures against untested chemical additives, and in favour of absolute purity of packaged produce. Thus many families operate small flour-milling machines for their own use, and a large mill has been established in the Grand Forks area that produces whole-wheat and unbleached white flours of superior quality.

From such flours are breads made, which are used for meals - especially with Borscht - and on the table in the Molenye Dom (Gulley & Verigin 1957 is the source of this and following recipes):

Khleb (ХЛЕБ) - Whole Wheat Bread: 5 c. whole wheat flour, 6 1/2 c. white flour, 3 t. salt, 4 tbs. melted shortening, 1 pkg. yeast, 4 c. warm water, 1/2 c. warm water (or milk).

Have all ingredients at room temperature. Into small mixing bowl put 1/2 c. warm water, yeast, 2 tsp. sugar. Blend and cover and let rise 10 minutes. Now into a large bowl put 4 c. warm water, salt and whole wheat flour. Mix well with spoon. Add melted shortening, yeast, and remaining flour and knead with the hands. If dough sticks to hands, rub shortening over them and knead till it does not stick.

Rub sides of bowl with shortening, cover and let dough rise till double in volume. This should require about two hours in a warm place from 75° to 80°. Then punch down and let rise once more till double in bulk. Shape dough into loaves and put into well greased loaf pans. Makes about four loaves. Cover and let rise till double in bulk. Bake in 350° oven for 1 hour. Cool and store (p. 23).

White bread: 5 c. water, 14 c. flour, 1 heaping t. salt, 1/3 c. melted butter (or shortening), 1 pkg yeast, 1/2 c. water, 2 t. sugar.

Into 1/2 c. water put 2 t. sugar and 1 pkg of yeast. Set in a warm place to rise until the cup is full. Then put 5 c. lukewarm water in large bowl, add the salt and the raised yeast and half of the melted butter. Add once sifted flour a little at a time and mix by hand. Knead until it does not stick to hands. When all the flour is used, scrape the side of the container and butter sides. Pour the remaining butter on hands and knead down until it is elastic and shiny. Cover dough and put in a warm place to rise. When double in bulk, punch down, let rise again and punch down and let rise a third time to double in size. Then form into loaves and put into buttered loaf pans. Punch the loaves with a fork in a few places to removed bubbles of air. Let rise to double in size, then bake for 1 hour in 350°-400° oven. If the crust is not a nice brown, increase heat last 10 minutes. This recipe makes 4 good sized loaves. (p. 23).

Breads are characteristically fairly dense. They are associated with traditional foods, but are agreed by most to be universal, and seem only to take on a special quality in their significatory use in the Molenye emblems.

Borscht is a vegetable-and-dairy soup, although to call it a soup is a gross understatement. Its composition varies both seasonally, and from cook to cook, but the following is a fundamental recipe:

Borstch - put 2 1/2 quarts of water to boil in large kettle. Add 1/2 c. canned tomatoes. When water is boiling drop in 5 or 6 med. size potatoes peeled and cut in halves. Chop 1 large carrot, cut fine and add. Add 1/2 small peeled beet. Salt to taste after adding 1 small chopped onion.

While this is cooking, put into a frying pan 3 tbs. butter. when melted add 3/4 c. onion chopped fine. Let cook a few min., but do not let brown. Add 3 c. canned tomatoes and let simmer with onion and butter till a thick sauce. Set to back of stove.

Into a separate frying pan put 2-3 tbs. butter to melt. Add 2 c. shredded cabbage and fry. Cook tender but do not brown. Shred another 2 c. raw cabbage to add later to the borstch.

When potatoes are tender, remove them to bowl. Add 2 tbs. butter, mash well, then add 1/2 c. sweet cream and mix well and set aside. When you remove the potatoes, also remove the beet and discard it [this is usually but not always done]. Add 1 1/2 c. diced raw potatoes to stock. Also add 1/2 c. of the onion-tomato sauce and 2 tbs. butter to the borstch. When diced potatoes are tender, put the remainder of the shredded cabbage in. Bring just to the boiling point but do not let it boil. Reduce heat or set to back of stove and add the mashed potatoes mixture and the fried cabbage.

Now add the remainder of the onion-tomato sauce. Add 1/2 c. fresh green peppers chopped and a few shakes of black pepper. Stir well. Add 1 t. fresh or dried dill.

This borstch is now ready to serve. Serve hot. If some desire a hot pepper flavour, serve separately a small dish of hot peppers (i.e., cayennes) and let each individual season to taste. NOTE:- if any of the borstch is to be kept over for another day and there is no refrigeration available, be sure to add mashed potato mixture to borstch with the raw cabbage. Then add onion-tomato sauce and fried cabbage and bring to boil (p.13).

Many women prepare a week's supply and refrigerate it while not in use; with no meat content, the soup keeps well and does not ferment, and, under refrigeration is held by most to improve with about a week's aging. The cooking techniques are such that the onion and cabbage retain a good deal of crispness. Seasonal variants include the use of Dandelion and (blanched!) rhubarb leaves in the place of, or supplementing, the cabbage. When a meal is served, borscht is the first course; bread, with butter and (often) sliced cheese, if offered with it. Borscht is present at all 'traditional banquets', as festivals, weddings, and funerals. Its ethnicity is recognized in the proverb used when someone (not always an outsider) judges a Russian trait by Anglo-canadian standards:

"Soup is soup, and borscht is borscht: How could they be the same?!"

Pereghee(cf. Ukrainian 'pirogies') are stuffed yeast tarts, oval in form, shaped around the filling to leave an irregular seam along the top.

Pyrahi - Made from light [white] bread dough. Take raised dough after the second rising and form all about the size of an egg for each pyrahi. Roll thin to 4-5 in. diameter. Fill with any of the following fillings and fold as for tarts. Fold side over end and nearly across top. Then roll quite thin with rolling pin across top and bake on hot stove or griddle until golden brown. Turn and bake on the other side. Brush with melted butter. These may also be fried in hot fat and served with melted butter or [sour] cream.

Filling for above:

No. 1.-Boil potatoes until tender. Mash fine and add salt to taste. Cool slightly and add 1 beaten egg. Use 1 heaping tsp. for each pyrahi.

No. 2.-Peel beets and grate fine. Put into sauce pan with a little butter and cook until tender, stirring so it does not burn. Add salt and a little sugar and use.

No. 3.-Cook Italian or kidney beans until soft. Mash and add a bit of salt and sugar. Add 1 beaten egg to each cupful and use as the others.

No. 4.-Use cottage cheese to which you have added salt and butter.

No. 5.-Boil pumpkin or squash. Season and fry as the beets.

No. 6.-Fry sauerkraut in butter and use as above.

No. 7.-Boil peas until tender. Drain and mash. Salt and butter to season and add 1 t. sugar to each cupful. Use as above.

Use any fresh fruits such as berries, currants, peaches, apples, pears, pears, prunes or plums, and rhubarb. Peel and slice those which are necessary. Add only small amount of sugar, no liquid.(p. 50).

Pereghee store well and, like Borscht, are sometimes brought to sale in a local market. They too are essential to any 'traditional banquet', with an exception noted below. They are usually served with a variety of fillings as above, and are to be moistened with melted butter or sour cream.

Lapshi or noodles are made - usually seasonally - by a fair number of women; some families keep small hand-operated noodle-cutting machines to make the work a little easier.

To make noodles - 6 eggs, 1/2 tb. salt, 1 c. boiling water, flour to make stiff dough. Beat eggs and add salt and boiling water. Add flour and stir till the dough is stiff as bread dough.

Make into balls, (size of orange) and roll out on bread board or table, paper thin. Dry this circle of dough on top of wood stove (or in very slow oven). Do not brown it. Then fold it into a fold 1 1/2 inc. wide. Do same with rest of balls. Better cover the folded dough with towel so it won't over-dry. Take 2 rolls, place one on top of other on a cutting board, shave off very thin slices from sides of end on an angle. When you have some of it shredded, put onto a cookie sheet and into the oven. Do not brown it but when it is just starting to change colour, it is ready to remove. Cool and store in glass jars for use in recipes. Do the rest of the folds while drying first shredded folds in the oven. (p. 76).

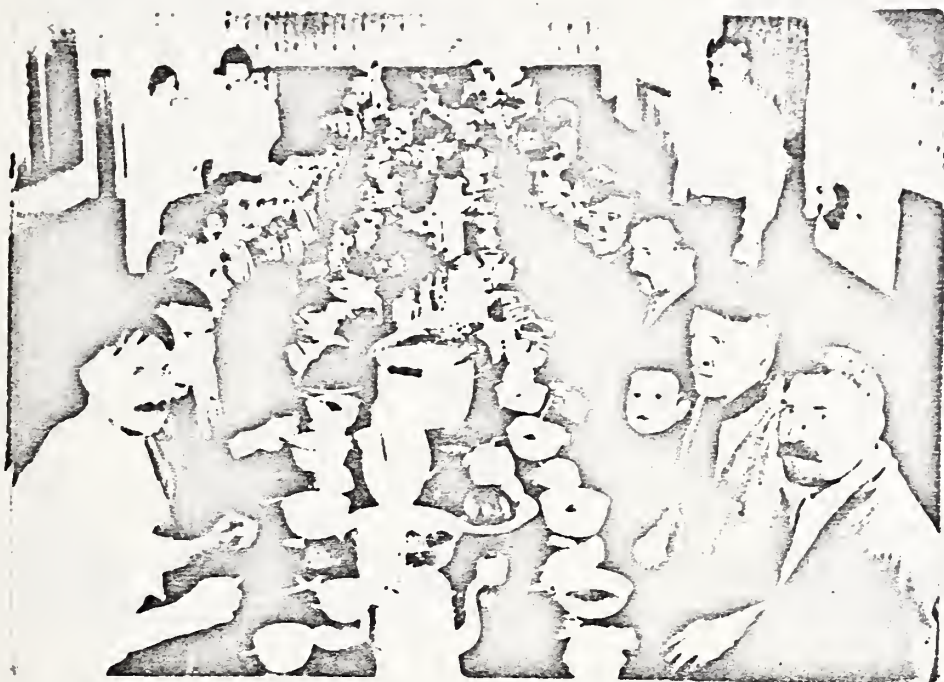
Lapshi are boiled very soft, and are served with a liberal supply of melted butter. At traditional banquets - at all but one of which they appear - they are served after borscht, usually at the same time as a salad.

Pereghee and Lapshi seem to have an -emic identity which is just barely recognized but not explained by any of my informants: they are functional complements in the contexts of weddings and funerals. These events conclude with a formal meal of traditional foods; but Lapshi do not appear at weddings, and Pereghee do not appear at funerals. A Freudian interpretation of their symbolism (Pereghee are suggestive in shape, delicious, filled with surprises; Lapshi are wormlike in shape, pallid in colour, bland and uniform in taste) is tempting but not seriously tenable on the basis of present data. Love and Death may indeed be symbolized in food; but if so, the allusions go unremarked.

In the early days in Saskatchewan, it appears that families ate by themselves. In the communal villages of British Columbia, meals were prepared at appropriate times by those women so delegated, and men, then women, sat down to eat. The illustration (B/5) shows a comparable group of Jam Factory workers.

Such meals were customary, but were, of course, to be abandoned with the collapse of the C.C.U.B.. But they continued in a different setting, for the ritual occasions of the communities. At present, when a wedding or funeral takes place, the local community hall (which usually also serves as Molenye Dom), and which always includes a well-appointed kitchen, is used for the 'reception' of marriage guests and for the 'funeral supper' which directly follows a burial. In the latter case, while mourners and guests leave the hall to attend the burial, workers place benches and trestle tables. The wedding couple's attendants and family, or the mourners, respectively, occupy a head table, and if the guests are numerous enough to require more than one sitting, the invited guests, the choir, various officials (e.g., undertaker), and the grave-diggers are included in the first sitting. The photograph (B/6) shows such a group attending a funeral and eating in a still-occupied village setting.

For a number of events in the annual cycle, also, the community meal pattern is the same or similar. Thus various festivals - Children's Festival, Declaration Day, in particular - have associated meals. For some of these - e.g., the Youth Festival - it is customary for relatives and friends of those visiting the centre where the festival is held to provide them with meals in their homes, and accommodation if the



B/5. Workers' meal in Brilliant Jam Factory. c. 1925?? From Tar-asoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

Note bread, apples on plates, bowls with borscht. The meal is adequate but not very large or varied, and reflects the rationing of the period.



B/6. Funeral supper following funeral of Peter Perepelkin, Glade, 1955. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

Note guests awaiting second sitting. Since borscht bowls are in place but unfilled, it is probable that a grace has been or will be sung.

event occupies more than one day. Community meals are the pattern, though, in the height of summer. In the Columbia region these are usually held at Brilliant, on the lawn just west of the Molenye Dom. Here participants sit in long rows, usually segregated by district of origin, depending upon the old communal village names, which appear on small signs set up at the head of each row (B/7).

On all occasions, funerals not excepted, community meals or banquets serve as a time of relaxation from the concerns of the preceding Sobranie, yet the solidarity of feeling continues. The community of worshippers and the community of organization members has become the community of eaters of traditional food. When the individual family, or family and guests, join together in saying or hearing grace, they confer upon the meal in their home the associations of those meals in which all have taken part. By context rather than by overt symbolism, food comes to mediate between the needs of the believer's body and the ideals that define his community, the society of which he is a member.



B/7. Late lunch on the lawn west of Brilliant Community Hall, Peace Day, 27/6/71.

A village name marker is just visible in the foreground. Note 'traditional dress' of women, mostly choir members, and formal arrangement in rows of picnickers.

III. Popular Crafts: Tools, Furnishings, Clothing and Textiles.

When the Doukhobors arrived in Canada, few had much in the way of possessions: spinning wheels, the clothes they wore, a few heirlooms: and the crafts in which many were skilled. As the photographs of the early Quaker visitors show - and to which the reader is directed - the wear of the first few years was Russian costume (e.g., Elkinton 1903, f/pp. 32,39,45,46,47,48,61,66,67,72, etc.). The delicately embroidered platki of the women first appear in their present form in the early Saskatchewan years. Before the 1930's, hand-woven and embroidered clothing came under competition from commercial clothing and yard goods, but was still used widely. As a rule, 'traditional' clothing was worn for special events and winter protection, but women chose lighter gingham fabrics for summer wear. Many older ladies still prefer the matching outer blouse and mid-calf-length full skirt with underskirts added as the weather cools. Men's clothing very early followed Western designs, though homespun materials were usually of a quality impossible to obtain from commercial sources. During the 1920's, Community-spun and woven heavy linen was used to make work clothing for both men and women; many older people retain clothing of this sort for burial use.

Tools were designed from North American models as a rule, as was most furniture. The design of Western furniture was imitated by cabinet-makers who saw pieces in the homes of Anglo-canadian friends and supervisors and were sensitive to the status they imputed. Thus one may still see delicate imitations of uninspired kitchen chairs of a

sort churned out endlessly by Eastern Canadian factories(cf. C/9). No characteristic Doukhobor furniture types, as such, exist, with the possible exception of the hanging cradle. Groups were never in one area long enough, and were not closely enough integrated, for a dominant and consistent tradition to arise. The most one can do is note certain types of turned and curvilinear ornament as being 'Russian'. Painted decoration exists, but it is rare and often damaged; Russian foliate and floral decorations predominate. Pieces were sometimes painted in the muddy greens and grays predominant in the Edwardian North-West, but the dominant colour is a rich reddish-brown stain; a related colour appears in certain Carpet types. Other colours include azure, a mustard-yellow, and natural stains and varnishes.

The following photographs give some idea of past and contemporary crafts. Few craftsmen persist in their trade today; a shoemaker is reported by Tarasoff(1969, p. 203), and a few people spin and weave. I have seen the work of a blacksmith who has made drills for needle-eyes by hand(Field notes, 30/7/71), and some carvers still do turned-work. Most needs are supplied from commercial sources, however. It is a tradition of Folklife scholars, at a point like this, to lament the passing of another glorious way of life; most who do so, though, neglect the hours of bitter toil for small rewards involved in Folk crafts. But in some cases - of which examples may be found here - the craftsman's product is by any standard superior to that of the factory. It is to be hoped that certain Doukhobor crafts, especially cabinetwork and weaving, may receive

their due acclaim before there is nothing left to acclaim. Nearly all the objects shown here have since been acquired by the National Museum of Man; it does not yet seem possible that that is the only place where they might be generally appreciated.

Apologies are sadly offered for the quality of some of the photographs, of textile goods especially, which were made and printed in haste, under imperfect conditions, and with unsuitable apparatus; the reasons have been explained in the Introduction.

Sequence of Photographs.

Tools

Furnishings and cabinetwork.

Crafts, Historic and Contemporary.

Textiles.

Costume: clothes and wearers.

Dry Goods.

Woven Carpets.

No general headings are given, and discussion is carried on in photograph captions. M in the caption indicates an item now held by the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, and available for study there; this symbol only appears once, in the case of multiple photographs of the same artifact.



C/1, Handtools: Tinsnips made and initialled for his son Philip by Ivan Hadikin, c. 1913; Hacksaw made 1930 by Ivan Hadikin,

The snips, stamped with the Russian initials Ф.М.Х., are of remarkably fine workmanship. The hacksaw is heavier - especially in the spine - and the hand-guards are longer, than in the commercial design from which it was imitated.



C/2. Handtools: Joiner's planes made c. 1913 by Ivan Hadikin.

The planes are smaller than similar tools of Western origin, and are stained reddish-brown.



C/3. Smiths' Work. Rake and characteristic three-tined cultivator
by Philip Hadikin, c. 1930.



C/4, Smiths' Work. Coarse tools: Log Pick and Oven Rake from Zaitsoff Village, Pass Creek. Spanner and Door Fittings (hinges, pull-ring) from North village, Blagodatnie. All except Door Fittings M.

The oven rake served both to scrape ashes from the large Russian oven (A/16-18) once it was heated, and to manipulate dough pans in and out of the opening(B/1). The precise use of the Log Pick(?) is not known, but it seems adapted for hauling smaller logs over short distances, being both easier to use and weaker in effect than a Peavie. The hinges and pull-ring formerly were attached to the trapdoor leading from the rear porch to the cellar of a Big House (cf. Fig. A/3:11).



C/5. Farm furnishings. Stump Vat(Pickling???), utilitarian Milking-stool, from North village, Blagodatnie. Swingle from Zaitsoff Village, Pass Creek. M except milkingstool.

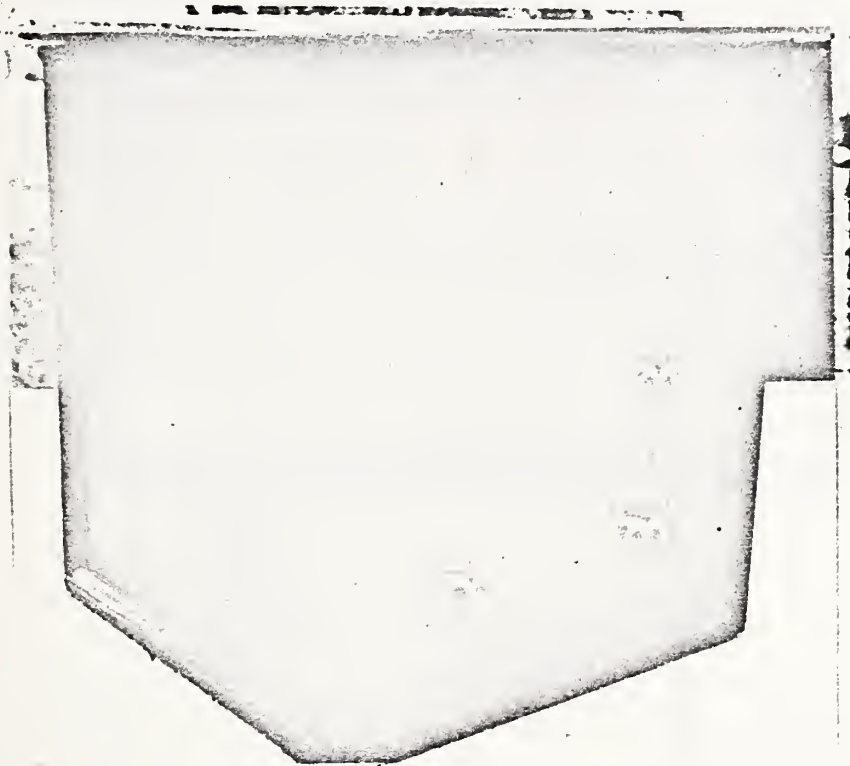
The Vat is a massive object rudely carved from a heavy log; it was found in a chickenhouse, a provenance which need not be taken to be indicative of use. The Swingle is a sturdy thing; presumably the initial stage of flaxbreaking was begun by cracking the stalks over the extended end of the far leg before the blade was used. The tool is familiar in North America; it is used to flake the coarse pith away from the flax fibres prior to spinning.

The Blagodatnie site yielded another milkingstool which had begun life as a rail-way crossing sign.



C/6. Tool Chest. Made by Philip Hadikin, c. 1919.

Key, hinges, and handle are hand-forged. Leather straps on the underside of the lid hold assorted hand-tools. Edges and corners are defended by heavy steel plates, and the chest rests on runners for easy shifting. Stained a light brown.

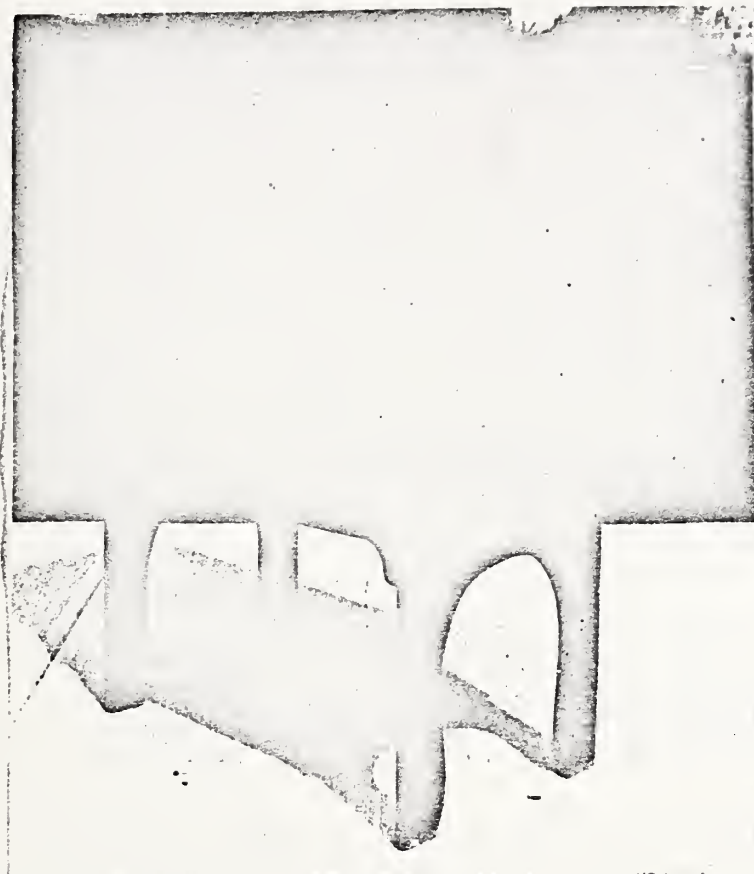


C/7. Pine cabinet with lifting top, c. 40" x 32" x 42". Data not known. Deep olive; decoration in white, yellow, blue, green, pink. K.D.H.S. Museum.

A heavy, low cabinet with a removable top that may be of different date from the base. Two upper drawers, and two shelves in lower section. The decorations are hand-painted, following hand-pencilled lines. Hand-carved pulls on drawers.



C/8. Front View, Pine Table with fixed top and front doors. c. 24" x 20" x 40" exclusive of top. Top unfinished but smooth, body deep reddish-brown stain. K.D.H.S. Museum.



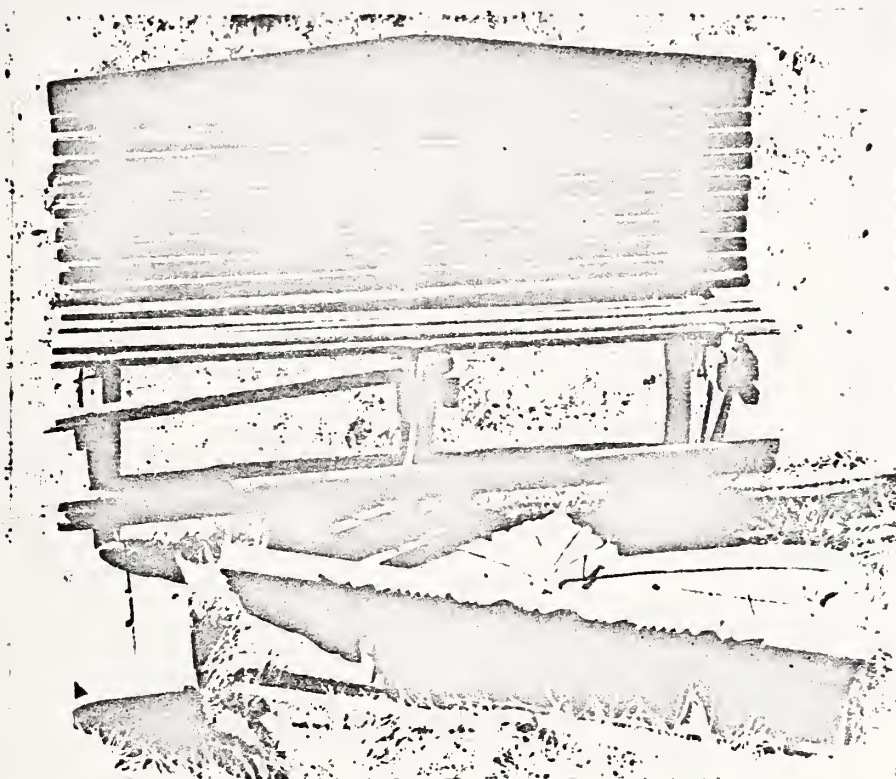
C/9. Pine table with fixed top; angle view. K.D.H.S. Museum.

This is a piece of remarkably delicate proportions. The pull is metal, and has possibly replaced a wooden fitting; the latch is of light carved hardwood. The curved cutting of the legs is a "Russian" stylistic element.



C/10. Utility Chairs. Made by Philip Hadikin at Ootischenie, c. 1918. Dark reddish-brown stain.

Free imitations of contemporary mass-produced furniture. Note, however, absence of design on splat (commercial chairs had stamped 'carved decoration'). Note "Russian" design characteristics: thick seats; numerous splines with numerous turnings; heavily turned rungs; and accentuated curved lines of brace and splats. The deep cutting - almost undercutting - of the turning, and the crisp edges of these cuts, is diagnostic of hand rather than factory manufacture. The cat is incidental.



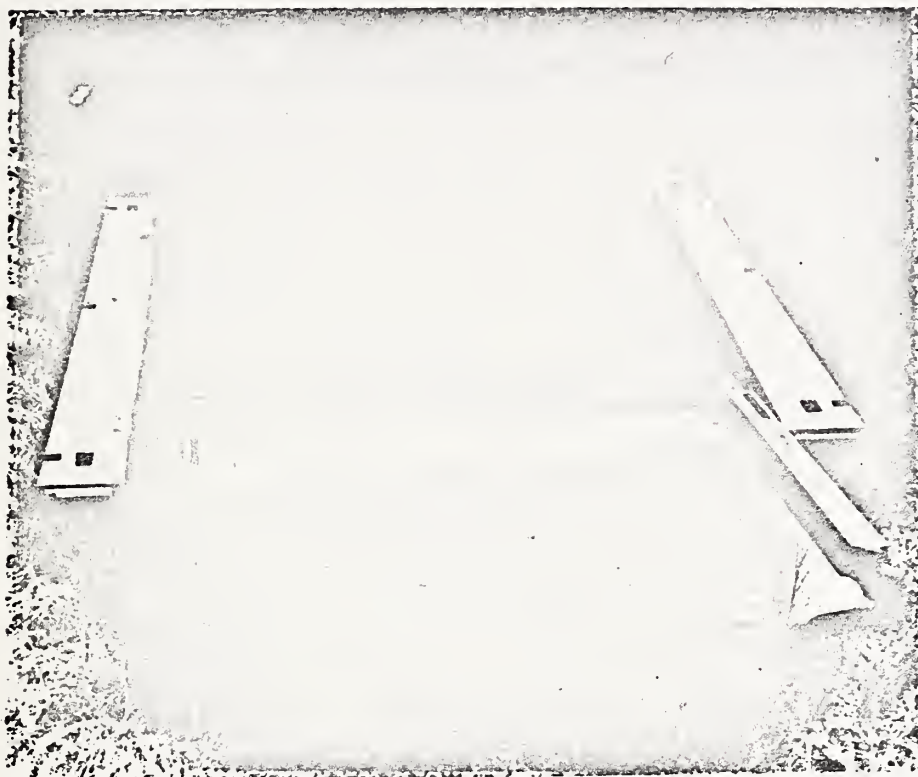
C/11. Child's Bench, large Shelf designed to hang from two nails set into wall, Lamp Shelf to be hung from nail. Bench and large Shelf M; both chinese red. Lamp Shelf deep green. All from North village, Blagodatnie.

The legs of the child's bench, not easily visible here, turn inwards thus:)(. The cutting and carving of the back, rim, and braces of the large shelf are again "Russian" style elements.

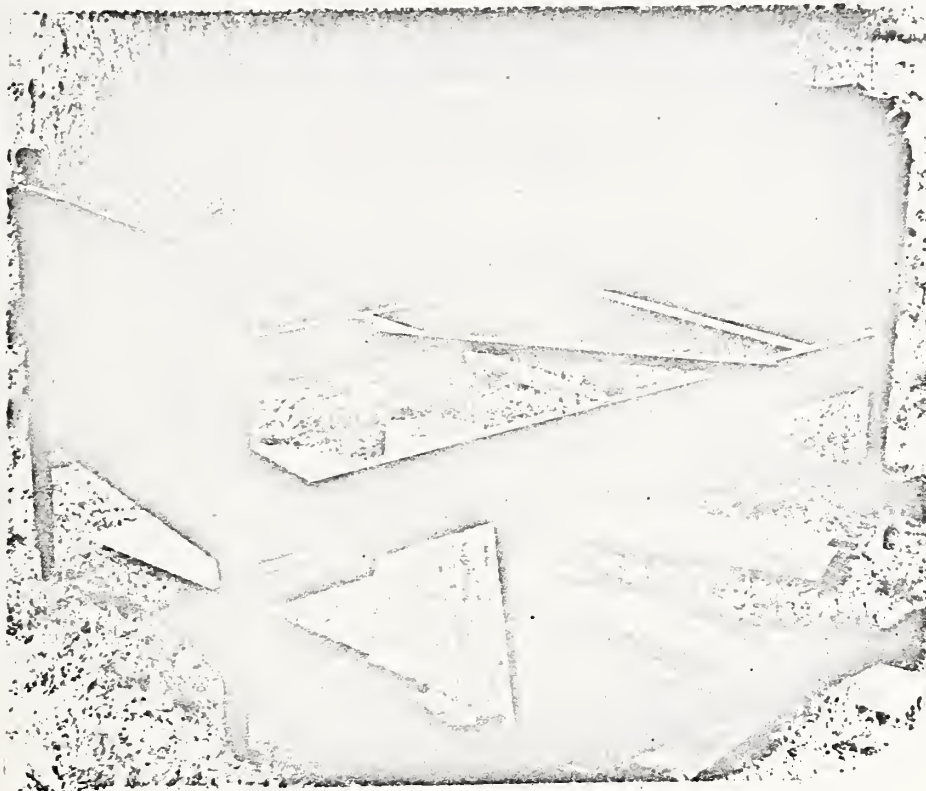


C/12. Suspended Cradles and ceiling Hardware(rings, wooden ceiling mouldings). All but uppermost cradle from Blagodatnie; other cradle from Castlegar City Dump, courtesy Mr. Roger Nygard. Upper cradle plain with faded floral decoration; lower cradle stained reddish-brown. Cradles c. 36" x 22" x 5". Base of lower cradle, rubberized fabric. M.

These cradles were suspended by leather or web belting from the rings shown here, which in turn passed through the ceiling and upper joists. The cradle was hung about four feet or so above the floor, near the head of the parents' bed, whence it was easily accessible during the night. Both cradles show "Russian" curvilinear carving; the older cradle, above, shows a much perished painted decoration originally in yellow and what appears to have been brown; its ends were dovetailed and reinforced with tin, now corroded. It has rings at each side for suspension; the newer cradle was suspended by rope passed through drilled holes and knotted. The fabric floor conformed to the shape of the baby. A few people esteem the cradles as heirlooms.

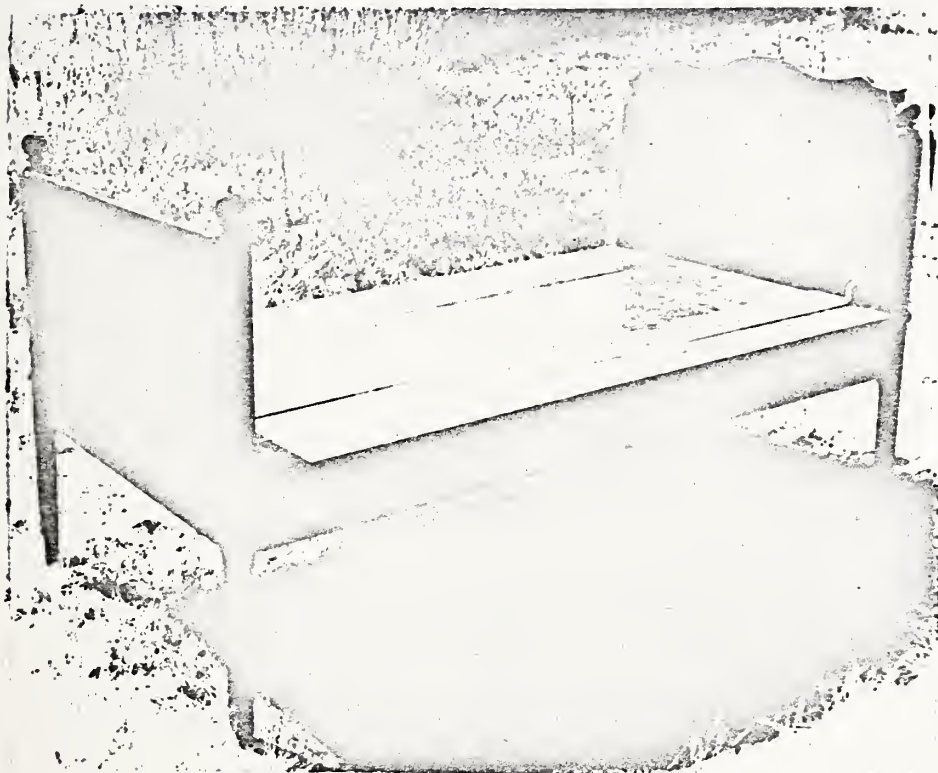


C/13. Bed made by Koozma Pereverzoff, Brilliant, c. 1920. M.
A. Bed disassembled: parts in relation they will have when assembled.



C/14. Bed made by Koozma Pereverzoff.

- B. Bed partly assembled. Slender transverse struts fit into slots at end of lengthwise beams. Two bolts pass through each strut and through head- and foot-boards, thereby clamping beams in place. Cross-trusses, parallel to struts, are dovetailed into beams; mattress-boards lie on trusses. Outside mattress-boards are slotted and must be slid down bedposts, where, when in place, they lock inner boards firmly.



C/15. Bed made by Koozma Pereverzoff.

C. Bed fully assembled. Surface c. 40" x 75". The "Russian" design elements again appear (cf. C/16).



C/16. Bed as in C/13-15; "Wedding" Chest. Both made by Koozma Pere-verzoff, Brilliant, c. 1920. Note typical reddish-brown stain. M.

The heavy turned knobs, tapered legs, and curving of headboard are "Russian" style elements. The curved top of the Chest does not appear to be typical. Chest handles (not visible at sides) and latch are hand-forged. A tray rests under lid. Chests of this sort were used by brides for transport and storage of their clothing, linen, etc., when they moved to their husbands' homes.



C/17. Carding and spinning flax: a community enterprise. Saskatchewan, early 1900's. Photo and caption from Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

Note: Wooden combs, some designed to fit into sockets on wheels or spinners' benches; knitters in centre front row with knitted stockings on display; agricultural posters, one at least in Russian.



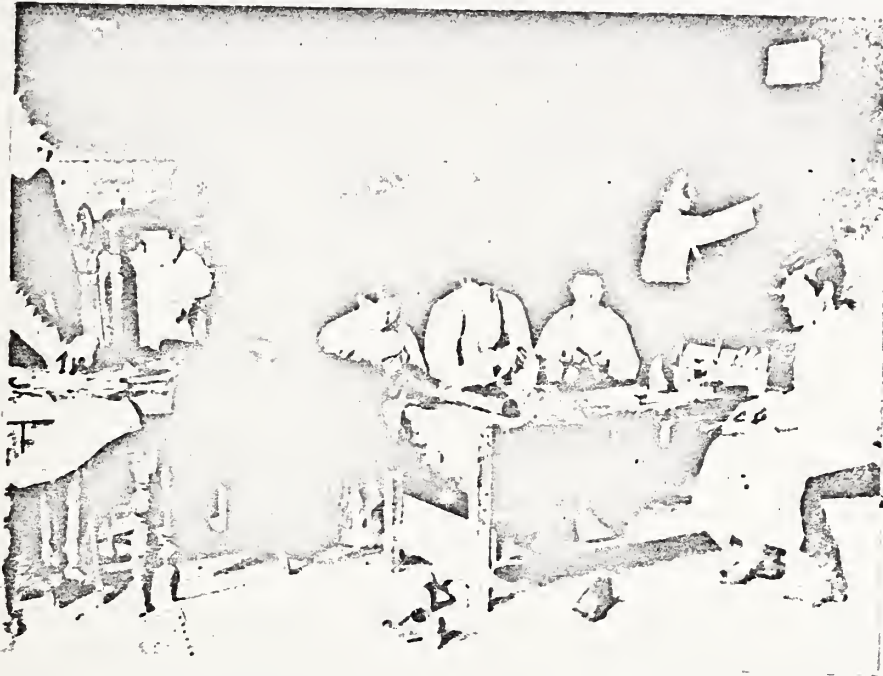
C/18. Weaving on four-harness loom, Saskatchewan, c. 1905. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.

The weaver is sitting behind the loom, almost invisible in haze from the window. Note pulleys from which harnesses are suspended, and that loom is presently set up with only two harnesses. Looms of this type are still in existence, and some are still in use. Note costume of young woman knitting at right.



C/19. Mrs. Anne Makortoff, Crescent Valley, 30/7/71; Weaving:
Feeding the shuttle to left.

This loom was originally power-operated, but has been adapted to manual use. It is presently set up for the weaving of rag rugging; when set up for light woolens, it has been worked at a rate of 15" per minute. No pedals are used: the two reeds shift whenever the web is struck with the beater. The loom was used for the weaving of linens and woolens during the Community period, but is generally used for rug-weaving at present.



C/20. Community Bootery, Saskatchewan, early 1900's. From Tarasoff Collection, Courtesy B.C. Archives.

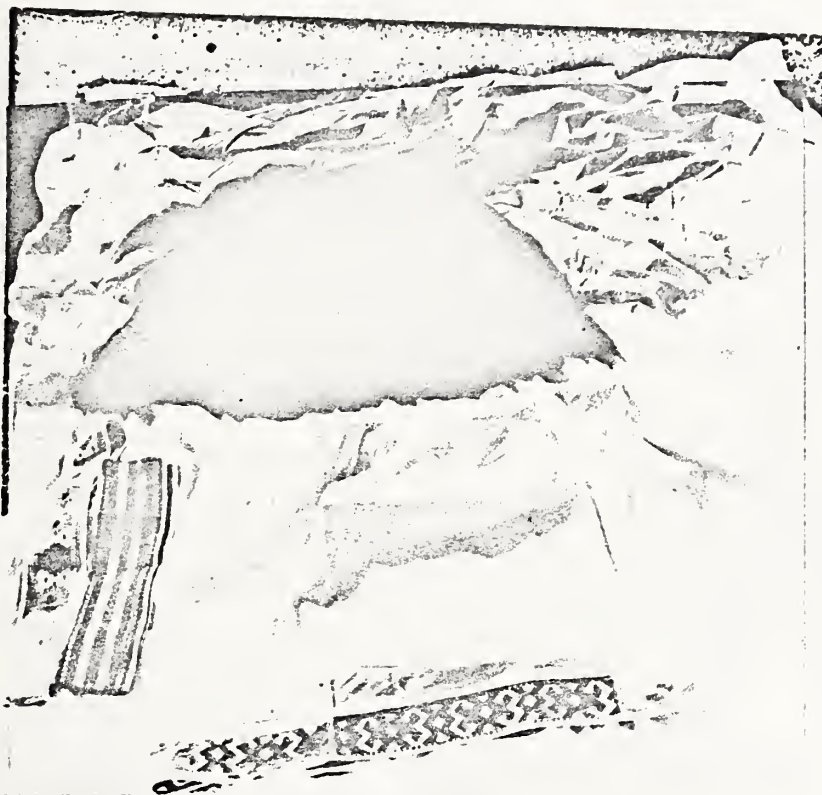
The use of a machine stitcher reminds us that the Saskatchewan colonies, under the direction of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, were quick to make use of numerous mechanical aids to production.



C/21. Wool textiles. All woven by Mrs. Tina Trubitskoff, Brilliant,
c. 1925. H.

	Black	
Pink	Blue	Green
	Unbleached	
	Black.	

Bolts largely unused and kept for some years as an heirloom.
The bottom fabric is material woven for men's work-clothing;
the weft-thread has been spun twice, producing a very heavy
fabric of excellent wearing qualities.



C/22. Woman's clothing, made or owned by Grace Kooznitsoff of Brilliant. Apron (ЗАХАБЕЦКИ) of wool, with woven and knotted borders. Underskirt with woven border - Saskatchewan, c. 1904. Two waste ends of woven Underskirt bordering; Russia, before 1898. M.

The apron ('Zanaveski') is deep blue, with floral embroidery, a coloured band, and a lace-style knotted fringe of bright red wool. The left and bottom underskirt borders are white, red, and black; the inner border is multi-coloured.



C/23. Woman's clothing, made or owned by Grace Kooznitsoff of Brilliant. Linen Underdress (blouse and skirt); Brilliant, c. 1930. Knitted Cap, Gloves, Stockings, all of wool; Saskatchewan, c. 1905. M.

The underdress was a standard item of Community Village apparel; many older people retain these for their burial. The form of the woolen cap is characteristic. Note padding of underdress waist, to enhance flare of hips:

"The Lord grant a woman to be fat, and beauty will come of itself!"



C/24. Man's and Woman's overclothing, courtesy Mrs. Elma Hadikin. Woolen overskirt with lined hem; man's double-weave woolen jacket and work pants; three kerchiefs (ПЛАТОК, pl. ПЛАТКИ). Clothing c. 1920's, platki c. 1940's.

Mrs. Hadikin embroidered the platki; a double-sided stitch which produces a correct design on both sides of the fabric is used (platki are still produced by a few seamstresses). The man's clothing is woven using the technique aforementioned whereby the weft is made of double-spun thread, producing a very heavy cloth.



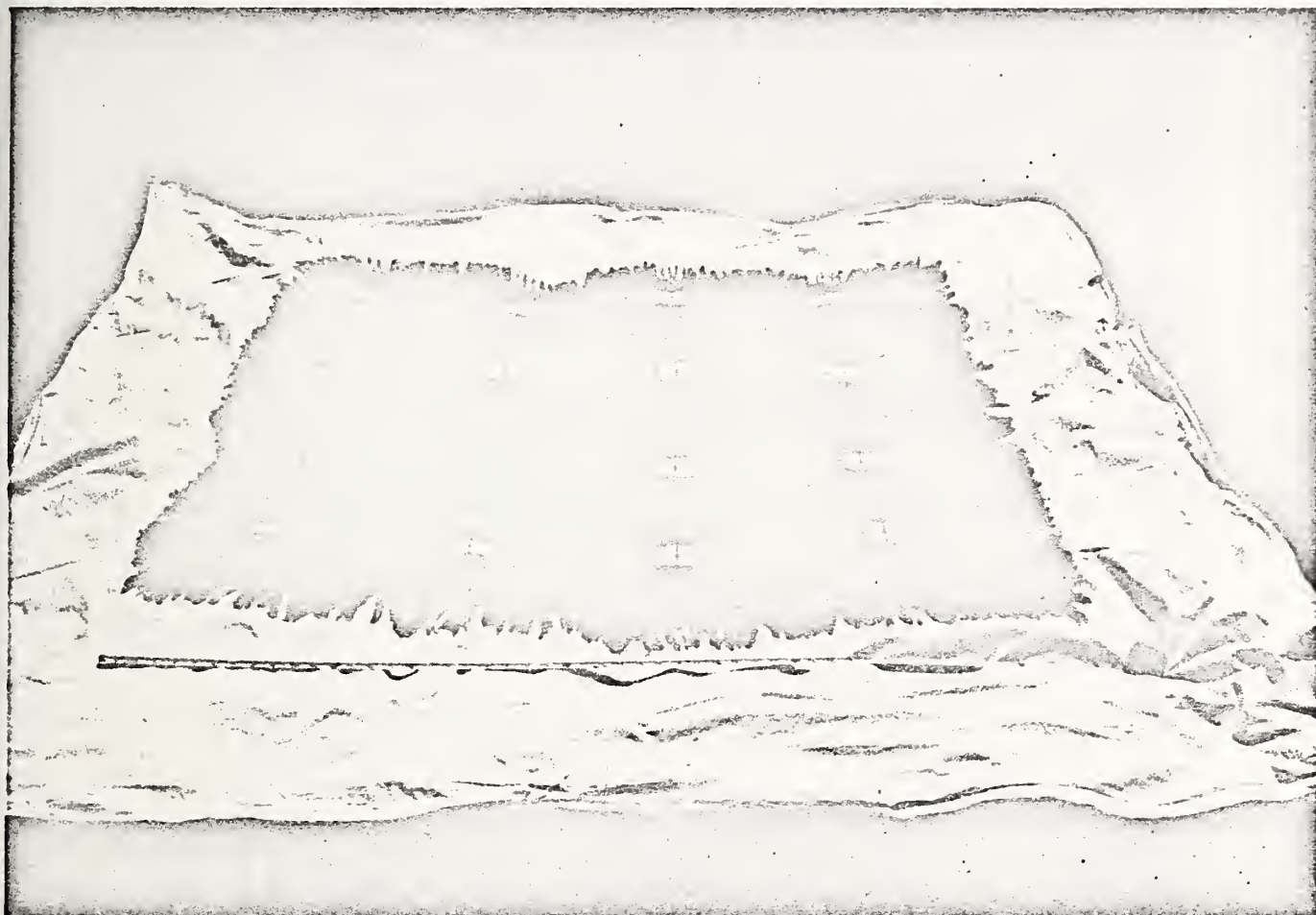
C/25. Man's "Wedding Sash", of wool; two formal towels, linen with red or blue bands and knotted borders. Towels by Grace Kooz-nitsoff, Saskatchewan, c. 1904. One towel M.

The Sash (variously named КУШАК or БАШЛИК, Kooshak or Bashlik) is some six feet long; this example is stitched in folds, but unfolded would be about 8" wide. Woven with naturally dyed coarse wool thread, polychrome, and wound twice about the waist, then knotted once at the (right) side, allowing some two or more feet of each end to hang freely. The towels were laid over roller towels on special occasions; draped over pictures on festivals or during the visits of esteemed guests; and used to cover bread for ceremonial use, especially during transport at Weddings. An author whose citation I have mislaid mentions seeing two men in Saskatchewan sharing a loaf on a long towel stretched across their knees, but whether this is relevant, I do not know.



C/26. Man's clothing. Heavy shirt of red and black wool by Mrs. Tina Trubitskoff of Brilliant, c. 1920. KYUAK(sash) owned by Koozma Pereverzoff: before 1870? Linen suit, owned by Koozma Pereverzoff and probably made by Aniutka Pereverzoff, probably c. 1925. M.

The Kooshak is some 8" wide; note knotted ends. The linen suit is characteristic Community wear; cf. C/23 for comparable woman's wear. The shirt is fastened with numerous buttons; pants are designed to be used with braces.



C/27. Fine handwoven 'Winter shawl' (ПЛАТОК) of dyed wool: white, green, red, and purple wools. c. 4' square. Made by Aniutka Pereverzoff, c. 1925. M.



C/28. Fine handwoven winter shawls of dyed wool: detail of 'tartan' shawl (C/27) and solid red shawl. Both by Aniutka Pereverzoff, c. 1925. M.

Note knotted fringes on four sides of shawls, apparently woven on frame rather than on harness loom. The quality of the material and the weaving is remarkable.



C/29. Early dress: Elderly couple, early 1900's. Author's collection.

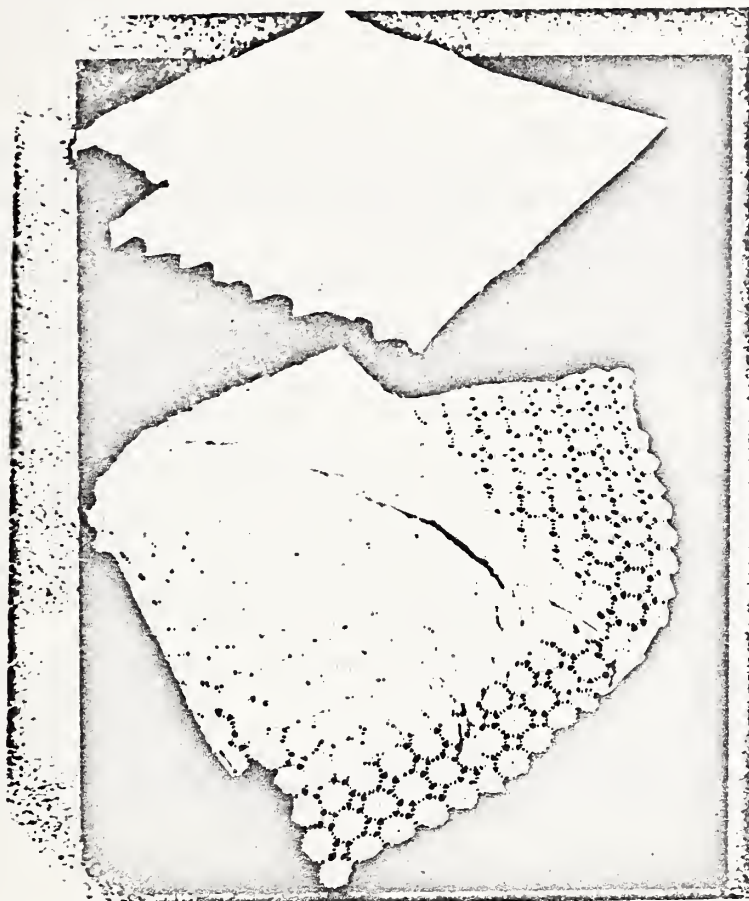


C/30. Middle period: Young couple, Brilliant, 1920's. Author's collection.

Note adaptation to western style of Male dress.

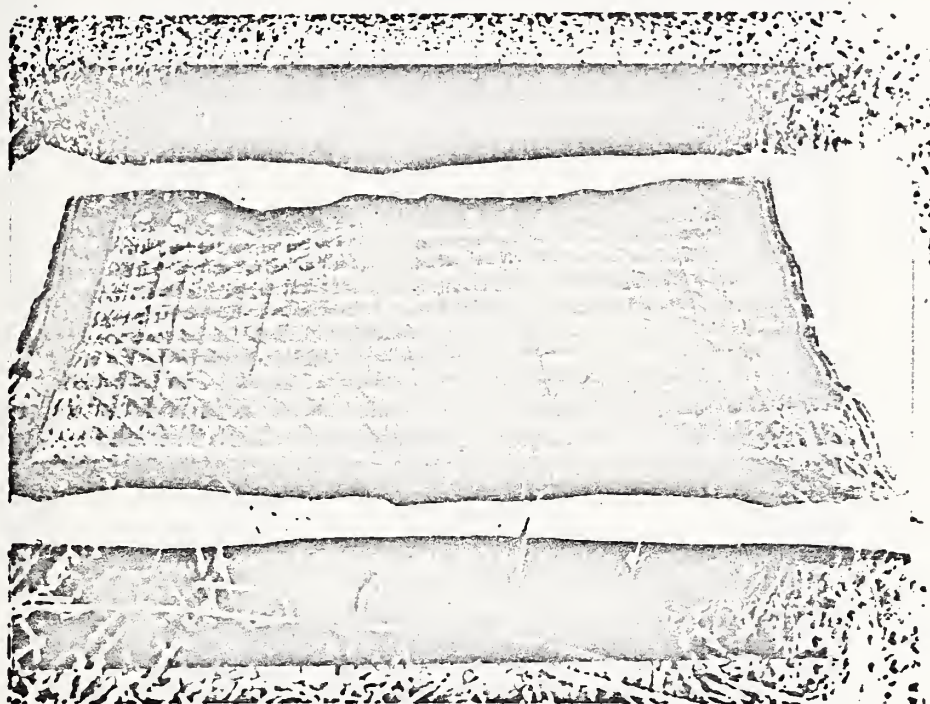


C/31. Contemporary dress: БАБУШКА and child, August 1971.
Note persistence of Female traditional dress style. Cf.
also IX/1,2,3.



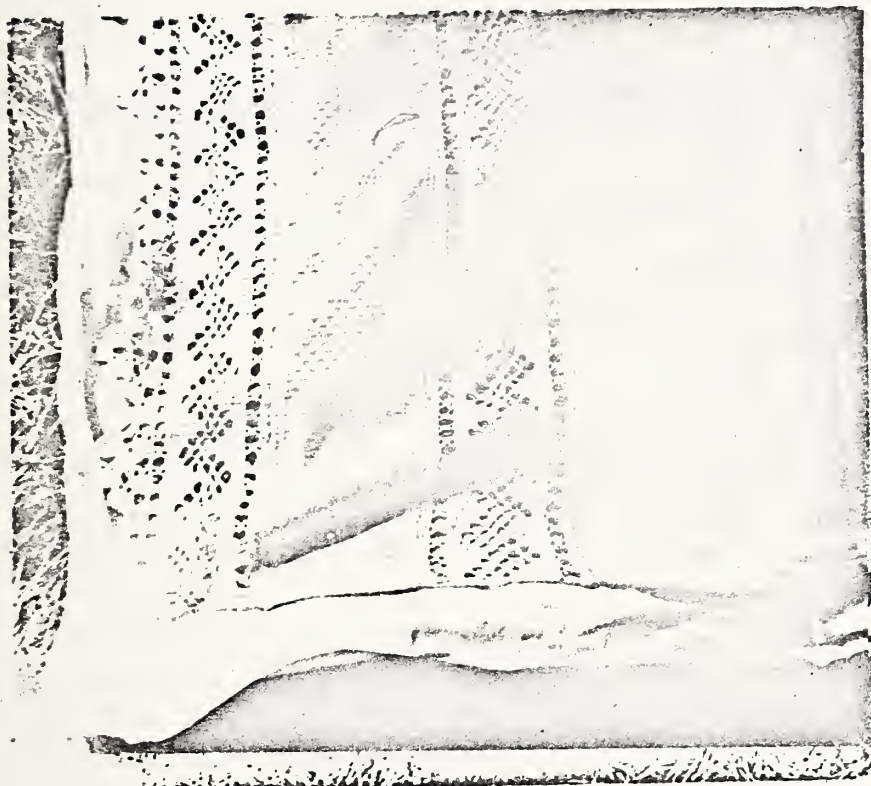
C/32. Crocheted linen Tablecloths, by (and courtesy of) Mrs. Elma Hadikin.

The openwork cloth is characteristic of high-quality work being made at the present time.



C/33. Heirloom quilt-coverlet of Russian origin. Property of Fred and Anne Makortoff (to whom thanks), Crescent Valley. Silk with elaborate print and embroidery.

This quilt is a major heirloom. It was given to Peter Gos-podnie Verigin by his predecessor Lukeria Kalmikoff, and was used by him in the late 1800's, ultimately being given to the Makortoffs. The stain on the right end of the quilt is said to have been left by the dubbin on his boots, when he rested before changing at the end of a day's work. (Negative over-trimmed by processor.).



C/34. Linen Bed Coverlet (РИДНО) with ornamental knotted border.

Made by Grace Kooznitsoff, Brilliant, c. 1920. M.

The border design is characteristic; some makers knitted the designs, but others are said to have used a small shuttle, much after the manner of lace-making.



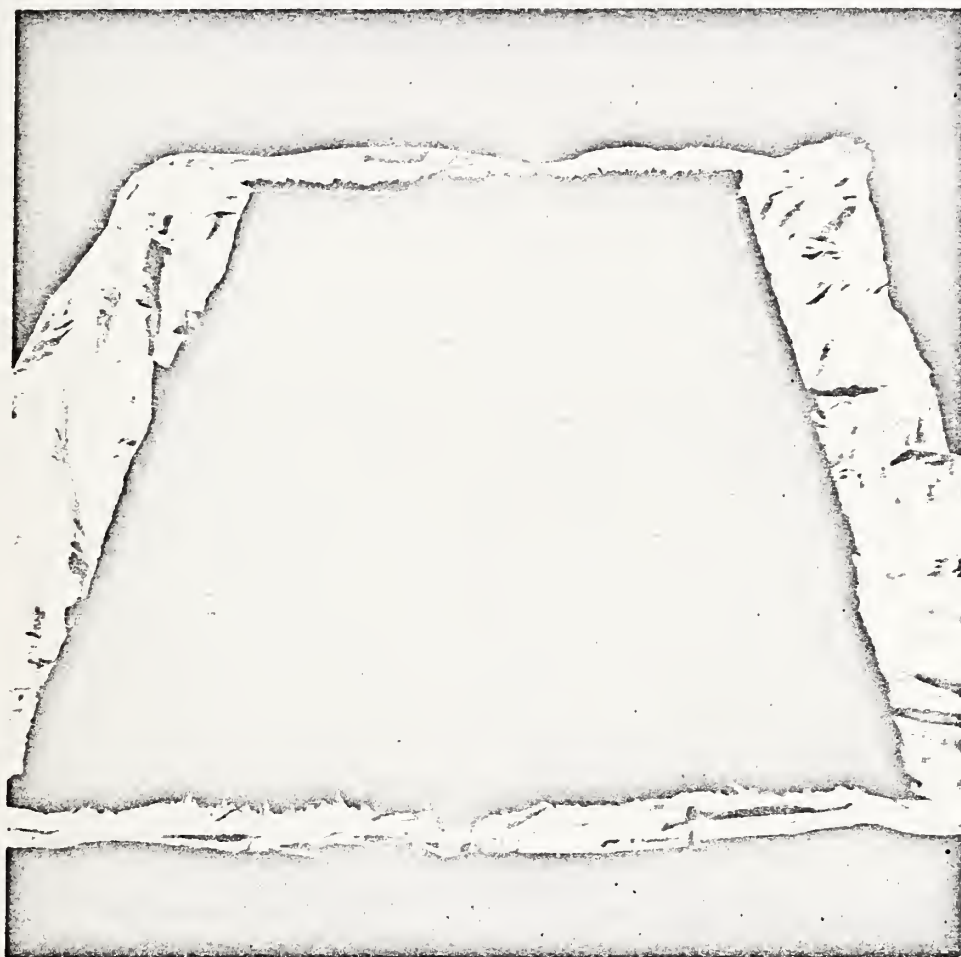
C/35. Bed Coverlets (РИДНА). Reddish-brown homespun wool with ornamental polychrome knitted borders. Upper - by Aniutka Pereverzoff; lower - by Tina Trubitskoff; both Brilliant, c. 1920.
M.

The Coverlet ('Ridno') was often sewn of three parallel strips of wool; it was placed on the bed so that the ornamental edge hung along the bedside; the other edge faced the wall (cf. A/14). The red-brown colour is typical. One coverlet of similar pattern, but coloured with a red/black tartan weave, has been seen.



C/36. Quarter-section of woolen tapestry-weave carpet. 'Tartar' design. Probably prior to 1880. 8 colours. M. 66" x 38".

This is a section of a carpet in which the belongings of Mary Postnikoff were packed for the migration to Canada; on arrival the carpet was apparently cut up and distributed to her family. This and another section were still in use the year the photograph was made. Carpets of this design are woven in what is called 'Tapestry' weave, which does not permit of a closed border between colours; if the carpet is held up, light will outline the design (a minor weakness). Note knotted fringe, and right edge repaired with underskirt border. The designs are characteristic of Southern Russian traditions; a strong influence was felt from the style of the Tartars among whom the Doukhobors were exiled, 1841-1898. Probable original size, c. 132" x 76".



C/37. Woolen tapestry-weave carpet (ПАЛАС). 8 colours, 81" x 48". Transitional design. Made by Grace Kooznitsoff, Saskatchewan, c. 1900. M.

An uncommon tapestry-weave carpet of strongly geometrical design derived from floral elements. The transitional quality of the carpet, in which the geometric aspect seems older and the floral element more recent, is more likely due to the taste and invention of the maker than to any clearly-defined seriation.



C/38. Woolen tapestry-weave carpet (ПАЛАС). c. 56" x 85". 8 colors. Made by (with thanks to) Helen Kalmakoff of Shoreacres, c. 1935.

The design of this palas is characteristic of most that may still be seen in this area; an inner and outer square of delicate floral design on a deep reddish-brown ground.

The floral elements recur, with slight rearrangement, on the kerchiefs (platki). They may be derived from various sources - one informant uses transfer-print crockery, greeting-cards, gift-wrap - but are re-cast according to traditional prescriptions of relative size, style of curve, and placement on ground. The traditional element of creativity seems to consist, not in any group of set designs, but rather in a series of strictures that may be imposed upon any found design which the strictures will not destroy (Field notes, 2/8/71).



C/39. Woolen carpet (ПАЛАС), Oriental ('Gordian') knotted technique.
 "Tartar" design. Woven by Helen Hancheroff, Brilliant, c. 1920.
 16 colours, 42" x 84". M.

A superlative example of a rare class of carpet. The technique is that of Oriental carpet weaving, in which individual threads are knotted about a mesh (here, c. 40/1") and trimmed. The carpet includes a number of Doukhobor elements - the geometric flowers in the three borders, and the reddish-brown central field - imposed brilliantly upon a basically 'Persian' design, of which the central recurved square hooks and the two ibexes are ancient elements. See detail, C/40, for further comment.



C/40. Woolen Carpet, Oriental knotted technique. Detail of upper end.

The initials (П. Г.) that appear on the upper outer border of the carpet are those of the weaver's father, Paul Hancheroff [ПАВЕЛ ГАНЧЕРОВ]. The obscure figures outlined in pink in the inner squares are at once reminiscent of the stylized flowers visible in C/37, and of the obscure decoration on a burial marker in the Brilliant cemetery, E/8, q.v..

Summary.

Most popular crafts have not diminished or changed, but have been thoroughly displaced by the cheapness and availability of adequate commercial goods. The values of Doukhobor communities have so recently risen above subsistence that an awareness of values beyond those of utilitarianism in objects of craft is only just developing, and at present in a narrow band limited mainly to a few items of clothing and to spinning wheels. Those objects that do survive indicate that many craftsmen always had more than utilitarian values; such workers are not valued by a community on a subsistence economy if competing goods are cheaper.

IV. Contemporary Woodcraft: The Borscht-Spoon Carver.

Gardening and cookery are certainly not devoid of a craft element, but they have not often been classified as crafts, and have a more or less universal quality for Doukhobors. Spinning and Weaving, as has been noted, are practised, but in a small way only, though there are signs that the mid-Twentieth century Craft Revival is making itself felt locally in a growing interest in weaving. But of all contemporary Doukhobor crafts, that of the woodworker is most characteristic; and his most characteristic product is the borscht spoon. A few craftsmen also make cups, large salt-cellars, working miniature spinning wheels, and folk-medical devices. Most of these are turned on small bench-lathes; pole-lathes and treadle-lathes were used formerly, and some home-designed machines are in use. At least one carver makes his cups wholly by hand.

While several younger men make spoons - one of whom is an idiosyncratic artist of highly developed skill - the occupation is traditionally that of a ДЕДУШКА, a retired Grandfather; for which reason, it has been somewhat scorned by the young. Old fellows who could not work on the land any longer could sit by the oven in winter, or on the porch in summer, and carve a spoon or three a day, thus keeping active and useful. For some, the craft has presently become a minor cottage industry, a source of small but secure income and of status in the community. The vast majority of spoons are produced for use by other Doukhobors, but a small but growing market among travelling and indigenous Anglikhi

558.

has existed for some years.

The favoured woods are cherry - usually from the old C.C.U.B. orchards - and birch; the former is preferred for the striking contrast and colour of its grain, the latter for its hardness and whiteness. Apple, maple, plum, and pine are also used from time to time; some carvers steam the damp birch, a process which tends to conserve the oils and to give the wood a golden colour like that of maple.

The carver whose work is followed here, Mr. Tom Oglow, has been a resident of Castlegar for many years. He came with his parents from Russia when a young boy, and has lived in Saskatchewan and Alberta. He is now about 89 years of age, and probably began producing spoons regularly at least twelve years ago, perhaps earlier, when he retired from active life. Because he carves spoons, he says, "My fingers still bend, I still get around. Other men, they stop work, do nothing; pretty soon nothing they can do." The following account is based on earlier interviews, and a major interview February 7, 1972. I arranged and followed-through a visit with Mr. Oglow in his home, taking up most of the morning with observation and photography, and taping notes(Tape D-14).

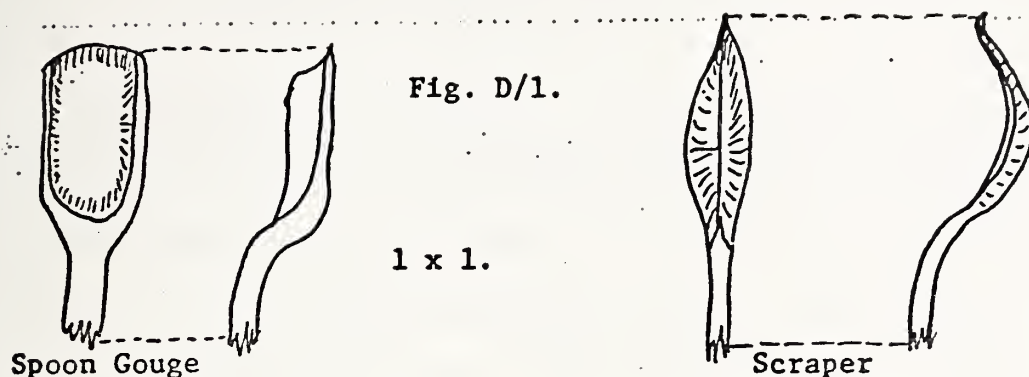
Mr. Oglow's workshop is a corner of his basement. Some men have small sheds in their yards, equipped for this sort of work. The minimum tools necessary are a hatchet for forming the billets, a hand-saw, two chisels (spoon-gouge and scraper), and a pen-knife. Mr. Oglow has acquired and constructed more than these. For forming the billets, "I had a hand-saw before...and then the boy, Dick, looked me - so hard work - and

said, we'll give you a present, and for Christmas bought me this one..." indicating the band-saw he now used. For rough-forming the bowl' exterior and the handle, Mr. Oglow uses a small draw-knife. The chisels are indispensable: he has a wide selection of slightly different sizes, but all are of two basic kinds: an abrupt spoon-shaped gouge and a scraper in form like a flattened sickle (Fig. D/1). For finishing the bowl of the spoon, some carvers use a scrap of hand-held broken glass, developing great skill in producing a perfect finish. Mr. Oglow has developed a power-drill accessory which shortens this process to a brief simple sanding. The device consists of a child's rubber ball of the solid-sponge variety, mounted on a metal shank by means of an inset dowel, and covered with sand paper. In use, the ball flattens to fit the curve of the spoon' bowl neatly, and only a few seconds are taken to finish the bowl. The spoons were formerly made without a finish coat; now all makers use a urethane finish, which has characteristics of long and rugged reliability. The spoons can be used constantly in any materials below boiling temperature.

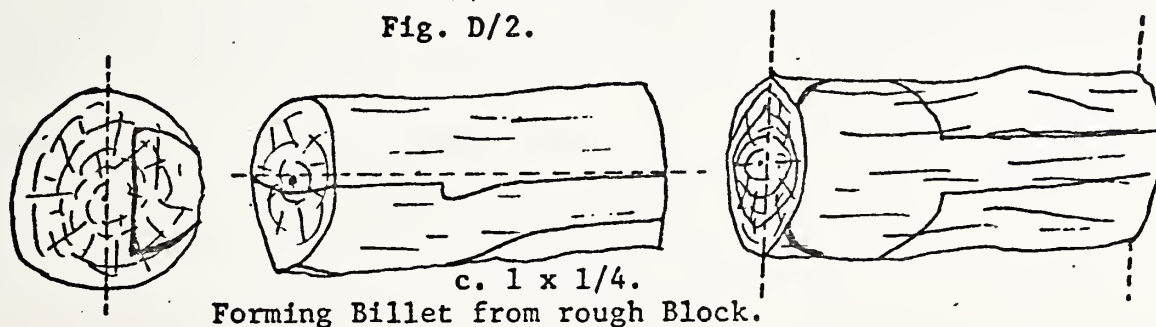
Mr. Oglow learned his craft by observation: "I see lots before. My father made those, but then he never had that much tools, you know... just like this one, and like this one...[indicating the chisels]..., that's all, he hasn't got no papers, sandpaper and that....Now I've got sandpaper and machines - see, this is the one (indicating the sanding attachment) I make myself...." But he perfected his craft through experience, as will in part be illustrated in the photographic section. "All things have got to be experience. Before you start and do,

you got to be experienced. You take a look when another guy make, you got to watch it, you know, then he puts it in your head, how you do that, you see. You take shovelling - you take anything - you've got to have experience properly, you know." So Mr. Oglow has learned all he knows by observation and attention; he never had any sort of formal education. He has come to apply this approach to his analysis of some of his technical methods. The best example is that of the direction in which the spoon-bowl is cut in the billet. To form a firm bowl that will not weaken, but grow stronger with drying and shrinkage, the grain must curve inward rather than outward as it contracts. Also, the bowl must first be formed wider than it is long; then it will shrink into a nearly perfect circle. Mr. Oglow says:

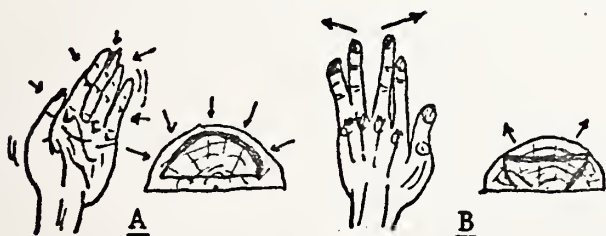
"See these two marks [indicating overlapping centres of compass-drawn circles forming bowl on billet]. This [length] got to be shorter than this way, see [width]. Then it makes it shorter down here about that much [1/4 inch]. When it dries out, it gives a perfect circle. See, I have experience, you know. It's a long time - make wrong - and as soon as get dry, she's split lengthways, you see. And that way I found out - got to be made a little bit shorter - this way, mark it down, finish off, and when it gets dry - makes a circle, a perfect shape. [Showing an old spoon he keeps as an example of the incorrect method] See? - one thing here - see? Crack! just this one piece of a batch, it split, others they didn't crack, this one did get a crack. I was thinking, what's wrong with that? See, I had to think for an answer, you know, and I find out what. I chisel her out wrong side. I got to shape it out naturally, you see, [indicating the rings on the end of a block] they set it, you see, but this one, I [had] chiselled from this side, you see. Well, she dried up, and going to crack - this [grain] would set over and crack. Just like the hand, you see, inside [cupping hand and bringing fingers together tightly, then opening hand out, palm down, flexing fingers out and back] - they shouldn't be turned over, you know. But naturally, you see. Then when I find out, I had no cracks at all. People say, Oh, they're going to crack; I says, Mine not crack! That's the way I got answers - from good experience." (See Fig. D/2)



Most sets of spoon-carving tools are of some age, made either by the carvers themselves or by smiths of their acquaintance. The prime concern is that the steel be of good quality, lest it require over-frequent sharpening (Field notes, 11/2/72). Most tools are more or less of the size shown here; those with many tools use the larger for large ladles and the smaller for individual soup spoons, but this use depends upon availability rather than prescriptions.



If the spoon is not to split, its bowl must open towards the centre of the log; then shrinkage will compress it; it must also be a flattened oval, or shrinkage will cause it to unroll, thereby splitting.



The bowl of the spoon must be formed

- [A] "like this, not like..."
- [B] "...this."

The carving of the spoons is a pleasant occupation; it is undemanding - once one has the requisite skill! - and it brings in a modest income (Mr. Oglow sells most spoons for between \$2.50 and \$4.50, depending upon size and design; spoons with ornate hooks, and spoons in matched sets, come rather higher, the former averaging \$10.00, and a proportioned set of three spoons in cherrywood being priced at \$25.00. Most maker's prices are similar.). But it also satisfies the first half of the C.C.U.B. motto retained by all Doukhobors, "Toil and peaceful life." The point is not that one should be compelled to slave endlessly; but that to be occupied is virtuous (cf. psalm 159: "Idleness is hurtful even to the old...."). To carve spoons, beyond the more obvious rewards and needs, is to affirm faith, to strengthen the bonds between material and spiritual life.

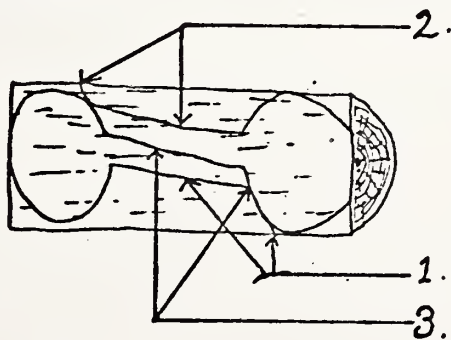


D/1

A. BILLET.

1. the bowl and handle are roughly shaped from a split or sawn section of hardwood. Thick branches and thin trunks are used.

By slightly off-setting the handle sections, two billets can be cut from one block - an economy of materials. The sequence of cut is as along indicated lines.





D/2

A. BILLET.

2. from an assortment of cardboard templates, one proportionate to the handle length is chosen and used to trace the desired design from which the hook will be modelled. Both billets came from the same block.

Note bowl is slightly broader than it is long; as it dries, it will shrink into a circle and will not split.

Among the tools in the foreground may be noted an assortment of chisels and the drawknife.



D/3

A. BILLET.

3. The band-saw is used to shape the billet further: first the rear curve of the bowl is notched, then the handle outline is cut. This photograph clearly shows how the base of the bowl is nearest the bark, affording split-resistant properties. Note the scrap block used to rest the thinner handle-section and maintain a parallel cut.



D/4

A. BILLET.

4. Next the front curve of the bowl is cut away. Then cuts are made on the sides and on the 'shoulders' of the bowl. As noted, the band-saw is a recent gift to Mr. Oglow from his sons; formerly, like many carvers, he used a light hand-saw for this stage of manufacture; some still use a hatchet.



D/6

A. BILLET.

5. The completed billet is left to soak until wanted. This prevents splitting, and ensures that the wood will remain relatively soft and easy to work.

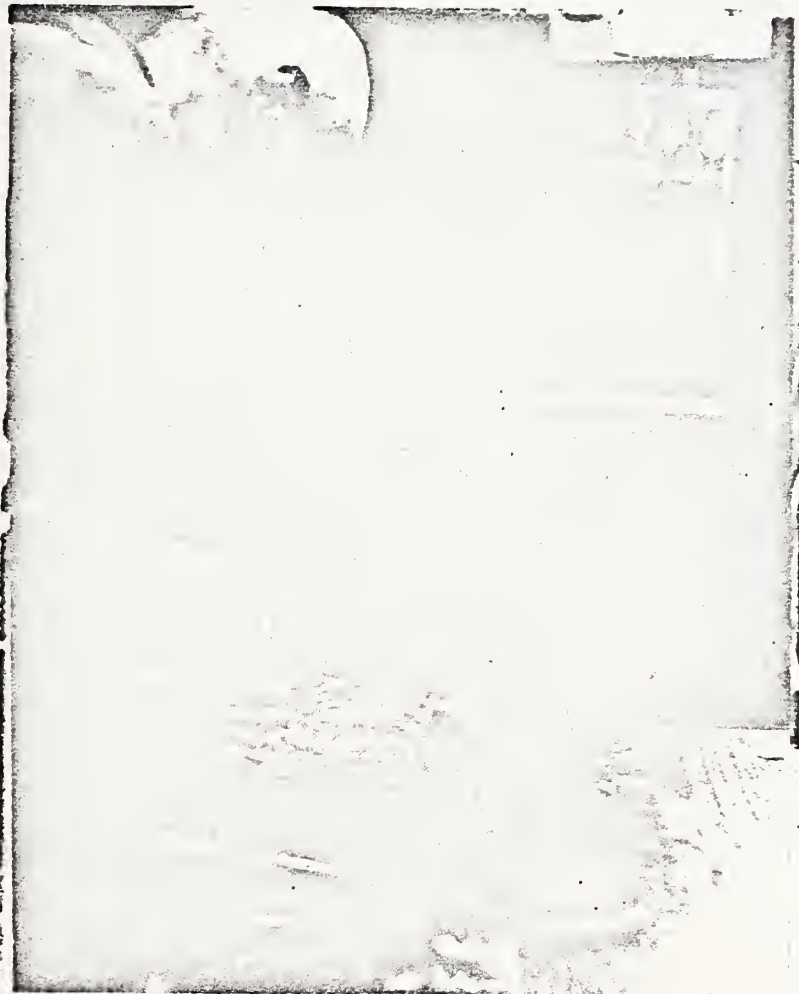
Note blocks awaiting the first forming process beside soaking pan.



D/7

B.CARVING.

1. The wet billet is clamped vertically in a small vise and the bowl is formed with a small drawknife. Then the billet is removed and held in the hand, and the same tool is used to form the handle.



D/8

B. CARVING.

2. The billet is clamped horizontally in the vise. An appropriately sized spoon gouge is chosen and used to flake deep vertical cuts in the hollow of the bowl. These begin longitudinally from near what will be the inner edges.



D/9
B. CARVING.

3. To discourage splitting during working, the gouged flakes are cross-cut, and then cut out with a lifting stroke, seen here. This stage is carried out from the centre of the hollow to its edges. When the bowl has been sufficiently cleared, the inner edges are formed with the same tool.

Note birchwood set of dinner cutlery in background: these are made on order only.



D/10

B. CARVING.

4. The bowl is formed with the curved scraper; the carver uses short, rolling strokes. Most cutting is done with the middle of the blade, and not by its ends.



D/11

B. CARVING.

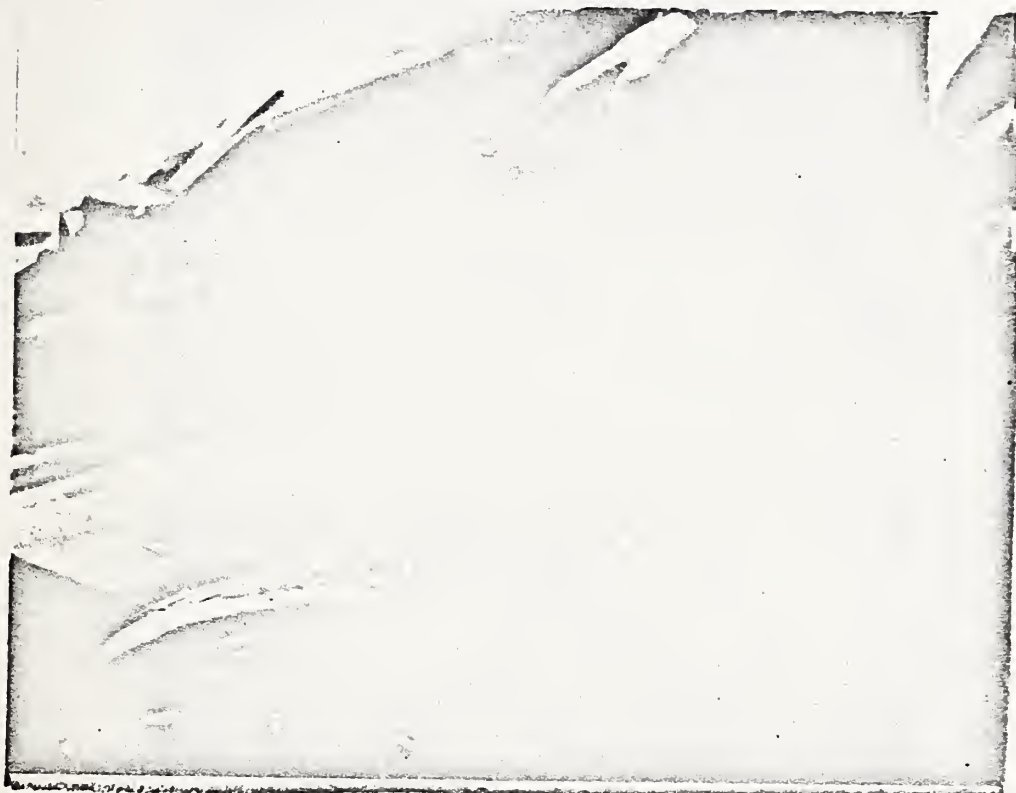
5. The handle is trimmed into its final shape by means of a penknife.



D/12

C. FINISHING.

1. The scraper is again used to finish the bowl. The first strokes are lengthwise, and Mr. Oglow would rest the handle in the crook of his elbow; the final strokes are sideways, as shown here.



D/13

C. FINISHING.

2. The interior of the bowl is power-sanded with a drill attachment of Mr. Oglow's own design. For this process, some carvers use a hand-held piece of broken window-glass. The outside of the bowl and the handle are sanded by hand. The spoons are dried before this process takes place, and incipient cracks would be noticed at this time.



D/14

C. FINISHING.

3. Mr. Oglow shows a large finished ladle. The other spoon shown in the earlier stages of carving was a small individual soup spoon. The draw-knife and assorted chisels are seen on the bench. Above, a pole-rack holds spoons drying for sanding, varnishing, or for sale. The smaller spoons, awaiting sanding, share the nearer shoebox with cardboard templates for handle designs.



D/15

C. FINISHING.

4. Finished Spoons; left to right: one unvarnished, three varnished; birch, two cherry; apple; plain hook, ornate foliate hook, two with horse's head hooks. These hooks are so formed that the spoons rest firmly on a table with the hollow of the bowl upwards. The spoon on the right is some forty years old.

Spoons are varnished - they were not, formerly - with poly-urethane (plastic) varnish, and withstand much hard wear. If the varnish does wear off, it may be re-applied, though unvarnished spoons have been seen (Field notes, 5/5/71) that have survived long use with little deterioration beyond heavy darkening.

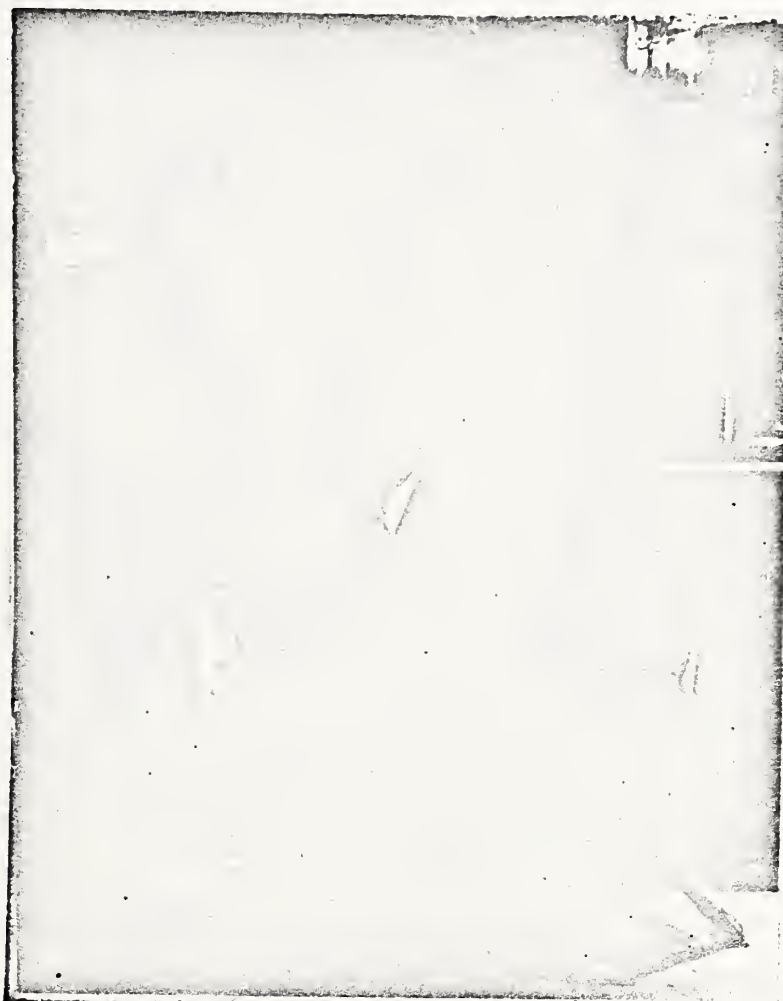


D/16

The 'Family' of spoons. These were carved some six years ago by Mr. Oglow, and represent himself and his four sons. He says:

This is the Oglow family....This is me [indicating large centre spoon, of birch, with the front edge a crescent-shaped segment of cherrywood]... this is that much that's left of my life...like the moon [waning], I'm an old man - as soon as it gets white, all, I'm going to die. This [indicating birch spoon on upper left] is Oldest, my son, Bill; this [indicating cherrywood spoon, lower left] is the Pete; this [cherrywood, lower right] is the Nick; this [birch, upper right] is the Paul. Both [indicating upper spoons] their heights are the same. This [indicating lower spoons] is a little bit smaller - the heights, you see. Oldest one and last one - they're the same heights! same size! - And these are both the same size, the spoons.

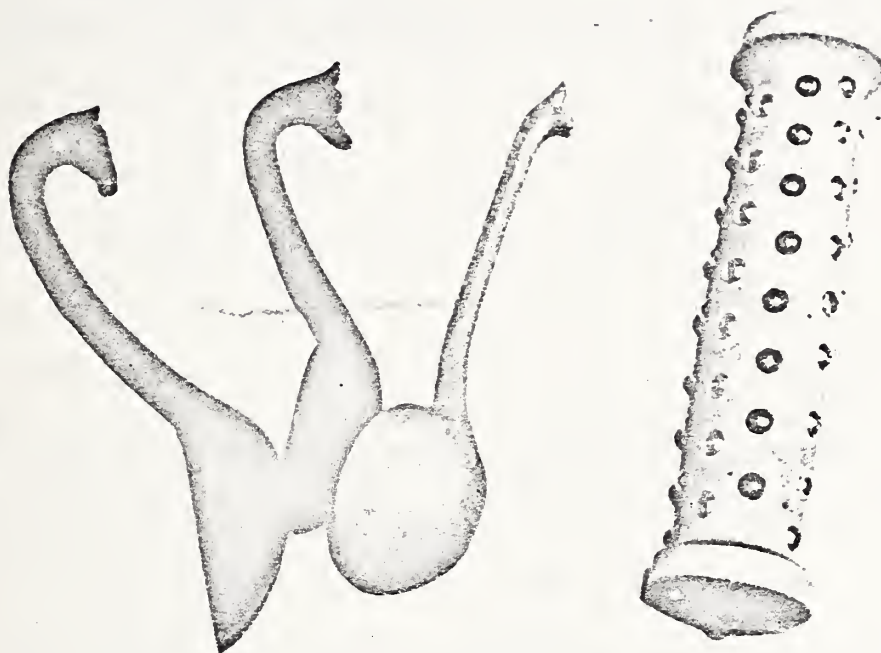
I had to think a lot - how am I going to make my family? Yes, I figured out this! [indicating the large central spoon] This one, when ladies came down to make pictures, taking him outside, it fell down, broke down here [indicating dark segment]. Then Paul came down some time ago, asked how that [happened]. -Dropped down, I said, and broke out. And he says, What are you going to do with that? Oh, I says, put him in the stove. He says, No! You better make it another piece of wood here, at least glue it together. Oh, I say, Okay, that I can make it. Then I made it - it comes like a Moon.



D/17

Spinning Wheels.

The wheel by which Mr. Oglow is standing was made by him some fifty or sixty years ago, modelled on the wheel on the far right, which has been in his family for some time, and which was brought from Russia by an elderly lady. She had received it from her grandmother as a portion of her dowry, who had received it in the same way; it dates from the late 1700's. Note that its treadle does not extend beyond the pivot beam. Mr. Oglow made his treadle a little longer, so it can be operated by the heel as well as the toes: "That one [the antique wheel] was pretty heavy to work on, that was the first way they made them at that time. But now I think it over when I start to make this one...my wife had to work at the the old one, she would say 'How tired my foot is!!...But this one I made, now, just this one thing [indicating longer treadle], just a little bit longer, that's all I do...it's easy, not hard - all day, work and never tired!" The central wheel was bought for \$10.. some years ago from an unidentified man, who made it with the wheel from a churn and steel tubing.



D/18

Objects by other craftsmen.

Left to right: Spoons, 1971, by Tom Bludoff, Passmore; Fred Oogloff, Robson; and unidentified carver, Thrums. Folk Medical device, also 1971, by Peter Soukeroff of Pass Creek.

The spoons illustrate a putative design seriation. Several sources, including Tom Oglow, identify the naturalistic horse's head design to be the oldest known. When available, small beads are mounted as eyes in his spoons by Bludoff. The second spoon is flattened- the ears in Bludoff' spoon are carved separately- and is more stylized in form. The third spoon shows the features rationalized into a foliate form. But it would be erroneous to insist upon this as a reliable chronological seriation, especially as all carvers are of approximately the same age. This does, however, indicate the gradual decomposition of a design: if a stylized or rationalized design should become popular, then a seriation may be initiated.

The spool-shaped object is turned, then studded with upholstery tacks. The user is to sit in a chair and roll the device to and away by resting his stockinged feet on it and moving his legs to and from. It is said that a nerve extending from heel to brain carries the massaging effect to the whole body, easing various aches and pains. I know no user who has not found its effect soothing. The procedure is to be followed daily for periods of not more than fifteen minutes.

V. Burial Marker Style.

For Doukhobors as for most people, the marking of graves has been a very personal matter for which the deceased's family are primarily responsible (Field notes, 17/5/71). During the first twenty years of settlement in British Columbia, the policies of austerity maintained by Peter Gospodnie Verigin were extended to burial style. Simplicity was a value already familiar to Doukhobors, and, indeed, many radical sectarians in Christendom have considered marker ostentation a worldly trait. Thus an informal attitude toward burial markers was maintained, which Peter Chistiakov was to continue through the 1930's (Field notes, 5/8/71).

Many early graves were not marked at all; it was held that the body should return - dust to dust - to the earth as soon as possible, and that a cemetery should be a natural place (Field notes, 17/5/71). This can be seen easily in the older section of Brilliant cemetery, which has a natural cover like that of an old garden much overgrown. Others had but the simplest markers: simple 'roofed' planks, heaps of stones, single stones at the west end of the burial. Such may still be seen at Brilliant and Krestova.

Most markers consist of a wide variety of stones, of which many are 'composition stone', a variety of concretes, cements, and stuccos. Some are carefully prepared artificial granites or marbles. While economy and lack of ostentation make these markers practical, they may also be selected for the ease with which individualistic forms and inscriptions may be chosen. So many styles of fundamentally different physical proportions appear, that a detailed description is impractical; in gen-

-eral appearance alone, a Doukhobor cemetery is instantly distinct from the average Western Canadian cemetery with its narrow range of conventional and commercial markers.

By the late 1940's, clearly institutionalized marker types, Type I and Type II, appear. These are not costly, being prepared from permanent forms, and probably add a feeling of community solidarity to their economy. Already, though, a few special marker types appear in small numbers; these are prepared by (unidentified) local craftsmen, who make them available over a period of years. In 1949, the first clearly commercial marker appears, to be followed by a continual sprinkling of bronze plaques and stones with sometimes in appropriate designs (such as gothic church windows - Field notes, 6/5/71).

By 1955, the Type II marker is widely accepted. A major trait distinguishes it from nearly all other markers: till now, the vast majority of graves have been marked so that one must stand at the West end of the grave - at the head of the deceased - to read the marker. Type II markers require the reader to stand at the East end of the grave. This is unsuitable for a number of families, ^{and} a variant appears simultaneously, though in a minority, and faces West once more. No informants are able to account for the direction of Type II markers, and generally state that they are unaware of the general direction patterns.

Of all cemeteries seen, as well as those expressly surveyed, only two of eight were not oriented in an East-West direction. Graves at Glade run North-South; Krestova is aligned slightly South of East-West, but this clearly depends upon its location at the edge of a hill-summit.

The cemeteries at Ootischenie, Brilliant, Grand Forks, Pass Creek, and Krestova are all on the banks of rivers or creeks, though Grand Forks and Krestova cemeteries are at some elevation above the watercourses. The cemeteries at Glade and Thrums are some hundreds of yards from the river, but from all cemeteries a watercourse is clearly visible. All are placed on land sites central to the communities they serve, isolated from homes by fields, and usually on some eminence from which a broad landscape is visible.

All burials except those at Glade are oriented as nearly as possible in an East-West direction. Popoff suggests that this customary orientation derives from the belief of old people that the "Christian teaching came from the East," and adds the corroboration of a funeral hymn of the early 1940's whose title translates as "Face me to my Homeland." Also, Christian tradition asserts that the Second Coming will be from the East (Matthew XXIV, 27); presumably the faithful dead should be buried facing their resurrection. Burial plot size is uniformly 4' x 8' for a single site, 7' x 10' for a double plot. No multiple plots appear, though one double plot at Krestova has three markers.

Death of the aged and late-middle aged is considered a natural matter, one for regret but not for great sorrow: a full life has been lived to an anticipated conclusion. The same attitude seems to pertain to the death of infants: the child did not have time to become an entire person, and its death is again sad, but not beyond the order of things. The

deaths of young people - teen-agers and young married folk especially - though, causes a great disruption for their families and friends: the natural order of life has been rudely interrupted (Field notes, 4/5/71). Special attitudes cluster about such events. Thus a family legend heard at second hand (Field notes, 22/11/70):

..... and his wife, both in their early twenties, were coming home...after a meeting one night and their car went off the road, they were both killed. Well, old Mr., the father, he was really upset even after the funeral and all. He couldn't sleep nights, and finally he went out to the barn very early one morning, not on schedule, you know, and started to milk the cow. Then he heard very quiet steps behind him and someone said, "Dad, Dad." But he didn't turn around, he was shocked, you know, it was's voice. Then he said, "Dad," again, and Mr. turned around, it was his son standing there. And he said to him, "Don't worry about us, Dad, we're all right. Don't worry any more." And Mr. didn't feel shocked or upset any more, you know, he just got up and started to go indoors. Then he looked around for a minute, there wasn't anyone there any more. And he went inside and went right to sleep without thinking about it at all. But when he woke up in the morning, he was a little upset about it, because he realized what had happened, and things like that don't happen very often, it had never happened to him or anyone in his family before, he's not that kind of person. And he got in touch or told all the members of the family that had come to see him and that they were all right. So nobody was upset any more. told me this, he's a cousin.

The most ornately decorated burials to be seen are those of young people, and particular care is often taken to keep them tended and to provide markers which, while not always ostentatious, will be noticeable. The family's suffering is lessened when it is shared, and a noticeable marker is part of the sharing.

Doukhobors often provide photographs of the dead at funerals, "So one could see how they were when they were alive, that's what should be

remembered." (Field notes, 17/5/71). Iconographic materials likewise with appear some burials. Shrine markers not uncommonly include photographs, and one or two very simple stones at Krestova have glazed insets over photographs or prints. The use of patent transfer-printed ceramic photographic plaques, a custom introduced in the U.S.A. in the 1870's and flourishing in Western Canada only between 1890-1925 appears in Doukhobor cemeteries no earlier than 1951, and continues in light but steady use.

Once a burial is completed, the second afternoon of the funeral as a rule in the Columbia district, the grave may be dressed after settling is complete, although a 'Shrine' marker is usually set up before this. These markers usually contain one or more wreathes. These tend to consist of leaves rather than flowers, although two made out of dried leaf-and-nut arrangements have been seen. Artificial flowers are also used widely. The 'Shrine' markers for young children are occasionally furnished with clearly symbolic toys, among which a rattle, a baby bottle, figures of angels and little birds, have all been seen. In a few more permanent markers of this type, burial inscriptions appear on sheets or planks inside the marker, or painted in reverse on the inner surface of the glass front panel. Two or three permanent markers imitating 'Shrine' markers in structure have been seen (Grand Forks, Krestova), as well as a few markers clearly designed to be long-lasting rather than typically temporary (Krestova).

Some seven (7) sites in Brilliant, three (3) in Grand Forks and six (6) in Krestova are enclosed. All Grand Forks and Krestova sites

are fenced with flat pickets; all Krestova sites also have character-
-istic small front gates with carved finials. Of the Brilliant sites,
4 are picketed, 2 surrounded by steel tubing in cement posts, and 1
late(1967) site has a temporary wire ornamental border around shrubs.
A few other sites at Brilliant are marked out by shrub and flower
plantings. All the fenced sites are double, though only three at
Krestova and one at Brilliant have more than one burial marker.

A wide range of graves, both recent and older, have containers of
Bread, Salt, and Water placed at their West ends. The morning after
a burial, the direct family of the dead may come to the grave and say
certain psalms (some not identified; includes Lord's Prayer and Fath-
-er of All). This service, a miniature Molenev, is repeated by family
and perhaps friends six weeks after the burial, at Commemoration, and
thenceforth every Easter at will, though many conservative people re-
-turn rather at the Commemoration anniversary. The Bread, Salt, and
Water are provided for these services. Formerly they were removed, but
are not now, possibly because of emotional associations. Some persons
deplore this practice, arguing that the bread is eaten and the other
vessels uposet by animals (Field notes, 5/8/71).

Other foods are left at some graves. Candies occasionally appear
at the graves of children, and eggs and oranges are left at a wide range
of graves. No explanation beyond custom is given for this practice,
though Popoff suggests it was acquired from indigenous peoples during the
Georgian exile of the second half of the 1800's (Field notes, 5/8/71).

Four cemeteries were examined in detail (Brilliant, Pass Creek, Kréstova, and Glade), and one examined carefully but incompletely recorded (Grand Forks). A number of characteristic grave types were noted as well as miscellaneous variations and a tally of types made. This, with a methodological note, follows. Notes were rechecked and a collection of representative photographs made. The photographs follow the tallies and are annotated in detail. They emphasize both typical markers and unusual markers showing either noteworthy extreme variation or analogies with other artifact elements.

Beside the decorative elements noted, only one commercial design achieves wide distribution: a formalized flower on either side of the lower edge of the inscription; it may be a rose or a dogwood.

Burial Markers: Approximate distribution in 5 Cemeteries.

- Definitions: WOOD: Inscribed(written or carved) markers: simple planks (some varnished) or more complex types with attached mouldings.
- STONE: Markers of assorted composition(piled stones; single stones; cement; 'composition stone'), whether made privately, by craftsman, or commercially, possibly outside the area.
- TYPE I: A uniform design of composition stone marker made available to U.S.C.C. members.
- TYPE II: A uniform design of concrete marker made available to U.S.C.C. members.
- TYPE II RECTIFIED: As Type II, but with inscription oriented so reader must stand at West end of grave.
- SHRINE: A generally temporary type; wooden case, peak-roofed and glazed, containing various materials.

OTHER: Unclassifiable markers or markers that combine major elements of the above classes, markers with distinctive mixed media.

COMMERCIAL: Marker elements (e.g., shop-dressed stone, special plaques, etc. - bronze or ceramic) purveyed by commercial suppliers.

PLAQUE: Patent-process ceramic plaque with transfer-print photograph of deceased affixed to marker.

Methodological Note:

Several circumstances combined to make a complete survey of the Grand Forks cemetery impracticable: thus the grand totals given here are exclusive of that site, though chronological data is cited.

Marker data and burial totals are not in full agreement. For example, some graves may have more than one burial marker; e.g., the temporary 'Shrine' marker may not be discarded when a permanent marker is set up, or the grave may be covered by a Type II marker sharing a Type I marker at the rectified position (Field notes, 4/5/71). Since many older and some modern graves are wholly unmarked, and since others clearly must exist but are not visible under bush cover, these have as a rule been omitted from the survey. For this reason, totals should be considered proportionate and indicative, but not precise, for burials in a given cemetery; they are reasonably precise for marked burials, and any marking not clearly natural was noted. Most sites were rechecked once after the initial tally was made, but errors may be preserved. In larger cemeteries, the larger classes may not be perfectly accurate, especially as burials or installation of markers may have taken place

during days on which tally was taken, and between them and rechecking. It is unlikely that errors exceed one item in a major class per cemetery.

In setting up the marker classes, Type II and Type II rectified were made exclusive and must be added to give the total of all Type II markers. The classes Commercial and Plaque, inasmuch as they refer to marker elements, do not exclude the appearance of the supporting marker in another class (even when this is, as in two cases, almost invisible).

It should also be noted that Markers and Graves are not necessarily synchronous. Some Type II markers, especially, are obviously later than the graves they mark when inspected in the field, and some empirical deduction from surrounding sites is essential. Major instances of gross anachronism are noted.

Much data as to individual decorative variations and selection of inscription legends must await further fieldwork and access to sophisticated mechanical means of sorting raw data. Until this is possible, no deeper statistical analysis is practical or holds promise of new information.

Brilliant 4 -7/5/71.

		<u>Earliest Date</u>
<u>Wood.</u>	11	1920
<u>Stone</u>	86	1922
<u>Type I</u>	15	1950
<u>Type II</u>	60	1954
<u>Type II Rectified</u>	16	1954
<u>Shrine</u>	10	n.d.[c. 1951]
<u>Other</u>	13	
<u>Commercial</u>	35	
<u>Plaque</u>	4	1955

Total Burials 214

Pass Creek 10/5/71.

		<u>Earliest Date</u>
<u>Wood</u>	4	1925
<u>Stone</u>	18	1951
<u>Type I</u>		
<u>Type II</u>	3	1949[Appears more recent]
<u>Type II Rectified</u>	6	1949[" "]
<u>Shrine</u>	10	n.d.[c. 1945?]
<u>Other</u>	6	
<u>Commercial</u>	12	
<u>Plaque</u>		

Total Burials: 45

The Type II markers at Pass Creek do not appear to antedate the mid-1950's, although they are generally placed on earlier burial sites.

<u>Krestova.</u>	12/5/71	<u>Earliest Date.</u>
<u>Wood</u>	1	n.d.
<u>Stone</u>	33	1925.
<u>Type I</u>	2	1961
<u>Type II</u>	5	1957
<u>Type II Rectified</u>	2	1965
<u>Shrine</u>	34	n.d.[c. 1925]
<u>Other</u>	7	
<u>Commercial</u>	2	
<u>Plaque</u>		
<u>Total Burials:</u>		81

<u>Glade.</u>	29/6/71	<u>Earliest Date.</u>
<u>Wood</u>	7	1943
<u>Stone</u>	32	1936
<u>Type I</u>	2	1942
<u>Type II</u>	4	1967
<u>Type II Rectified</u>		
<u>Shrine</u>	7	n.d.[c. 1940]
<u>Other</u>	5	
<u>Commercial</u>	3	
<u>Plaque</u>		
<u>Total Burials:</u>		59

Grand Forks: 5/8/71Earliest Date

<u>Type I</u>	[c. 20]	
<u>Type II</u>	181	1940
<u>Type II Rectified</u>	40	
<u>Shrine</u>	69	
<u>Other</u>	103	
<u>Plaque</u>	26	1951
<u>Total Burials</u>	393	

Brilliant, Pass Creek, Krestova, Glade - Grand Totals.Earliest Dates & Places.

<u>Wood</u>	23	1920 Brilliant
<u>Stone</u>	169	1922 Brilliant
<u>Type I</u>	19	1950 Brilliant
<u>Type II</u>	72	[c. 1940 - Grand Forks]
<u>Type II Rectified</u>	24	1954 Brilliant
<u>Shrine</u>	61	c. 1925? Krestova.
<u>Other</u>	31	
<u>Commercial</u>	52	c. 1952 Brilliant
<u>Plaque</u>	4	[1951 - Grand Forks]

Total Burials: 399

Burial Markers - a Photographic Survey.

Note: Photographs are presented in the following sequence:

Wood.

Stone, Early.

Stone, Decorated.

Stone, 'Eulogistic'.

Type I.

Type II.

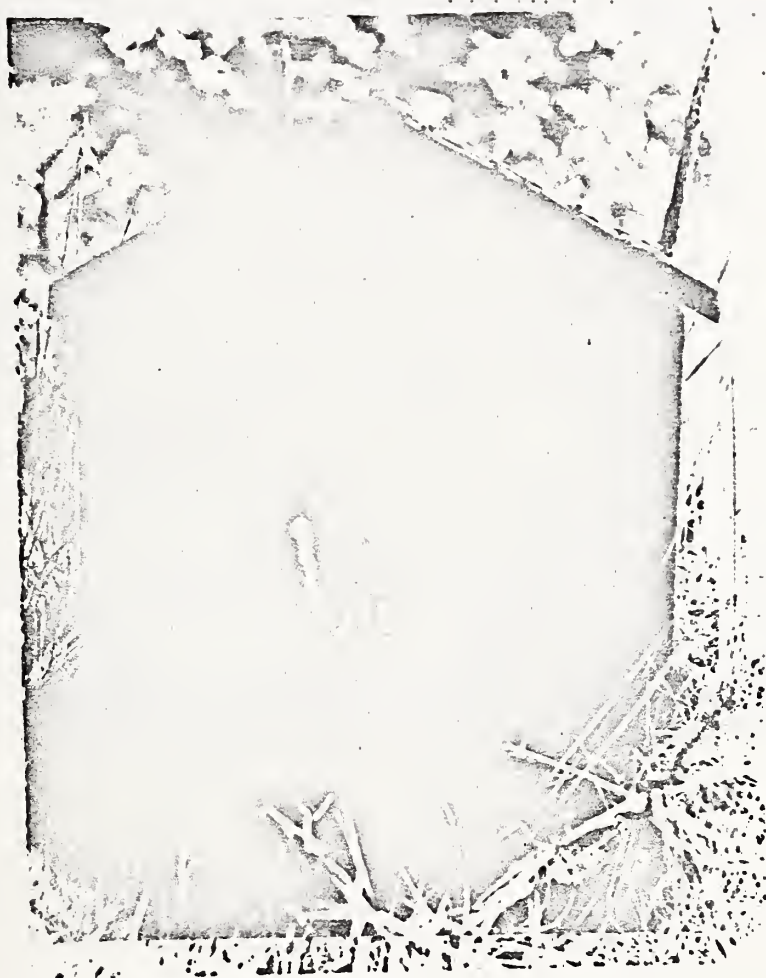
Shrine.

Other.

Commercial & Plaque.

Verigin Tomb.

Basic data given with each inscription include: location; burial statistics; inscription, often with name and dates omitted if obvious; and direction of view. Inscriptions are given in English only. Where applicable, bilingual inscriptions are noted. Materials and measurements (approximate) are given. Where suitable, undergrowth was cleared away from some markers to make photography possible.



E/1. Brilliant. S. Chernov, -1920. East.
Oldest burial marker noted. Cedar plank, framed with narrow boards. c. 16" x 12", but lower edge rotted. Inscription carved into surface. The marker appears to have survived in a particularly dry section of sandy soil, and seems of or near the inscribed date.

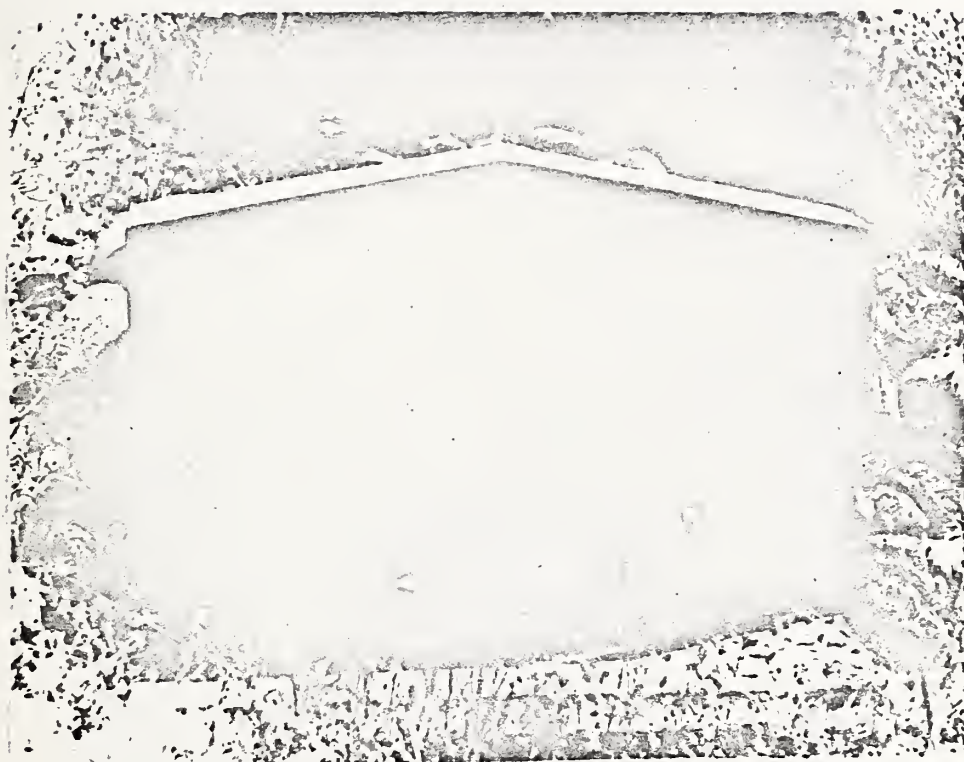


E/2. Krestova. ? Fofanov. -1960. East.

A single large stone embedded in cement with a date in low relief. The glazed niche contains a faded ink inscription and a newspaper clipping of the deceased with the caption [Old "Freedomite" Woman] - thus the inscription is bilingual. Several other markers like this appear at Krestova, 1 with a glazed niche, 1 with a possible carved inscription. One very early marker was not, unfortunately, located in a position from which it could be photographed. c. 20" x 30". Note artificial flowers.



- E/3. Grand Forks. Peter Strukov, -1925. 'Eternal Memory. [The] Doukhobor Peter Strukov....' South-East.
 A dilapidated 'Shrine' marker stands at the East end of the enclosure. This is one of the oldest markers at Grand Forks. It is made of a cement composition, in which the inscription is sgraffito, probably by a finger. The interior of the corner posts, not visible here, is turned. The stone stands c. 36" x 15". The decoration is obscure.



E/4. Grand Forks. Alyosha Novokshonov, -1959. ''Here [is] at rest Alyosha Novokshonov, Born January 10, 1882, passed into eternity(?) 8th., 1959.' East.

A typical marker of conservative type, inscription sgraffito in composition stone on a molded base. The inscription overcorrects A for O in several cases. The decoration is obscure. Size c. 28" x 35".



E/5. Glade. Mary Vishlov, -1937. 'Peace and eternal rest, Mary Vishlov, 1937.' North-East.

A unique composition-stone marker of South Slavic appearance. The front section, c. 20" x 20" is of moulded composition stone integral with the rearblock, c. 15" x 28" long, apparently solid .



E/6. Brilliant. Gabriel Cheveldaev, 1932-1953. 'Eternal blessed memory...' East.

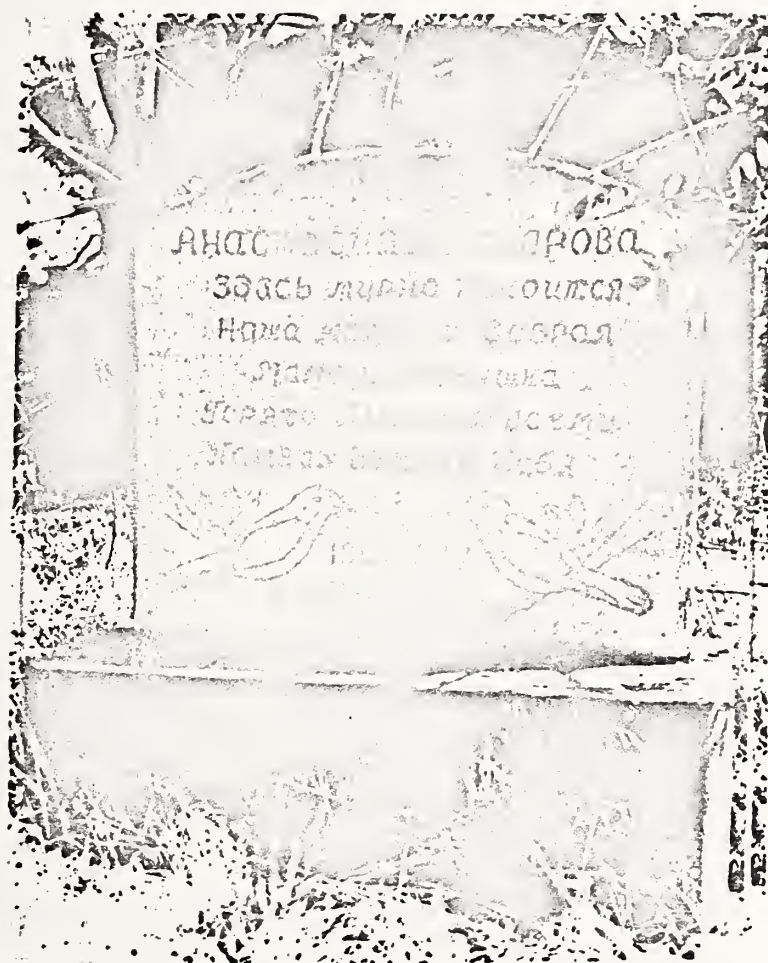
The temporary commercial marker is retained in a few other sites. A unique composition stone marker with stamped inscription and freestanding pillars supporting the arching top. c. 28" x 14" x .6" deep.



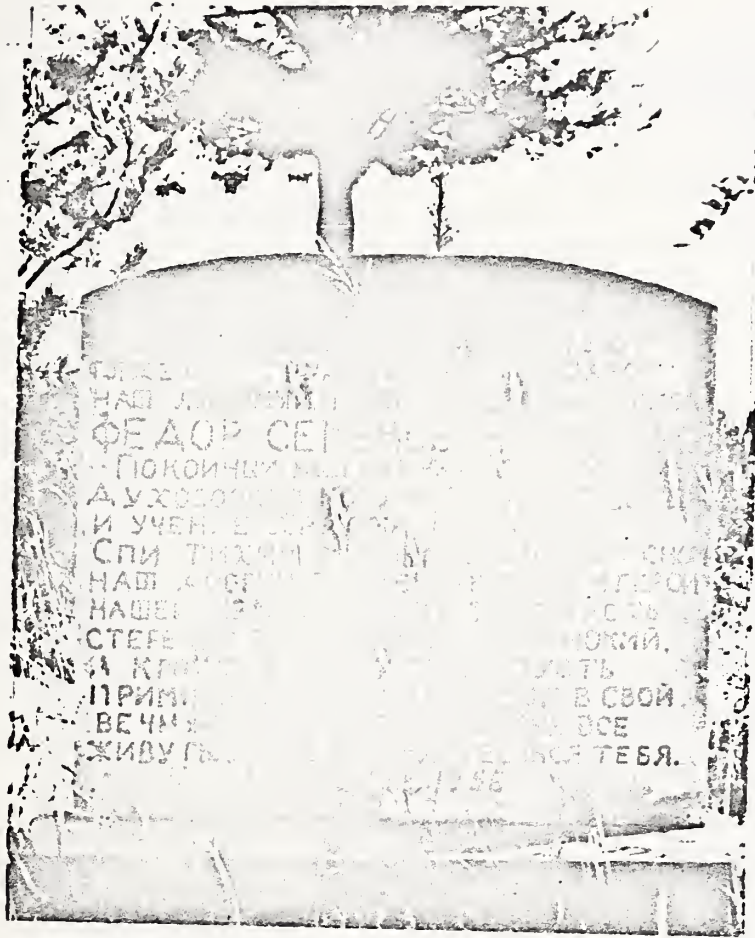
- E/7. Brilliant. Marion Nimanikh, 1889-1950. 'A Doukhobor[woman], Marion Nimanikh[?], born in Russia in the District [Gubernatoria] of Kars, in the village of Terpenie, 1889, ended her life by God's will December 1, 1950.' East.
Unique composition-stone marker, c. 30" x 18". Painted in aluminum paint, inscription sgraffito in a lead sheet and filled with dark paint, and decorated with two lead cutouts - peace doves.
(Possibly the name should be translated, Marion Nimanikin).



E/8. Brilliant. Ivan Chernov, 1910-1953. '...[in] eternal memory of a hard worker.' East. Type II behind. Bilingual. Composition stone, c. 32" x 18". The burial is remarkable for the presence of a Type II marker immediately behind the older stone, and lacking any kinship data. The ornament is obscure, but reminiscent of major motifs in a rug of 'Tartar' pattern(cf. C/29). The possibility of assimilation of such motifs should be considered seriously, though no possibility for evaluation exists at present. Popoff has suggested (Field notes, 5/8/71) that several burial practices were acquired during exile among Tartars. This is highly plausible.



E/9. Brilliant. Anastasia Makarov, 1884-1957. 'Here rests in peace our sweet and companionable[?] mother and grandmother, fervently loved by all. To your eternal memory'. Composition stone. East. c. 36" x 28". Sgraffito inscription and decoration. The doves are the symbols of the U.S.C.C., and have been used as a pacifist emblem by Doukhobors since at least the turn of the century.

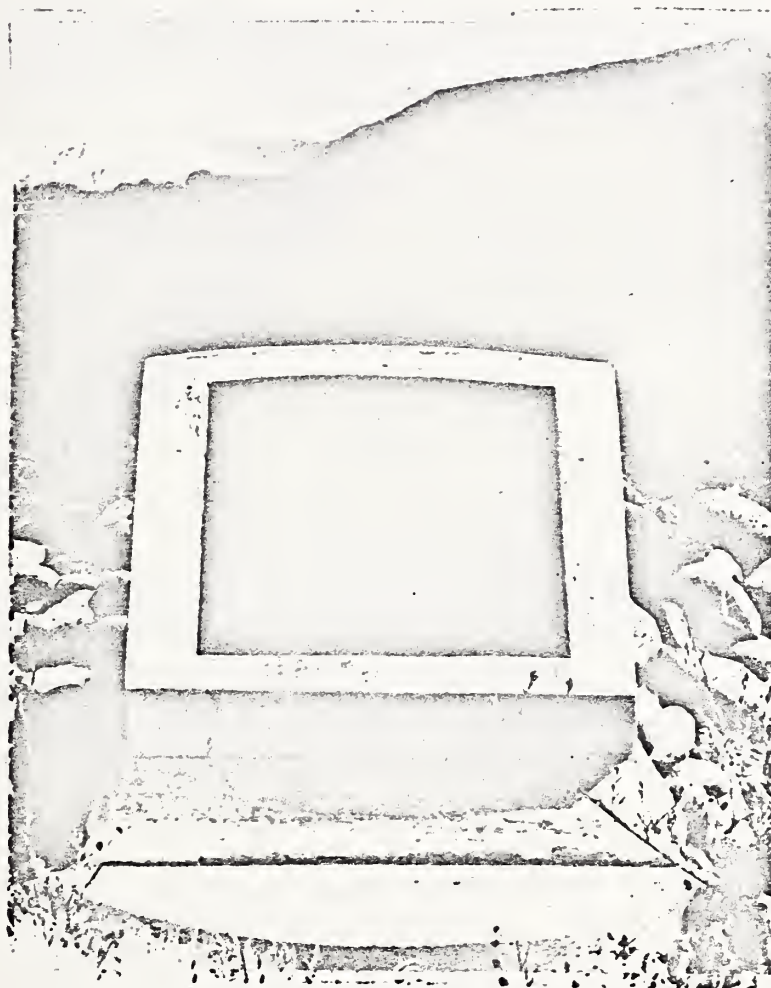


E/10... Brilliant. Phedor Makarov, 1882-1956. Inscriptions below.
East.

One of a few 'Eulogistic' markers bearing a large amount of data. Composition stone with a sgraffito inscription filled with dark paint. c. 42" x 42 " on moulded base. The inscription reads;

Here, by the will and deed of God, is peacefully resting from all hard labours and earthly worries our loved husband, father, and grandfather Phedor Semenovitch Makarov. The deceased has been a great son of the Doukhobor idea, firmly believing in the words and teaching of Christ, 'Do not kill.' Sleep in a quiet, peaceful, restful slumber, our kind [fellow-] worker, head and hero of our family. May this single stone keep watch over your grave. But may the Lord God himself take your kind soul into his eternal kingdom, where all the holy ones live. Love and Eternal Memory for you.

(Thanks to Lucy Kazakoff for assistance with text).



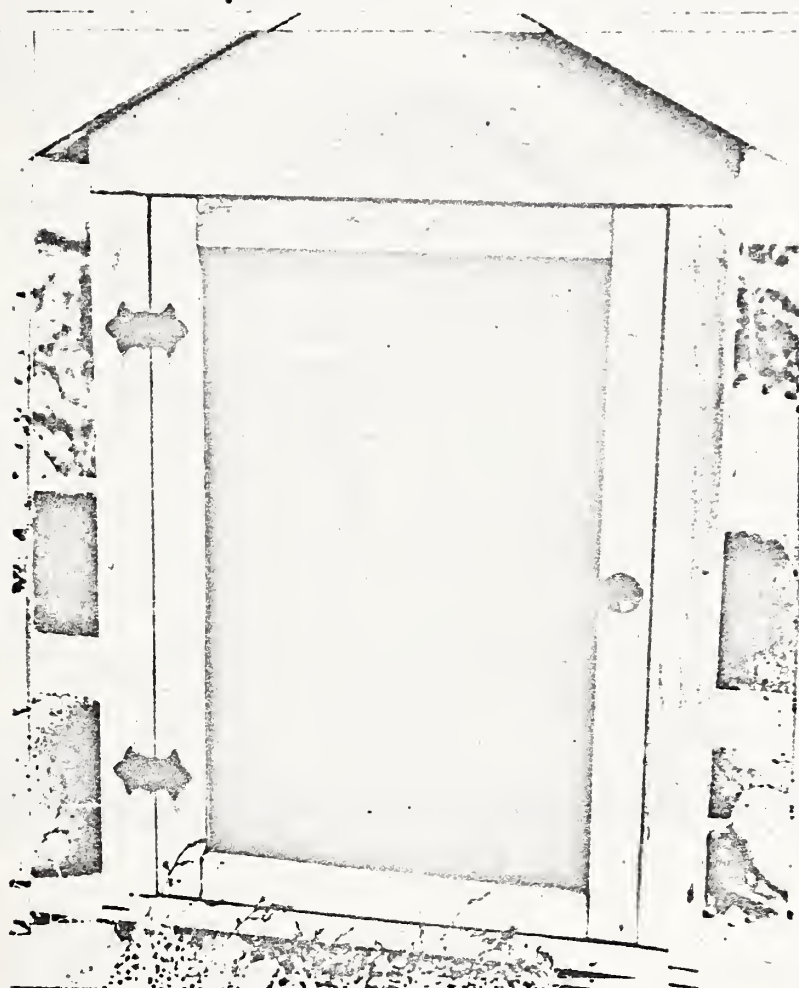
E/11. Grand Forks. Evdotia Ozerov, 1885-1959. East.

Standard Type I marker. This typical example is of a fine-grained composition stone, c. 15" x 15" x 12" deep at the base and sloping at a flat angle. The central section is stained a darker colour to imitate the appearance of marble; one such stone appears to be marble inset in the larger frame. The inscription is usually filled with dark paint; here the leaves are filled with bronze paint.

Format of the inscription is always consistent, as is the U.S.C.C. dove plus leaf spray decoration. The grave is further marked by an orderly heap of stones, just behind the marker. Directly behind is the marker shown in E/4. The line, ВЕЧНАЯ ПАМЯТЬ can be rendered 'Eternal Memory'; it introduces the second response of the Molentye.



E/12. Grand Forks. Eli Swetlishoff, 1904-1966. 'In loving memory...
 ...Rest in peace / Husband and Father.' West.
 Characteristic Type II marker. Cement, full size of plot, with
 stucco surface on main pad. Sometimes the main pad appears
 empty and is floored with chipped quartz or is planted. Kinship
 inscription at foot is standard, varied as 'Wife and Mother,'
 'Father and Grandfather,' etc. Memorial inscription at head is
 consistent, but variants 'In loving memory...Ever remembered',
 'In loving memory...Lay at rest' have occurred at Brilliant, as
 with one each of 'In loving memory...asleep with Jesus' and
 'ever remembered...rest in peace.' Two infant's markers appear
 with 'In loving memory...asleep in Jesus.' Rarely the kinship
 and lower memorial inscriptions change place. Type II Rectified
 markers face West, not East as this, but are otherwise identical,
 though more likely to have additional marker stones included.
 The characteristic language of these markers is English.



E/13. Grand Forks. Peter Chernoff, n.d. '20th. of July...' (Date faded or washed out?). East.
Typical 'Shrine' marker, not designed for permanent emplacement. c. 20" x 12" and 5" deep. Located at West end of Type II permanent marker. Note artificial wreath, shakers for Salt and Water, and dishes with Bread. Stones on either side steady the marker on its plank base.



E/14. Grand Forks. William Fofanov, 1962. East.

Unique 'Shrine' marker at West end of Type II marker (visible behind). This marks the burial of an infant: note angel figurine in upper niche. Bread and dish appear in lower niche with dry and artificial flowers. c. 20" x 20".



E/15. Glade. Mary Saprikin, 1958-1970. North.

Uncommon 'Shrine' marker with two glazed walls and 'roof' sheathed in aluminium. Numerous wreaths. Note again dish for Bread and jar for Water. Note photograph and bilingual inscription.



E/16. Krestova. Tatiana Stoochnov, 1847(?) - 1927. Inscription faded. East.

Unique 'Shrine' marker within gated picket enclosure. Marker c. 25" x 14". Inscription pencil on wood under glass cover, but much faded. Note decorative ends to pickets, carved gate (yellow), turned pillars and ornately decorated inner border on 'peak' of marker. The flanking sides of the marker are also ornately cut. Interior of plot planted, marker fronted with artificial flowers.



E/17. Krestova. Ivan Voykin, 1934-1952. 'Eulogistic' inscription. East.

One of two semi-permanent 'Shrine' markers with lengthy inscriptions painted in reverse on rear of glass front, in this case in gold paint, somewhat faded and run. Note wreath within marker, surrounding planting of roses, dove ornament above inscription. c. 36" x 24". The legible portion of the inscription reads:

Here is buried the flesh of [Paul?] Voykin. He was born December 1934, [lived just over] seventeen years and died in 1952 on a Sunday at 8 o'clock in the morning. He left his father and mother and his only beloved brother....in our hearts and in the hearts of all his relatives, those about him, and his friends, he left a deep memory. Eternal Memory for his kindness and fellowship, in our hearts Eternal Memory....

(Thanks to Lucy Kazakoff for assistance with text).

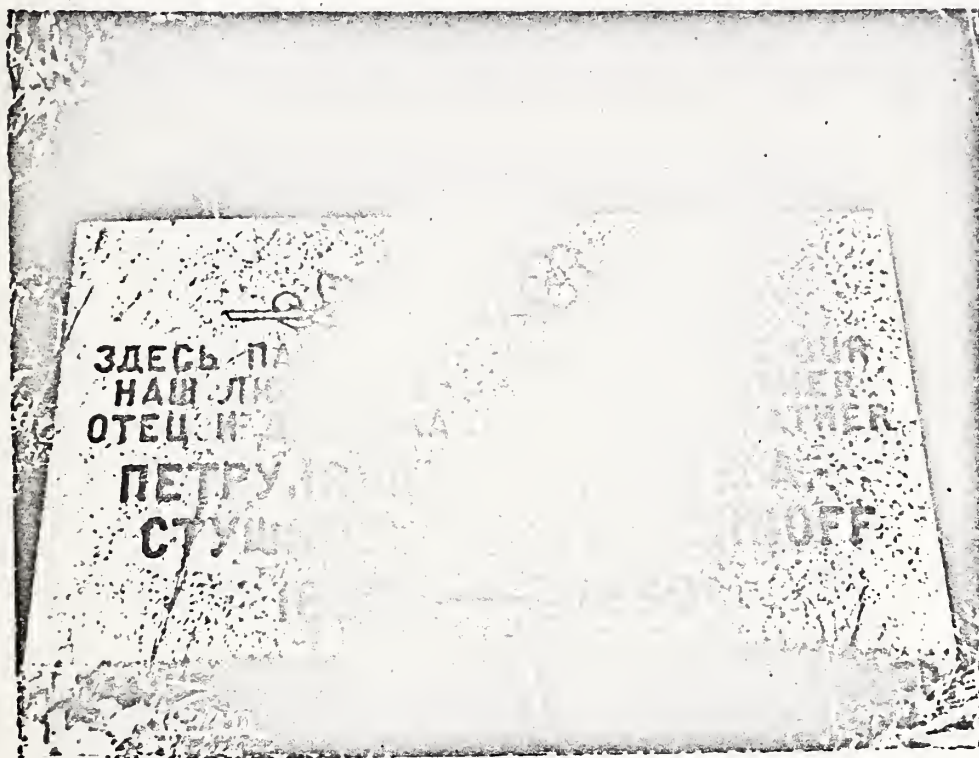


- E/18. Krestova. Gregory Zhmaev, 1948-1956. Inscription damaged. East. Unique permanent marker of cement bordered with ceramic glazed tile, with mirror inset, inscription sgraffito on reverse, on mirror's reflective backing. Marker is firmly fixed in front of temporary 'Shrine' marker with wreaths enclosed. c. 18" x 18". A large number of "Other" markers is to be found, employing a wide range of materials down to very simple markers (e.g., a puddle of cement with sgraffito name) and a cryptic reflector from a street lamp, c. 1920.



E/19. Grand Forks. Ivan Sysoev, 1894-1967. "He lies at rest here in this grave: a Doukhobor poet, a warrior for truth. His songs people everywhere cherish, of which till his death he[was] author.' East.

A unique permanent version of the 'Shrine' marker type. Note artificial flowers and dove figurines. Between the latter is a photograph of Sysoev at work, writing; The same appears in a source now mislaid. Sysoev was the author of a great number of contemporary Doukhobor hymns and is well remembered for his art (see Hawthorne 1955, pp. 257-258 for brief notations).



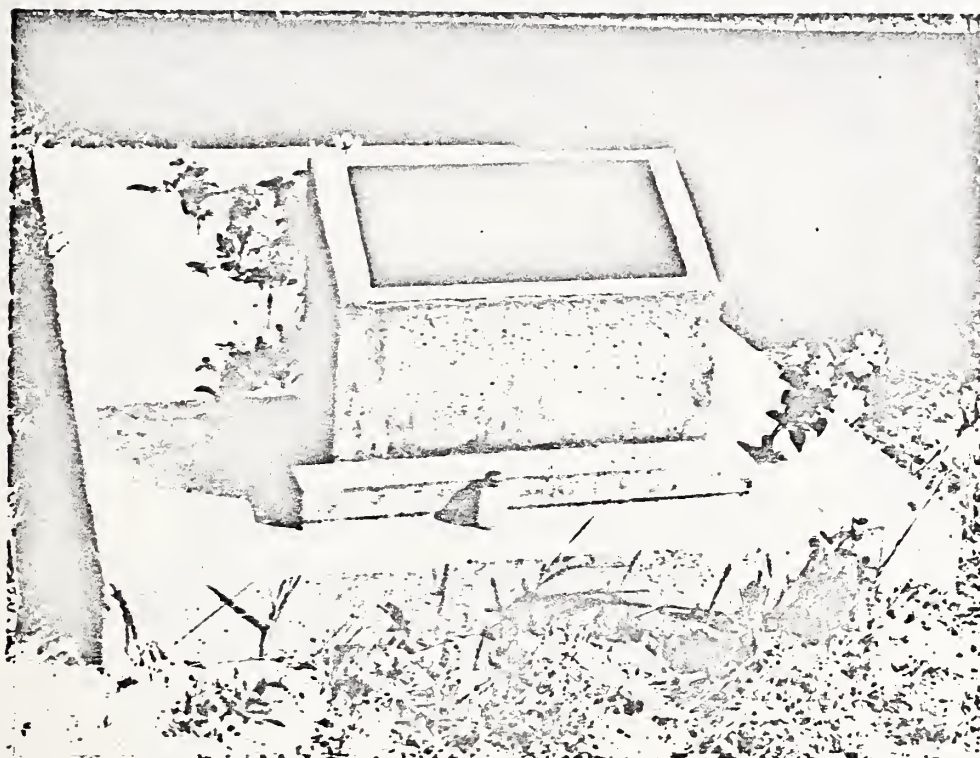
E/20. Brilliant. Peter Stoochnoff, 1883-1960. East.

Artificial granite composition stone marker, apparently(?) of Commercial manufacture. The Dogwood decoration represents the provincial flower. Several markers to this pattern are found. The bilingual inscription is not very common; but such inscriptions appear from the very late 1930's in only slightly less proportions than at present. c. 16" x 28".

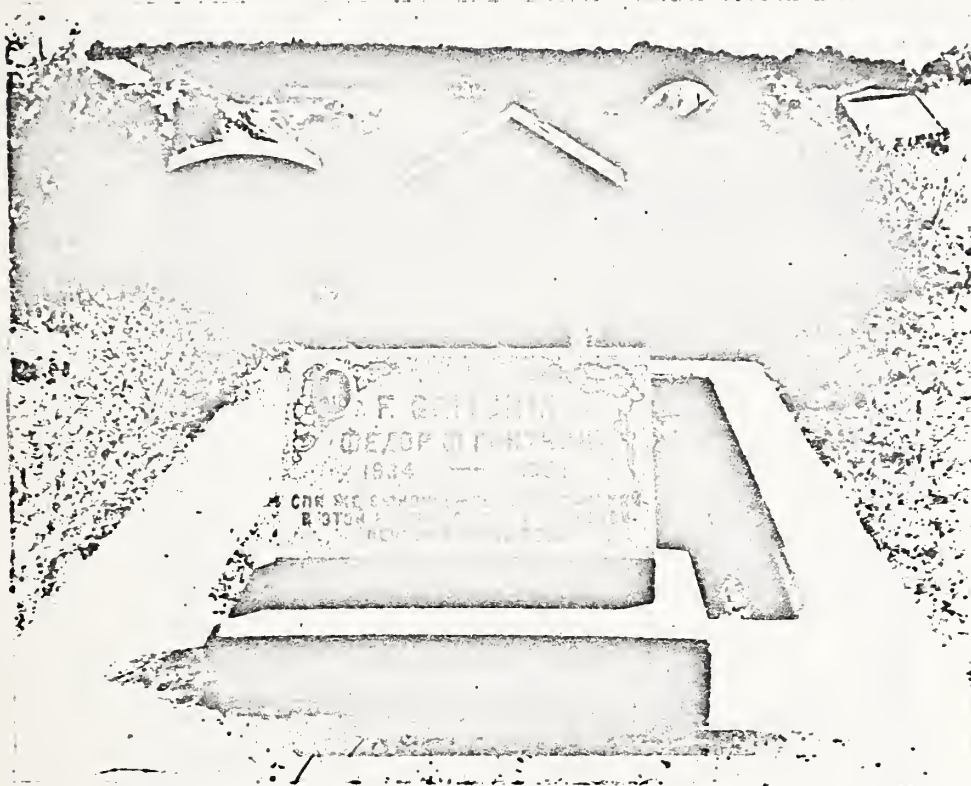


E/21. Brilliant. Walter Hancheroff, 1909-1964. No other inscription. East.

Of all commercial plaques, this pattern is overwhelmingly predominant in adult burials. Note vessel and flowers at head of marker. c. 10" x 20".



E/22. Krestova. Lisa Voykin, 1965-1970. No other inscription. East. This is the only design of Commercial bronze plaque used on infant's burials; the design represents a shepherdess in early 19th. century English costume with two lambs. It is placed on a cement riser on a Type II Rectified marker with a sunken central pad. The artificial flowers rest in slots specifically designed for them. Note Salt. This plaque design and use appears at Pass Creek and Brilliant also.



E/23. Grand Forks. Fedor Gritchin, 1934-1955. 'Sleep here, little son - You our only one. May it [be] green and deep in us, your Eternal Memory.' East.

Unique complex site: Type II REctified marker with 'Shrine', no contents, in place at East end and bilingual commercial stone with affixed ceramic plaque bearing transfer-print portrait of deceased. Also note general disposition of new burials and elevation of cemetery above surrounding terrain.



E/24. Site above Brilliant. Tomb of Peter Gospodnie and Peter Chistiakov Verigin. South: Ootischenie in background, Kootenay River below.

A central Religious site. The original tomb was damaged in an explosion in 1926, and replaced with the present bulky concrete capstone. During each of the three Commemoration festivals (including that for Peter Yastrebov), U.S.C.C. members will process in line (weather permitting) from Brilliant Molenye Dom, men to right and women to left as in Molenye, to the present site and take up positions for Molenye, divided by central flower bed in large plot. At such times a table with Bread, Salt, and Water is placed at the South end of the bed. Members of the Verigin family and officials recite psalms privately at the West end of the tomb. The whole site is carefully planted and landscaped. Note table. Note also two plots, to right and left of entrance gate, with white-painted stones forming letters [ПВГ and ППЧ], initials respectively of Peter Vasilievitch Gos-

-podnie and Peter Petrovitch Chistiakov. Not visible to the left are a child's swing in a tree and an unusual spiral cement flower-bed - symbol of Mount Zion??? On a flat bluff almost directly behind the location of the camera here, a Russian inscription is painted. After 1966, an English translation was added:

Dedicated to Peter W. Lordly.

This blessed rocky bluff
Casts its mournful sad look
On a grave sufferingly mournful, holy,
To convey people truth of a story:
Here flowed once in Doukhobor tears
A coffin with body of a Leader strong, mighty
With mournful prayer of spiritual wrestlers
Into the bowels of earth grievously lowered.
His spirit,-Arise for memory everlasting
In many loving hearts.
He bequeathed to us in holy covenant
"TOIL AND PEACEFUL LIFE" with Christ.

VIII. COMMUNITY EVENTS: THE COURSE OF TIME.

I. Introduction.

In a community defined in religious terms, the common concepts 'sacred' and 'secular' will not have the same inward application and expression as for a community defined in, say, economic or political terms. In the real functions of such a society, 'sacred' and 'secular' are the limits of a continuum; yet elements can be isolated, elements of usage, that set up, not a continuum, but a dual structure. Then the society's experience can be seen from the outside as 'either Sacred / or Less-Sacred-to-Secular.'

Two standards appear. They are the control of ritual space, and the event's proportion of religious song content. The crucial definition of ritual space occurs in the course of Molenye, Sunday morning (though not limited to then) prayer, and will be dealt with there; the expression of song content occurs in community festivals of all kinds. In the course of Field work, three levels of 'secularity' have been observed:

1. U.S.C.C. Festivals.

- a. Children's Festival(6/6/71), Peace Day(27/6/71).
All content religious: psalms and hymns.
- b. Youth Festival (22-23/5/71)
Five sessions, of which one included skits and 'folk songs'(ПЕСНИ).

2. Community Festivals.

- 'Talent Night'(9/2/71), 'Variety Concert'(1/4/71).
Opened with Lord's Prayer. Mostly skits, a play, and Folksongs, but an Elder's Choir sang two hymns.
- 'Talent Night'(11/3/72) - a greater proportion of religious music but no other facets displaced.

3. Other Community Events.

- 'Doukhobor Picnic and Sports Day'(29/6/71).
Did not open with Lord's Prayer. No religious activity while present, but one event ('Plough-pulling Contest') related to Doukhobor historical experience in jocular manner).

Only two raw data supply any overt distinction in behaviour during three various events; conversation and the freedom of movement of children are slightly freer in the latter two events; and the consumption of snacks (other than occasional sunflower seeds) does not take place in the former event to any noticeable degree; presumably, the more sacred the occasion, the more feedback must be given to the assembled community.

The general term for a community event is СОБРАНИЕ(Sobranie), assembly. The term appears again with the specific reference of a meeting whose context is 'Less Sacred.' In assembling Doukhobor community events, the following pattern may be found:

Sobranie - Meeting.

	SACRED	SECULAR
I.	<u>Molenye</u> Leader's Festival	<u>sobranie</u>
II.	Wedding and reception. Funeral.	
III.	Festival Community Festival Other event.	

A sobranie is, in fact, secular only by contrast with the sacred event that so closely precedes it, though 'secular': its mood and content may functionally be more 'sacred' than any event in the third realm. Thus for the sobranie that followed a Commemoration of a leader (e.g., for Peter Chistiakov, 11/2/71): only psalms and hymns were sung, only private addresses specifically dealing with the remembered leader and his ideals were well received.

Realms I and III cover events that take place in the course of the year. Depending on the custom in a given area and its out-lying communities, Molenye and sobranie occur weekly (Grand Forks, Krestova) or bi-weekly (Brilliant). Sunday-school is held locally on days when Molenye does not occur, or at a different time; but it is, in effect, a Molenye shortened to a length convenient for children. The other events take

place over the course of the year. A Leader's Festival, or the celebrations such as Peace Day or Declaration Day, begin with a lengthened form of Molenye in which a greater than usual number of psalms is said and sung; subsidiary observances may also take place. Thus, if weather permits, those present may process to the Verigin Tomb for the greater portion of Molenye, and in any event U.S.C.C. officials or members of the Verigin family will recite Commemoration psalms at the grave-head. Most such Festivals are moveable feasts, tending to fall on the weekend nearest the historic date, though movement a week forward or back is known. Thus, in the past year, events fell as follows:

New Year's <u>Molenye</u>	1/1/71
local Talent Night	9/2/71
Commemoration <u>Chistiakov</u>	11/2/71
Easter <u>Molenye</u>	11/4/71
Youth Festival	22-23/5/71
Children's Festival	6/6/71
Doukhobor Picnic.	20/6/71
Peace Day (Burning of Arms)	27/6/71.
Commemoration <u>Yastrebov</u>	3/8/71(BUT held with:)
Declaration Day	10/8/71
Commemoration <u>Gospodnie</u>	15/11/71
Christmas <u>Molenye</u>	25/12/71

Regarding movement: the Commemoration Chistiakov fell on the same date in 1972; in 1964 the Youth festival fell on the 15th. and 16th. of May, this year on the 20th. and 21st.; Peace (or 'Peter's') Day always falls close to June 24(Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, O.S.); and the first Declaration Day (named for the promulgation of the Declaration of the Society of Named Doukhobors, now U.S.C.C.) was August 7, 1934.

Realm II covers events that take place in a chronology governed not by the calendar, but by human affairs. There seems to be no rite-de-

-passage of an initiatory nature; but this is not an unusual fact when one considers that common entry to Doukhobor society is either by birth or by marriage; no 'confirming' rite seems to exist, though such may have been the case in the past. As with other 'plain' groups - cf. Amish custom - a child is a member of the community by right of birth and conformity to community behaviour. Since converts or proselytes are not actively sought by Doukhobors, no formal inducting mechanism exists; if a non-Doukhobor enters the social community by marriage, he or she does not commonly enter the religious community. Being a Doukhobor is not easy for one who was not born to it: at present, such a person must use an idiosyncratic dialect of Russian and must submit to disapproval from other non-Doukhobors. The converse of the lack of formal induction is that anyone willing to learn a modicum of correct responses and of psalm-singing will be welcomed to Molenye and invited to join the body of those worshipping; presumably no hindrance to a developing degree of religious, and finally economic, participation in the community would be offered.

Weddings are bi-partite: a strictly religious ceremony takes place at the home of each set of parents, usually beginning about noon. In the late afternoon a community supper is held; the social effect of inter-marriage (coupled, it seems, with repressed peasant customs) has, over the last ten-or-so years, caused the standard Wedding Supper to take on much of the secularism of non-Doukhobor Receptions - a name that has been assimilated - and both the youth of the chief participants and the general spirit of license of such events have caused a tolerance for dancing and

use of alcohol unprecedented in other Doukhobor events.

Funerals, on the other hand, are largely traditional in nature.

Probably the only recent innovations are the use of commercial wreaths and of commercial coffins- a practice which already approaches rejection. They are for the most part managed by the family concerned, and the local undertaker (an Anglo-canadian) merely provides necessary professional services at the family's direction, though many families prefer to prepare their dead as a final act of family responsibility to a member.

Few useful accounts of community events have come down to the present; some have been cited in the section on History and will not be repeated here. The only references to antecedents of Festivals are fleeting, those of Bernard (pseud, Fitz-gibbon, 1899, pp. 19-20) and Rhoads (1900, pp. 20-21). The major references to Molenve and sobranie are those of Grellet (1864, pp. 456-457, noted above) and Elkinton (1903, pp. 32-33, and inserted photograph):

1819. First Day, 30th. The Dukhobortzi collected at about ten o'clock, on a spacious spot of ground out of doors; they all stood, forming a large circle; all the men on the left hand of the old man and the women on his right; the children of both sexes formed the opposite side of the circle; they were all cleanly dressed; an old woman was next to the old man; she began by singing what they call a Psalm; the other women joined in it; then the man next the old man, taking him by the hand stepped in front of him, each bowed very low to one another three times and then twice to the women, who returned the salute; that man resuming his place, the one next to him performed the same ceremony to the old man, and to the women; then by turns, all the others, even the boys, came and kissed three times the one in the circle above him, instead of bowing. When the men and boys had accomplished this, the women did the same to each other; the singing continued the whole time. It took them nearly an hour to perform this round of

bowing and kissing; then the old woman, in a fluent manner, uttered what they call a prayer, and their worship concluded; but no seriousness appeared over them at any time.

These Doukhobors assembled...on the first day of the week to recite their hymns and go through the Sunrise Service. This is always accompanied by the greatest seriousness of manner, and one can but be impressed [sic] with their sincerity and love one for another. A week later I witnessed this ceremony in their Saskatchewan settlement and photographed the scene in front of a granary. The men were mostly absent, working on the railroad, and this accounts for the greater number of women in this group. Each man bows three times, kisses each of the other men once, and then bows to all the women, to which they respond collectively by a bow. The women also bow and kiss each other as the men do. Finally, all the men and all the women bow at the same time, bringing their foreheads to the ground in true Oriental fashion. All this is accompanied by a united chanting of their sacred hymns, and is preceded by the reciting of portions of the scriptures, or of some prayer in ritualistic form.

This service began at four a.m. and continued until six o'clock. The early hour was originally chosen so as to escape persecution in Russia, and they quite agreed with me in thinking that the meeting might now be held a little later in the day, as that necessity no longer exists. They always gave opportunity for remarks by the visitors, and listened most respectfully to what was said to them. Their patriarch, Ivan Mhortov, was present at the third sunrise service I witnessed, in which twelve men and thirty-six women took part, and he turned round at the conclusion and explained their belief with great dignity and clearness. My interpreter said he recited some Greek Church hymns dating back to 400 A.D., and even included the Virgin Mary in the summing up of their creed. Such is the force of early associations!

Grellet's odd closing comment has been noted early (may it have some almost private doctrinal application beyond its appearance?); Elkinton appears to deliberately contradict it. Molenye today is essentially little different from what it was in Elkinton's time; clearly the bows-to-the-earth antedate the psalm Father of All to which they are presently attached. No sources exist for cross-checking Grellet's account, in the absence of a translation (or easily accessible text) of Novitski, and

most Doukhobors do not have any traditional account of Molenye ante-
 -dating the time of Peter Gospodnie Verigin, who gave it its present
 form (modified somewhat by Peter Chsitiakov). The 'kiss-of-peace' of
 ancient Christian tradition (Romans XVI, 16: "Greet each other with a
 holy kiss.") is not put by many to earlier than the late 1920's, when
 its use was commended by Peter Chistiakov (Field notes, 12/2/72), and
 there is presently some question as to whether its use will be main-
 -tained (Iskra # 1304, 4/2/72, pp. 4-8).

Historic accounts of Weddings are also few, and mostly unreliable;
 the best is that of Rhoads (1900, pp. 26-29):

...At one house [in Terpenie, Sask.] we found the ...women...in
 a state of great domestic bustle and excitement. Enquiry found
 that there was going to be a wedding that afternoon - that the
 bride was expected at any moment. The woman of the house became
 almost voluble as she narrated the circumstances to the inter-
 -preter. It was her boy who was to be married, and he and his
 father had driven over to the village of Hierolofka, and would
 return with the bride and her father. She gave us all a most cor-
 -dial invitation to the marriage ceremony and the subsequent
 feast, all the time sweeping away the snow from the front of the
 entry with a vigour that betokened her natural excitement. We
 assured her that we would certainly be present, and then left her
 to continue her preparations for the reception of the bridal party.
 She called us back, however, that we might look at the newly plas-
 -tered and whitewashed tiny bedroom at the back of the entry, and
 pointed with pride to the new sheet iron stove, the home made wooden
 bed - there was no bed clothing, the bride would bring that - the
 wooden pins on the wall, the gay McCor_mick calendar and the other
 simple domestic necessities, needed by the bridal couple. Then we
 went on....We caught a glimpse of a rapidly driven farm sleigh, and,
 ...we hurried up the street to the house we had recently left. We
 found the whole village there on our arrival. The sleigh had been
 driven into the cleanly swept court-yard, and the villagers were
 ranged round it in a semi -circle between it and the house. In the
 middle of the sleigh box was the great marriage chest, and on it,
 facing the tailboard, were the bride and groom, both bravely appar-
 -elled, the girl especially being brilliant in red, green, and pur-
 -ple. On the other edge of the chest, facing the horses, were two

other girls, both prospective brides, though their grooms were not in evidence. Seated on the tailboard of the sleigh was the bride's father, and as we came up he was in the middle of a long prayer, beseeching heaven to bless the approaching union, to give to the young couple the blessing of fruitfulness, to grant his daughter the love of her husband, the affection of her husband's parents, and the favour of the village....

When at length the father had completed his prayer he helped his daughter down from the big chest and out of the sleigh. He kissed her, and gave her hand to the groom, who likewise saluted the bride. Holding each other by the hand, the pair entered the house, the father and the rest of the wedding cortege following. At the door they were met by the father of the groom, who welcomed them with a brief speech, and many bows. Then the assembly, which up to the present had been decorously silent, broke into a hubbub of chatter. The bride was surrounded by the girls of the village, who examined her attire, passing remarks on the embroidery and other adornments. The elder women bustled about in the preparation of the great marriage feast. The men chatted during the interval on farm work, the prospects for the spring, and the approaching pilgrimage of the Rosthern merchants to the village, for the purpose of holding the annual sales of implements, etc.. The groom seemed, as at Canadian weddings, the least important individual in the gathering, and for a long time I looked about for him in vain. When at length he was pointed out to me, I was greatly surprised at his extreme youth. His father said he was eighteen, but he looked no more than fourteen. His face was boyish, almost childish, and his general bearing and behaviour that of an undeveloped, callow stripling. The bride, they told me, was also eighteen. She was half a head taller than her affianced, broad of hip and shoulder, and deep of chest. She carried herself, too, with a quiet dignity and gentleness, that prepossessed us greatly.

I gathered that the principals had but little to do with the arrangement of marriage among the Doukhobors. The alliances are negotiated by the parents, though it is to be supposed that any existing attachments are given some consideration. But, owing to the extreme youth at which marriages are contracted, and the mental habit existing among the Doukhobor children of subordinating their individual judgement to that of their parents, it is but rarely that any complications are made by prior attachments.

The day was rapidly closing in, when the villagers gathered for the marriage song service. For an hour they would sing the psalms and hymns, and then would partake of the great wedding feast. The odor of vegetable soup filled the house, and the young men busied themselves arranging the borrowed tables so as to utilize every available inch of room. The father of the groom pressed me to remain

to the festival. They would sing, he said, for an hour, and then partake of the wedding meal and then would come the conclusion of the religious ceremony, when he, the father of the groom, would beseech the Almighty's blessing on the youthful pair, after which the bride's relatives would drive back home. But...we had a long way to drive ourselves....So, though reluctantly, we had to send for our team. While we were waiting for them to be brought, the good wife served us scalding tea in tumblers, and we ate more of the black bread, being entertained, while eating, by the singers, for the musical portion of the service had commenced.

Presently the average ages for Doukhobor marriages are in the vicinity of 18-20 years; Babushka is apt to chide a girl who waits longer. Residence was traditionally patrilocal; nowadays it may remain so, or both parents (the responsibility being primarily that of the groom's parents) provide a home for the young people - close to their own, if possible - insofar as their means may permit.

The only account of a Funeral, and necessarily sketchy at that, is that of Fitz-Gibbon (Pseud. Bernard, 1899, pp. 59-61):

The reverence that these people pay to the rites belonging to burial has resemblance to those observed by the primitive Christians. We happened to reach our stopping place for the night just as our hostess had returned from a Doukhobor funeral at a village seven miles farther one. [Neither location identified]. The story she had to tell us was intensely sad. [Account follows of death of a woman with a seriously infected hand]....Then she went on to tell me all the details of the funeral and the last sad duties that were performed for the dead.

...She wished that some of her Anglo-Saxon neighbours had been there to see the gentle, loving reverence with which the Doukhobor-tsi treat their dead. Where the men had got the lumber she did not know, but the simple coffin appeared as if by magic, with its stainless white linen sheet, and crimson pillow for the poor cold form. "They seemed very poor," she said, "but they laid their mother out in spotless clothing. No detail of the toilet was forgotten; the poor discoloured hand was hidden beneath a richly embroidered handkerchief. A service was held in the house, and then two daughters, the son and the son's wife lifted the coffin high on their shoulders, and although the way was long, the trail rough and unbroken, they carried their dear one to the grave, which was neatly prepared with boughs and leaves to hide the newly turned earth. Men

bearing the lid of the coffin followed, and after further recitation of Psalms at the grave they knelt in prayer. There was a heart-rending farewell taken of the dear dead, and the lid was at last fastened and the coffin was gently lowered into the grave."

No one left the grave until it was neatly covered with sods and branches. Then they insisted that Mrs. B. _____ should come back to the village to have some refreshments. There a long table was set, with the little they had to offer laid on a fine linen table-cloth. It was a sad feast, she said, and after it was over they tried in every way to express their gratitude for her sympathy and neighborly kindness. [Mrs. B. had attended the sick woman, applying poultices, etc.] The son of the poor woman brought her a handkerchief that his mother had worked for him, and insisted on her taking it as a keepsake. "They are such grateful people," she kept on repeating....

Presumably the sadness of this particular funeral and the supper following is in part the context of the unexpected and painful manner of death; it has already been mentioned that deaths of infants and of the aged have not been considered unnatural, and that mourning was and is restrained after the actual burial takes place. The funeral meal is not exactly joyous, but great heaviness is not appropriate either.

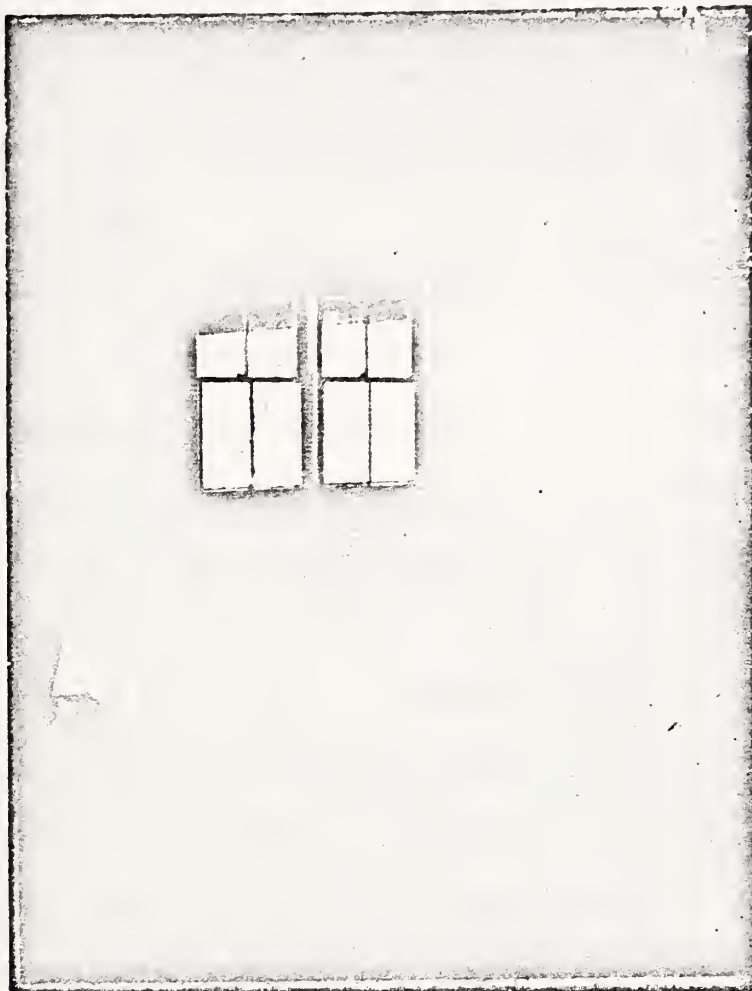
The following discussion gives an account of the order of the Molenye, of the style of festivals and other Sobranies, and of Weddings and some portion of Funerals, with some photographic illustration of Molenye and sobranie in progress. For the preceding illustration of the relationship of different events, and for an introduction to the idea of ritual space in Molenye, I am indebted to Tarryl Popoff of Vancouver; for data on Weddings, to Harry Lebedeff of Thrums, who supplemented my field data with his own; and to Don Wicketts of Castlegar for his comments, as a professional Undertaker, on Funerals.

II. Order of Molenye and Sobranie.

A. The Ritual Space.

The Prayer Home (МОЛЕНЬЯ ДОМ) usually consists of an assembly hall with a raised stage opposite the most frequently used entrance; commonly a kitchen is attached or nearby. Orientation of the building seems to depend primarily upon access, secondarily upon the aesthetic use of the site. The building is provided with, at least, long plain benches and a small table, the former stored along the side walls when not in use, and the latter placed about six feet before the stage. The table should be - and usually is - furnished with a white linen cloth, a loaf of bread on a plate, a shaker or cellar of salt, and a large (glass) pitcher of water, the fundamental emblems of Doukhobor faith. These emblems should be - but are not always - placed in a line, in the above order, from front edge to centre of the table (Field notes, 22/5/71). See VIII/1).

Before Molenye begins - the usual hour is c. 11:00 A.M. on Sunday - most of the assembly stand in that half of the hall near the entrance door; but when the time for commencement is come, a watcher standing by the door would see the men move to the upper two-thirds of the hall, on his left, the women distributing themselves similarly on his right. They stand, depending on space and numbers, in one or more lines close together, facing across at the other group, usually at least 6 - 8 feet apart. The head of the front line is the man or woman, respectively,

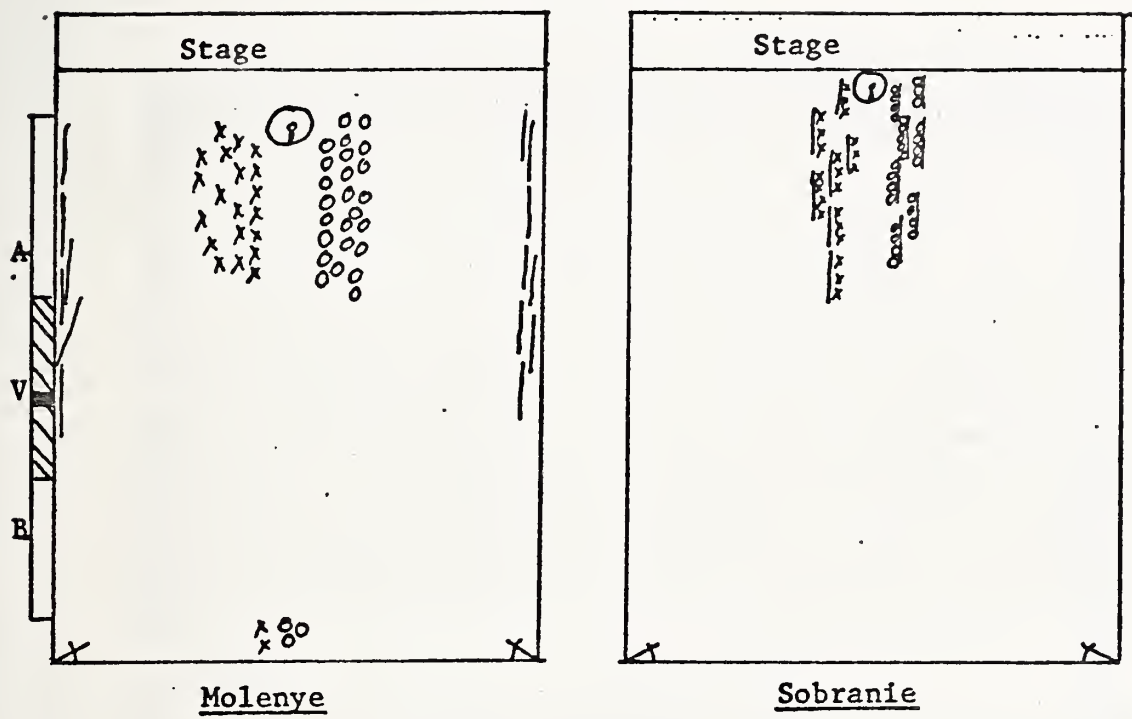


VIII/1. Hall before Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. The Molenye Dom was an old Community Village house: note the massive central beam and decoratively sawn window lintel. The shelter outside the window has been added for out door meetings, and can be seen in later photographs in this section. Note benches stacked along the wall; and Bread, Salt, and Water on table.

nearest the table; these persons do not stand up against the stage, but at least 3 or 4 feet down from it, leaving a space which a visitor or other semi-participant is often invited to occupy, and which should be considered 'non-sacred'.

At the conclusion of the 'kiss-of-peace' ceremony, in some usages the groups take a step toward each other, now being about 3 - 4 feet apart. When Molenye is over, there is usually about a five-minute pause till the beginning of sobranie; during this period, while most of the assembly chat, a few bring out the benches and place them in two sets of facing rows. The table may be moved up to the stage, and people will be seated right up against the stage. Speakers addressing the sobranie may stand behind (or beside, if it is not moved) the table, and the two seated groups will now be separated by scarcely 2 or so feet. See diagrams, Fig.VIII/1, outlining the various relationships. In these diagrams, dimensions are approximate, and show relationships rather than precise measurements: these are what concern the people.

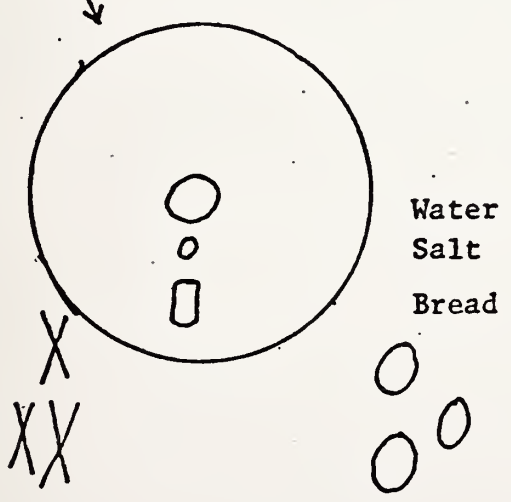
Ritual Space.



Key

- XX - Men
- OO - Women
- / - Bench
- (i) - Table

Molenye: A - 'Sacred' Space
B - 'Secular' Space
V - variable boundary
(controlled by number present)





VIII/2. Molenye, Brilliant. Peace Day, 27/6/71. Men seen from 'free' space behind table, during recitation of opening psalms. They face the women....



VIII/3. Molenye, Brilliant, Peace Day, 27/6/71. Women face men across open space between them, seen from 'free' space behind table, during opening recitation of psalms. Note traditional wearing of embroidered kerchiefs, ПЛАТЮИ, by women. The lady seated in the foreground is Anna Markova, the daughter of Peter Chistiakov, sister of Peter Yastrebov, and mother of John Verigin, widely known and respected for her wisdom and spiritual qualities.

B. The Reading of Psalms.

When about half the expected assembly is present, men and women take up their set positions. Then, as later members enter, a greeting is made by the new arrivals and a response given by those present:

СЛАВИН БОГ ПРОСЛАВЕЛСЯ.
ВЕЛИКИЯ ИМЯ ГОСПОДНЕВА СЛАВА ЯВО ПО ВСОЕ ЗЕМЛЕ.

- The glorious God is proclaimed.
- Great is the name of the Lord, His glory appears through all the earth.

The greeting and response are repeated whenever a group enters, till the reading of psalms begins; some groups arriving during the reading wait and exchange the greeting at the close of a reading, while others simply take up their places. When the set time for the beginning of the Molene has arrived, the reading of psalms commences; this is, in fact, to recite[ЧИТАТЬ - read/recite] psalm texts from memory. It is carried on by those in the two front rows, male and female, beginning with the man nearest the table and proceeding down as many in that row as choose to recite. When the row has finished, the men bow and greet the women, who respond:

СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ.
СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ.

- Thank the Lord.
- Thank the Lord.

Then those women who choose recite psalms from their front row; they conclude with the same greeting and response. During this period the rest stand and attend (VIII/2,3). Any who arrive later than this point will at once take their places, without using the greeting given above.

C. The Singing of Psalms.

As soon as possible after the response following the women's psalm-reading, the Lord's Prayer is sing:

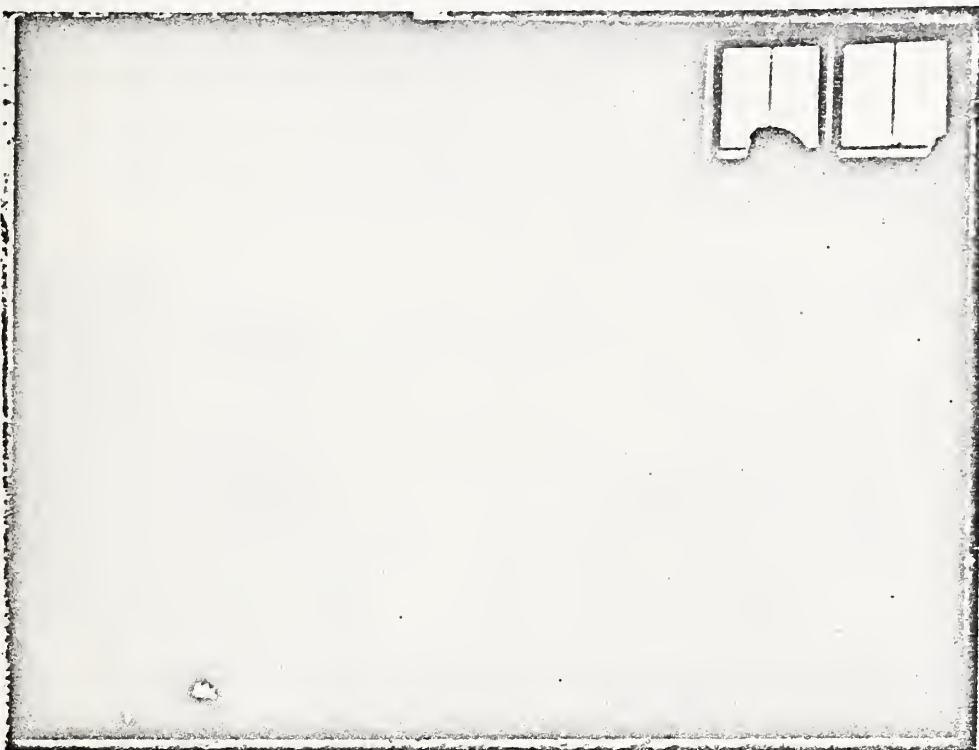
ОТЧЕ НАШ, ТЫ ЕСТЬ НА НЕБЕ И НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ДА СВЯТИТСЯ ИМЯ ТВОЕ, ДА ПРИДЕТ ЦАРСТВО ТВОЕ ДА БУДЕТ ВОЛЯ ТВОЯ, ЯКО НА НЕБЕ, ТАК И НА ЗЕМЛЕ. ХЛЕБ НАШ НАСУШИ ДАЙ НАМ НА ЦЕЙ ДЕНЬ, И ПРОСТИ НАМ ГРЕХИ НАШИ И МЫ БУДЕТ ПРОЩАТЬ ОБИЖАЮЩИХ НАС. НЕ ДОПУСТИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ДО ИСКУШЕНИЯ; ПРИВЕДИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, ВО СПАЩЕНИЕ, ЯКО ЕСТЬ ТВОЯ СИЛА И ВОЛЯ. БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА.

Our Father, You are in heaven and on earth. Let Your name be kept holy, let Your kingdom draw near, let Your will be [done] as in heaven, so on earth. Our daily bread, give [it] to us this day, and forgive us our sins and we shall forgive our offenders. Do not allow us, Lord, to be tempted, bring us, Lord, into salvation, for [such] is Your power and will. Glory to our God.

Following the Lord's Prayer, at least three psalms are sung(VIII/4,5).

At Brilliant, the psalms may follow one another directly; at Grand Forks, each psalm is 'read' after it has been sung. At D.S.C. meetings, also, the psalm is 'read' after it has been sung. This is not, it appears, a traditional procedure, but has been adopted fairly recently to further fix the texts in the minds of those less familiar with either the texts or their language. No responses are made between the Lord's Prayer and the sung psalms, with the exception of the saying of ГОСПОДИ БЛАГОСЛОВИ [Lord, bless [us]] by the leader before singing of a psalm, and and the general saying of БОГУ НАШЕМУ СЛАВА [Glory to our God] when it has been completed; these are the conventional, framing openings and closings. Short pauses occur between the singing of individual psalms, possibly to allow time for the suggestion of a title.

During the second stave of the first psalm, those in the front rows exchange a complex series of bows. The conventional bow of greeting is



VIII/4. Molenye indoors at Brilliant, 30/1/72. Note positions of wor-
-shippers relative to each other and emblems. One of the women
is leading off a psalm at this point. Note time, also.



VIII/5. Molenye outdoors at Brilliant - Children's Festival, 6/6/71. Singing of psalms. In both cases, the groups occupy the same relative positions, regardless of setting. For the Festival, the children occupy the front rows wholly; when they are present and taking part on other occasions, they stand a little further down and do not lead off psalms unless so instructed.

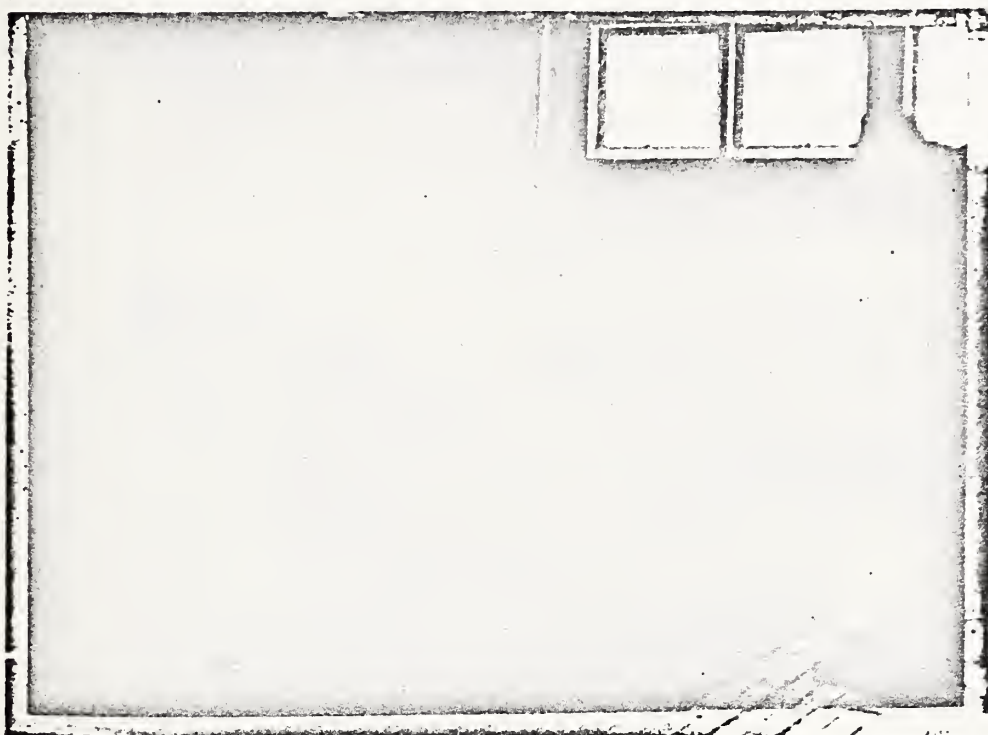
known as ПОКЛОН, 'Bow' are 'Greeting.' The bow exchanged during the first psalms is known as БОЛЬШОЙ ПОКЛОН, a 'Deep [lit., Great] Bow.'

The second man in the front row approaches the first, takes his right hand in his own, and both bow deeply twice, with an emphasized shake of the hand at each bow(VIII/6,7). then a kiss, presumably a variant of the Kiss of Peace of the ancient church, is exchanged (VIII/8,9), followed by a third bow and hand-shake. The second man now turns and bows across- not deeply - to the women, who bow in return. He then goes to the third man in line and goes through the same ritual, passing to the fourth when he has finished, while the third passes to the first and then the fourth, and so on, following the second. If more than a few are present and participating, the order may become more random, depending on the freedom of movement available. When all in the men's front row have completed the ritual (VIII/10), they bow as a group to the women, who respond, with the greeting and reply, (VIII/11):

СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ.
СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ.

-Thank the Lord!
-Thank the Lord!

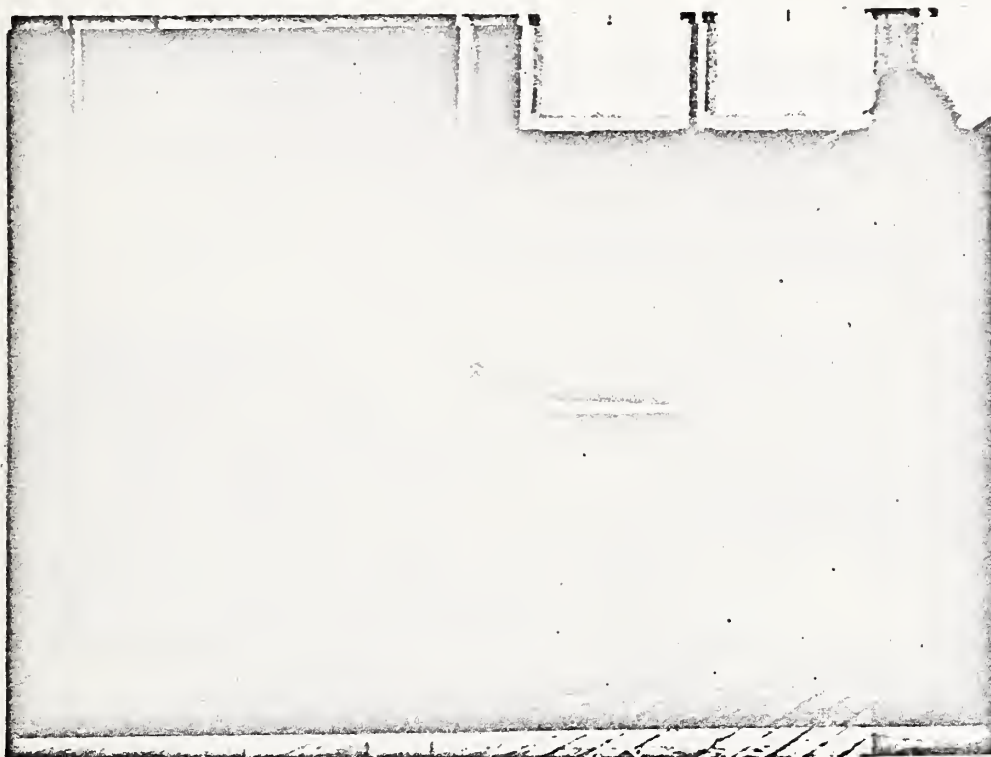
The women's row then passes through the same ceremony, concluding with the bows to the other side and the greeting and reply. At Grand Forks, each side advances a half-pace when it has completed its bows. Meanwhile, the psalms continue to be sung in order. Formerly, the whole assembly took part in this ritual (Grellet 1864, pp. 456-457).



VIII/6. Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. Shaking hands, the men bow deeply, while the rest continue to sing a psalm.



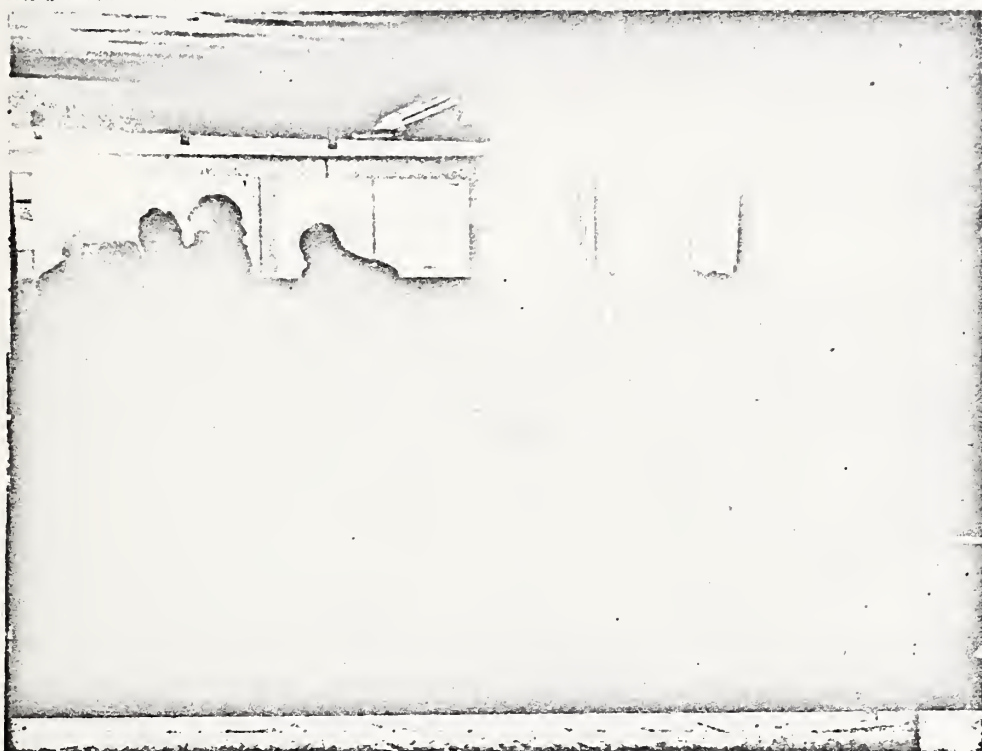
VIII/7. Molenye, Children's Festival, Brilliant, 6/6/71. Two young boys in the front row bow deeply and shake hands. In this case, an adult signalled the correct moment to begin, shortly after the opening of the first sung psalm.



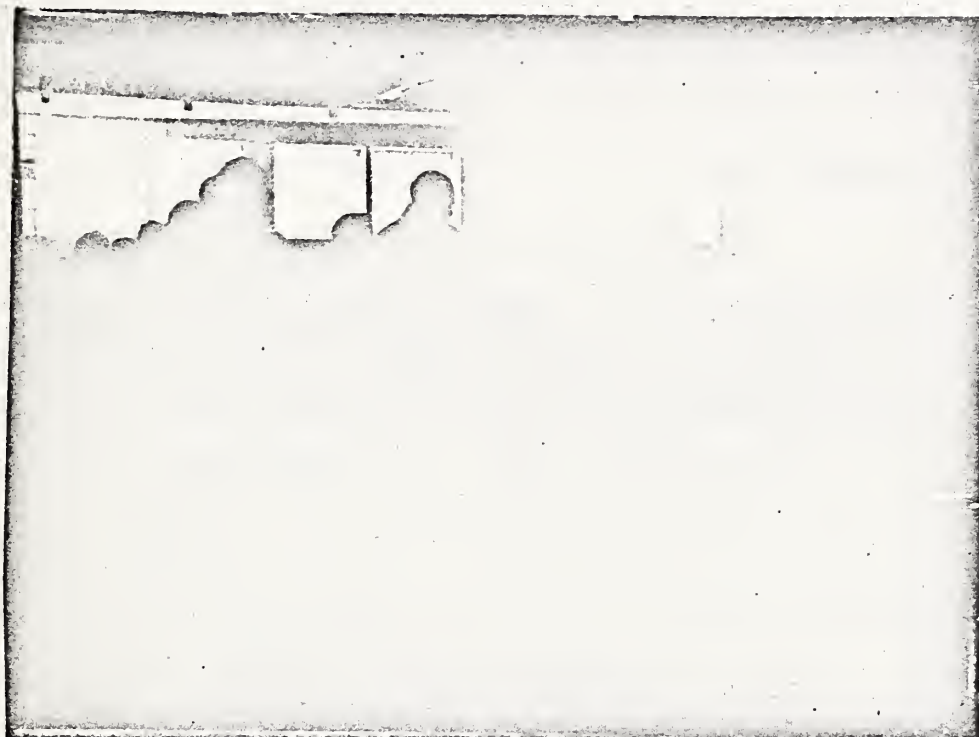
VIII/8. Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. The two men who have completed two bows exchange the kiss of peace, mouth to mouth. They will then complete a third bow and hand-shake.



VIII/9. Molenye, Brilliant, Children's Festival, 6/6/71. Similarly, the two boys exchange the kiss of peace.



VIII/10. Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. The last man in line completes his greeting of his neighbour; then all the men bow to the women, with a greeting.



VIII/11. Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. The women respond to the men's bow. They will then go through an identical procedure. The plaque just visible on the wall is a recent award to the Sunday School from the Verigin family and the Central office of the U.S.C.C..

D. Responses.

When the last psalm has been sung, a man in the front row - usually either its head, or else the man who read the first psalm - recites the Lord's Prayer, as before. Then he recites the prayer Father of All, to which are added two responses, which all join to say:

ОТЧЕ ВСЕХ, НА ТЕБЯ, ГОСПОДИ, УПОВАЕМ. ТЫ ДАЕШЬ НАМ ПИШУ ВО БЛАГОЕ ВРЕМЯ; ОТВЕРЗАЕШЬ ШЕДРУЮ РУКУ СВОЮ И ИСПОЛНЯЕШЬ ВСЯКОЕ ДУШЕВНОЕ БЛАГОВОЛЕНИЕ. ПОМЯНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ВСЕХ ОТОШЕДШИХ В ВЕЧНУЮ ЖИЗНЬ, А НАС СОХРАНИ, ГОСПОДИ, ВО ВСЕМ БЛАГОЛУЗЬИ.

НА СЕМ МЕСТЕ ПОКЛОНЯЕМСЯ ОТЦУ, СЫНУ, И СВЯТОМУ ДУХУ.

ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!

ВО ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!

ВЕЧНАЯ ПАМЯТЬ ПОКОЙНЫМ БОРЦАМ ЗА ИСТИНУ!

А ЖИВЫМ ПОШЛИ, ГОСПОДИ, ДОБРЮ ЗДОРОВЬЯ; ПРОСТИ НАС, ГОСПОДИ, И УКРЕПИ В ПУТЯХ ТВОИХ.

Father of all, in You, Lord, we trust. You give us food in good time; You open your bountiful hand and fill all souls with kindness. Remember, Lord, all those [who have gone on to eternal life, and keep us safely, Lord, in all well-being.

In this place we bow to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. [Bow].

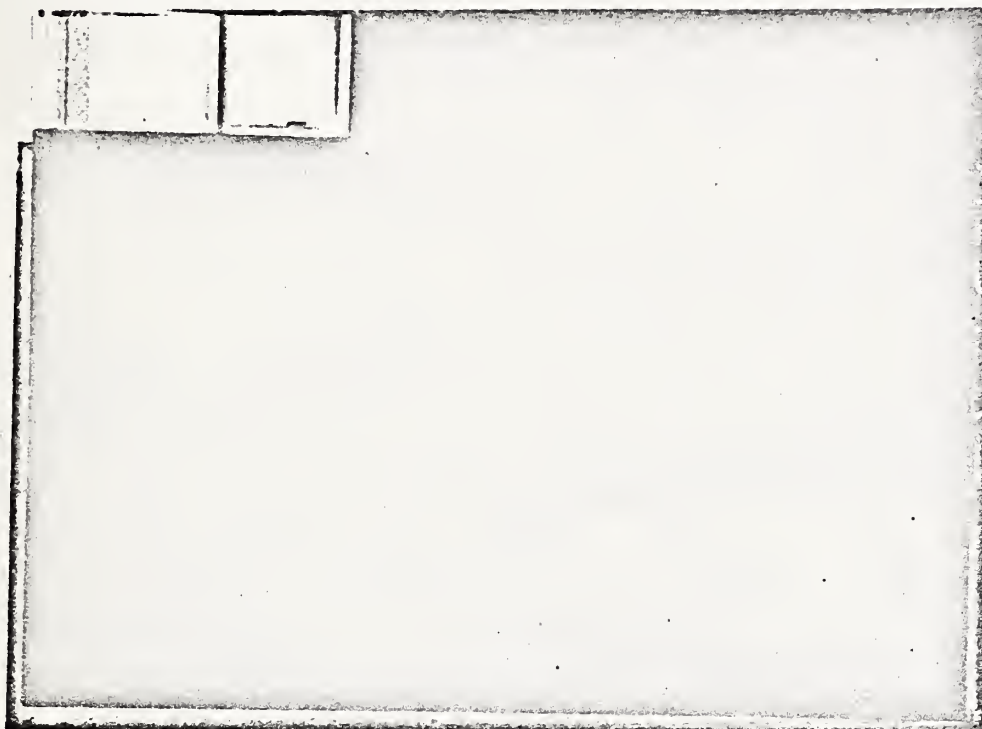
Christ is risen!

In the faithful is Christ risen!

Eternal memory of the dead wrestlers for truth! [Bow].

To the living, Lord, send good health; forgive us, Lord, and strengthen [us] in Your way. [Bow].

At the conclusion of each phrase marked [Bow], the entire assembly makes ПОКЛОН НА ЗЕМЛЕ, a 'Bow to the Earth', on their knees, bows to the ground, then rises again; if the assembly is large and in a confined space, those to the rear may only bow deeply (VIII/12,13).



VIII/12. Molenye, Brilliant, 30/1/72. Bow-to-earth during responses of the psalm Father of All. Note how both the greater general age of participants and the confined space limits the proportion bowing fully.



VIII/13. Molenye, Children's Festival, Brilliant, 6/6/71. Bow accompanying responses of the psalm Father of All. Note again that the aged and infirm do not bow so fully; note also the greater freedom of movement in open space.

When all have risen, the men greet the women twice; the women reply in turn after each greeting with a response:

С ПРАЗНИЧКОМ.
СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ. ТАКЖЕ У ВАС С ПРАЗНИЧКОМ.
ПОКЛОН ДОМАШНИЕ ПЕРЕДАВАЛИ.
СПАЦИ ГОСПОДИ. ТАКЖЕ И НАШИ ДОМАШНИЕ ПОКЛОН ПЕРЕДАВАЛИ.

[We greet you] with the festival [that is, this day].
Thank you[lit., Thank the Lord]. And [we greet] you also with the festival.
The ones-at-home pass along greetings [lit., a bow].
Thank you. And also our people-at-home pass along greetings.

Sometimes the men again respond СПАСИ ГОСПОДИ, Thank you. Then a hymn is usually sung. This may occasionally be followed - especially if the assembly is small, and no customary sobranie is to ensue, or an event in another district calls for their attendance - by brief spoken comments and a short spoken closing psalm. Just as the Molenye ends, men and women exchange a final greeting:

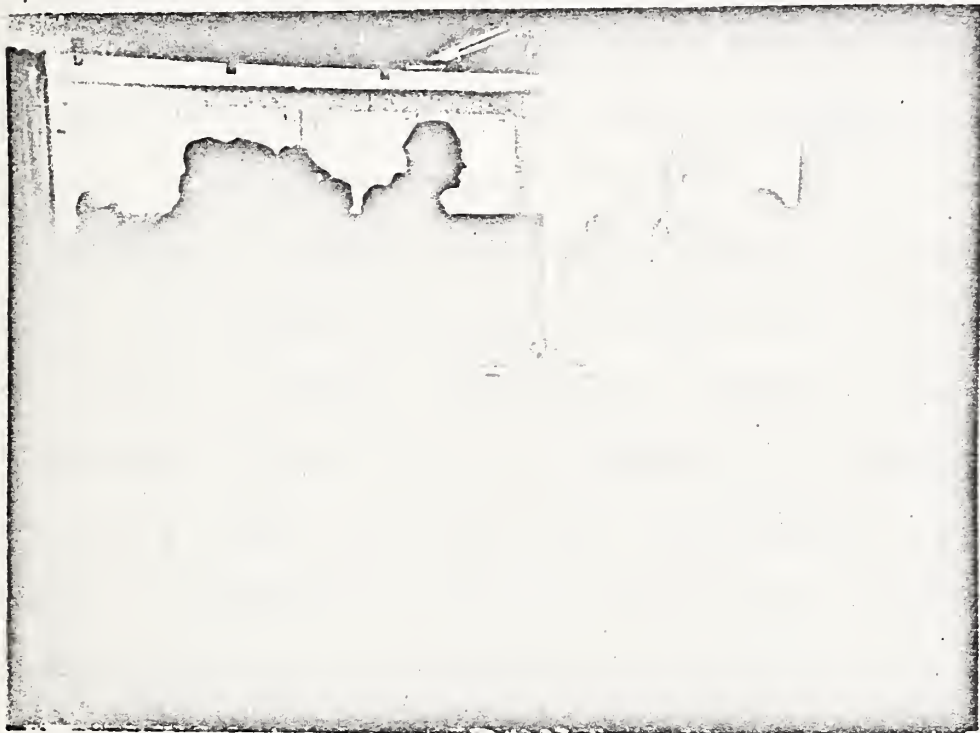
ПРОЩАЙТЕ!
ДОБРЫЙ ЧАС!

Goodbye!
A Good Hour['Good luck!']!

A short break follows. If there is, as rarely occurs, to be no more, people will talk and move to the door; if a sobranie is to follow, some will chat while others discuss order of speakers, feed the stove if it is winter, and set up the benches(VIII/14).

E. Sobranie.

When benches have been placed, the people sit down. The behaviour that follows depends upon the composition of the group, current community events, and the locale. For most groups on most occasions and in most



VIII/14. Brilliant, 30/1/72. Molenye is over: some prepare for sobranie; this day, it took the form of a rehearsal of hymns and psalms that were favourites with those present.

places, sobranie, while fairly formally structured, is informal in mood. After sitting, the group will sing a hymn; then a pause will follow in which discussion sets the mood of the meeting; the sobranie may become a psalm practice or an informal singing of favourite hymns; to these may be added minor items of community news, or the reading of letters from distant parts. If a number of Trustees are present, there may be some discussion of U.S.C.C. business. In this case, individual speakers, or groups of speakers-to-a-point, will be separated by the singing of hymns. There seems to be no overt cue for the shift from speaking to singing, but presumably the completion of a major rhetorical point is the accepted signal(VIII/15).

It should be interjected here, that Doukhobor debate (which characteristically takes place in a sobranie context and with sobranie associations) is of a democratic form different in style from Western democratic debate. Western debaters are accustomed to taking more-or-less extreme positions and, by accommodation and compromise, arriving at a generally tolerable or acceptable agreement. When a vote is taken, those in favour of the position-as-stated vote for it, the rest against. Doukhobor debaters rise in turn and state their positions, which tend to a somewhat conciliatory yet non-negotiable style of expression. Attacks are usually not made on other positions, but one's own position is affirmed without compromise. Speaking may or may not be to a prior point. When a vote is taken, those in favour - more or less - with the position-as-stated vote solidly for it, and those against the position



VIII/15. Sobranie at Brilliant, 30/1/72. People have just settled into their places before singing commences. Note that they are nearer the head of the room; and the men and women sit closer to each other respectively, as well as generally closer. Doukhobors prefer a closer physical distance in groups than Anglo-canadians generally; this tends to discomfit those who do not recognize the fact, and they complain of 'crowding' or 'pushiness'.

do not vote negatively, but abstain; negative voting is commonly only offered on minor points of procedure. The debating style derives from the village Mir system of government by elders. If a reason for the difference in style between Western and Doukhobor debate is to be sought, it may not be far from the relative security enjoyed by Western groups of local government, and their middle-class power; status could also be acquired by integrity in the face of majority opposition. For Russian peasants, the integrity needed for survival against the Czar's bureaucracy was that of complete solidarity, at least in appearance: the presence of conspicuous minorities would otherwise supply a lever for outside control of an institution already poorly defended. Hence there was strong pressure for the development of a tradition of overt, though not real, unanimity. Speakers still refer to such unanimity as a positive virtue (Field notes, 1,11/4/71).

In Sunday School, sobranie takes a more directed form. Children are marked for attendance in a register, a practice presumably imitated from the style of Anglo-canadian Sunday schools, and discussion is replaced by a religious lesson, usually taken from Tolstoy's compilation from the Gospels, The Teaching of Jesus (1908: used in several reprint editions, the English edition 1961, published by the D.S.C.). The lesson includes a series of short questions on the reading, which are supplied in the textbook and are to be answered orally by the children; and one or two hymns are sung (Field notes, 28/2/71).

On other occasions, the sobranie takes a more extended and formal

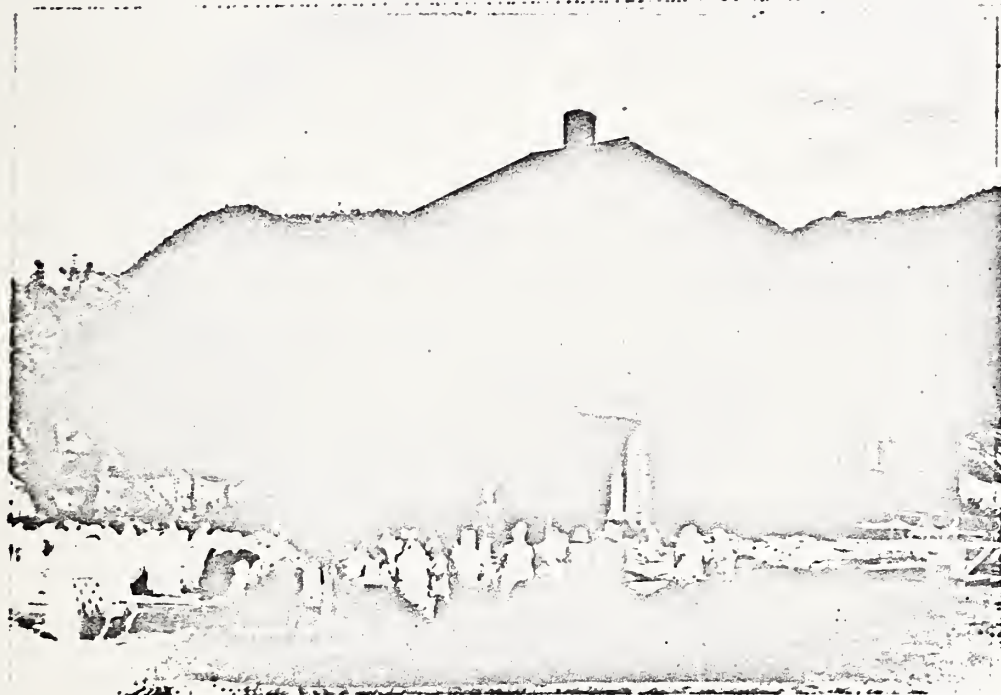
structure. On Festivals and Commemorations, speakers may have more-or-less prepared addresses to give (VIII/16); if the address is not concerned with the occasion, or is highly controversial, complaints and even interruptions will be heard from the listeners. Prior to the occasion, various choirs will be scheduled to sing according to a set programme(VIII/17). Such a sobranie may be brief or long, but its pattern will not vary. Thus the Commemoration Chistiakov, 11/2/72, was about an hour and a half long; one Sunday School Choir was present, several hymns and a psalm were sung, and at least seven speakers gave addresses. The Youth Festival, 22,23/5/71, consisted of some four sessions averaging three hours each over a two-day period, and framing a 'Talent Night' and a Molenye, but the content still consisted of choir performances and addresses. The mood of Festivals is relaxed(VIII/18).

Depending on weather and time of year, community meals are held in conjunction with major sobranies; for a discussion of these, see Chapter VII, section II, and B/6.

Essentially the sobranie has two functions: it is a major tradition bearing event, giving ample opportunity for the transmission and reinforcement of cultural data, whether it be song lore, rhetorical style and function, or social dynamics of group expression, identity, and security. It is also a social institution for communication on the individual and family level, and for courtship and other, less intense friendly activities. On occasion it may also become a vehicle for political expression and for the adoption of community policy. Thus the



VIII/16. Peace Day sobranie at Brilliant, 27/6/71. Eli Popoff presents an address on a Festival topic. Note rough segregation of men and women. The stage is that which may be seen through the window of VIII/1.



VIII/17. Peace Day sobranie, Brilliant, 27/6/71. A choir of D.S.C. elders from Salmo, B.C., performs a psalm and two hymns in an older singing style.



VIII/18. Children's Festival sobranie, Brilliant, 6/6/71. Formality is not constrained; those present converse and move about freely. Note riser, for large choir, before stage.

1962 march of Svobodniki to the coast followed a sobranie; thus too at the 1971 Commemoration Chistiakov, John Verigin, as Honorary Chairman of the U.S.C.C., in the tradition of Peter Chistiakov's 1934 reorganization, presented a proposal for reorganizing the economic and securities base of the U.S.C.C. (Field notes, 11/2/71).

When the programme of a sobranie, formal or informal, is concluded, one last hymn is sung. During in-sobranie singing, all may sit; but the opening and closing hymns are usually sung standing. Most commonly used at the ending is the hymn Our Assembly Is Now Ended (in Peacock 1970, pp. 105-110), dating from the 1930's and apparently composed in Saskatchewan. Then the people depart, usually conversing as they leave the building or site.

Note: Texts and translations of Molenye responses courtesy of Peter Samoyloff and Lucy Kazakoff.

III. Weddings and Funerals.

A. Weddings.

The data in this discussion are based on information researched by Harry Lebedeff of Thrums and on Field notes on the wedding of Jane and Walter Konkin, 5/6/71.

There are three formal stages in a Doukhobor wedding; the Engagement, the Wedding itself, and the Wedding Supper. Observance is variable, depending upon devoutness of the respective families, usage in a given area, and influence of Anglo-canadian culture. Ceremonies used to be a house affair, but in Grand Forks families are encouraged to use the Community Hall for all stages of the wedding. In the case of cross-cultural marriages, the engagement ritual is often dropped, and some Anglo-canadians will not take part in a Doukhobor ceremony; otherwise, cross-cultural marriages usually consist of a joint ceremony drawing upon both traditions.

Mr. Lebedeff reports from interviews with older Doukhobors:

Before the influx of Russians into Canada, the weddings performed in the native country were quite different in all respects to the concept of the word marriage....there was no real formality in the conduct of the marriages.

Sometimes, but not always, the parents decided when to marry their children and to whom. The boy and girl had no say in the matter. Two families, who thought their son and daughter would make good marriage partners, would gather at the girl's parents' home and have a little party of their own. Close relatives were also present. The arrangement was very simple and consisted more or less of tea-drinking and a supper. It was typical to choose a girl who was older than the boy, because [house-]work was always a burden and an older person would have experience to cope with it.

Next day, the parents would bring their son to the girl's home and would announce that they were married. The boy and girl would usually oppose the parents but would have no power to argue about their sudden union. The words of the parents were final. Against her will, the girl would gather her belongings and go with the boy to his home. There was no such thing as divorce at that time. The couple had to live together, and most of the time the unions worked out quite well.

Weddings of this kind were common in Russia for a substantial period. Priests and churches were not recognized by the people, who therefore established their own customs....

With the migration of the people to Canada, the customs changed. In the early 1900's, people were not married in that manner any more. The parents would gather at the girl's home, talk, recite or sing a hymn [psalm?], have a cup of tea, and then would pronounce the couple husband and wife and wish them a happy life. The girl would then take her change of clothes and move in with her husband. The procedures of marriage were short and simple.

From this developed the style of the present. It is much more complicated than that given above and seems much more appropriateIt made marriage seem more real and have more definite meaning in the union of the couple.

It is a deplorable fact that Doukhobor marriages were not recognized by the B.C. Provincial Government till as late as 1953, though ample precedent - e.g., Quaker marriages - had long existed; the official attitude can only be understood as one of vicious prejudice.

The engagement and wedding ceremonies are private matters for the young couple, their families, and perhaps a few close friends. The wedding supper, however, is a major community affair for which more than one sitting may be required. Occasionally an air of competition seems to enter into the arrangements: certainly young people of light mind may be heard to evaluate weddings on the basis of a count of dishes and guests' heads, though such evaluations are not limited to Doukhobor weddings, in my experience.

The ritual involved in engagement and wedding varies, not in site or oral content, but in movement in ritual space and in material emblems.

The movement may be that of set formulae or of relative positions of, not men and women as in Molenye, but of the boy's and the girl's parents. The space may be indoors or out (depending, again, on weather and time of year, and personal taste); direction seems unimportant, and orientation is to the carpet upon which the young couple kneels.

1. The Engagement.

In the late morning, as a rule, the couple, their parents, and close family and friends arrive at the girl's home. The boy's parents greet those of the girl, who respond; they exchange the Easter greeting; and ask and receive guest status.

СЛАВА ГОСПОДИ!
СЛАВА БЛАГОДАРИМ БОГА ЗА ЕГО ИЙГОСТЬ.
ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!
ВО ИСТИННЫХ ХРИСТОС ВОСКРЕС!
ПРИНИМАЙТЕ НАС ЗАГОСТЕЙ.
МИЛЮСТЫ ПРОСИМ.

Glory to the Lord!
With glory we thank God for his favour.
Christ is risen!
In the righteous is Christ risen!
Accept us as guest.
We ask your favour.

The boy's parents bring with them a shaker of salt and loaf of bread. Those present then form a circle; the boy's party on his left, the girl's to her right; before the young couple is a rug. One of the girl's party then recites a psalm that seems appropriate to them: psalm 138, Be Devout, is traditionally chosen; at its end all bow. Next any member recites the Lord's Prayer, which is again followed by a bow; and then the psalm Father of All. At the conclusion of this, all family members pre-

-sent should bow-to-the-ground, but friends only bow shallowly, and all bow shallowly after the appended Easter Greeting. Next, the girl's parents approach the couple, who kneel on the carpet, bow-to-the-ground, then rise; the boy kisses his inlaws-to-be, the girl her parents. In turn, the boy's parents approach and the ceremony is repeated. The same procedure is followed by the relatives of the girl and the boy, who come forward as husband-and-wife or in two's and three's; then likewise with the friends. With the kisses is offered the greeting ДОБРЫЙ ЧАС [lit., 'A Good Hour'], for good fortune and happiness.

All then take a meal - usually supper - with the girl's parents. The betrothed couple may sit at the head of a long table, or together near the middle, with the boy's parents next to them, the girl's parents facing those of the boy, and relatives and friends down the other sides. The couple sat with the boys parents "because they would be living with them." A hymn may be sung - usually Mount Zion, Holy Mountain - all rise for the Lord's Prayer, and the psalm Father of All, which is now said as a grace, bow, greet the couple with ДОБРЫЙ ЧАС, and sit to eat. Borscht, pereghee, and ploe, a rice pudding, are essential foods, accompanied by jelly, salad, cookies, and pie. A short grace, Thank You, Lord is said, and the evening concludes as an ordinary social gathering, e.g., with singing and conversation.

2. The Wedding.

The order for a wedding is essentially the same as that for an engagement, with the following additions or alterations:

The ceremony is repeated, first at the girl's home and then at the

boy's home, where the reception supper may also take place.

Both groups of parents bring bread and salt with them. When the girl's mother arrives at the boy's house, her loaf is sliced and put on the table - perhaps symbolizing the physical separation of the girl from her parents and her formal relinquishing of virginity through marriage.

After the couple's bows and kisses, a hymn is sung. A common choice is The blessing of trees in the valley; less frequently, The giving of precious minutes by God or I am rich in the land.

Next, the boy's parents kneel before those of the girl and formally thank them for bringing her up and for letting her become part of their own family; the parents then kiss each other.

The girl's parents now provide a dinner which proceeds as before, with the same prayers and foods. After this, the girl's family only presents wedding gifts. The first is given by her parents. The couple kneel before them, bow-to-the-ground, then rise and kiss them; the parents wish them good fortune in their marriage. The gift is then opened and shown to all present. Next grandparents, relatives, and friends, in order, come forward and offer their gifts, with the same procedure. The mood is one of gaiety, and the couple are liable to be asked to kiss each other in various ways, or to repeat their bows-to-the-ground, as the gift is given. Lewis (Hawthorne 1955, Appendix, pp. 277-279) reports a hilarious wedding at which

[The father of the bride] pulled a great roll of bills from his pocket and began hurling them one by one down onto a platter placed on the table for the purpose. He talked rapidly in Russian

making a wish on each bill he threw down relative to how the bill should be spent. As as he threw each bill down, the bride and groom kissed each other on the wish that was made. There was great gaiety over this, because the bills were thrown down so rapidly!

All around the table the wishing went, everyone hurling down money and the bride and groom kissing to keep up with it.

After this gift-giving, hymns may be sung, then all prepare to leave for the wedding supper. The bride takes her gifts and her belongings with her: especially two pillows, blankets and sheets, and a clothes-chest. It is traditional for the bride to have a quilt to bring with her; one informant's mother, speaking of his intended marriage to an Anglo-canadian girl and of his elder brother's similar marriage, planned to make the girl a quilt: the elder brother's bride had not brought one, and(Field notes, 2/10/70):

I'm not going to have two girls coming into this family without a quilt to cover their bum with on a cold night.

On this occasion at least, the girl and the female parents should wear traditional dress - platok, and blouse and dress en semble.

When the group leaves for the groom's home, the couple travel with his parents, again as the girl will be staying with that family, at least nominally. Her parents follow, bringing bread and salt.

3. The Wedding Supper.

The wedding reception or supper is sponsored by the parents of the groom, who are also in charge of the programme. At present most suppers are held in local community halls; traditionally, they were held at the groom's home - the house of the newly-weds, as it now became.

Upon arrival, the wedding party are met by a female relative (usual-

-ly grandmother) of the groom, who, like the bride's mother, has with her salt and bread, and others who form a welcoming group. The same formal greeting that began the engagement ceremony is exchanged, only now it is the bride's parents who speak first and those of the groom that respond; when the bride's parents ask to be accepted as guests, they are taken to speak for all the wedding guests. A hymn may be sung at this point. A table will be provided with Bread, Salt, and Water.

The bride's gifts and belongings are taken to the couple's bedroom, where she changes her clothes and replaces the bedclothes with her own, setting the former ones aside. This is said to symbolize both her willingness to maintain the home she has joined, and a happy married life - acceptance of the sexual duties of a wife.

The same ritual of bowing-to-the-ground and exchanging kisses is performed, though now the groom's parents take part first, and the bride's parents do not bow to their inlaws. The food and prayers are similar to those used earlier, and the same presentation of gifts - now by the groom's party - follows.

For acculturated families, the initial greeting outside the home or hall is retained, but a receiving line is then formed just within the entrance where the guests meet the wedding party in conventional fashion and then pass directly to the supper, which will be interspersed with a psalm and a few hymns performed by an invited choir. Before anyone sits to eat, the 'Cooks' Greeting' is exchanged:

СЛАВА ГОСПОДИ!
 СЛАВИМ БЛАГОДАРИМ БОГА ЗА ЕГО МИЛОСТЬ.
 ЗВОЛЬТЕ КУШАТЬ!

Glory to the Lord!
 We praise [and] thank God for His mercy.
 Come to eat!

The Lord's Prayer is said or sung and the psalm Father of All said, and the meal begins, interrupted cheerfully from time to time either by the choir, non-alcoholic toasts and replies to toasts, readers with real or preposterous congratulatory letters and telegrams, and applause to make the couple kiss. The wedding gifts may be displayed, unopened, and will not be opened for a day, or else during the honeymoon. When the supper is over and the grace Thank You, Lord, said, that is the end of traditional observance.

A few hours later in the evening, though, less observant and younger celebrants may return for a night of dancing. At this time - as in Russia before the revitalization spearheaded by Peter Gospodnie Verigin - the license is also extended to the use of alcohol.

In the past, the supper was followed by the singing of both serious and light songs. Some of the psalms(e.g., 162) condemned or tabooed dancing, but the rule is nowadays a matter of individual conscience and interpretation.

One cross-cultural wedding was noted in which the engagement ritual was reduced to a single bow-to-the-earth before the company, and then parents and relatives were kissed in turn but in no formal sequence.

The pressure of acculturation has been felt more strongly in Weddings

than in any other formal Doukhobor observance, presumably because the young people involved have wide Anglo-canadian contacts to condition them. The apparent disorder of this process has had a feedback effect, and is the rationale of a survey by at least two independent groups of Doukhobor young people who propose to arrive at a standard ceremony. The alteration presently seems to take the form of addition rather than replacement, and the use of the term 'Traditional' for the whole wedding, and for the bridal party's clothing (which is often traditional only in outline) betoken a continued interest in Doukhobor identity. Beyond this, the basic social effect and function of the observance is normal: the change of family status is made public to the community, in whose eyes the couple have now entered into the fullest adult life, and appropriate celebration is made including an element of license that echoes the fundamental sexual aspect of marriage; and by contrast defines the social and religious context that rationalizes and hallows this aspect.

B. Funerals.

This discussion is based on an interview with Don Wicketts of the Castle-gar Funeral Home, who undertakes for the majority of Doukhobor funerals in the immediate area (20/1/71), attendance towards the end of a funeral for Mr. Nichvolodeff of Pass Creek (14/2/71), and attendance at the funeral of a friend.

Doukhobor funerals have traditionally taken approximately 27 hours. The body of the dead is prepared as soon as possible; it used to remain one night at the family home. It is taken to the Molenye Dom on the second day after death for a service which begins about noon (VIII/19). The



VIII/19. Funeral photograph: family in the Brilliant area, probably 1920's. Author's collection - source unknown.

The family has prepared the body of their dead, dressing it in the linen dress of Community wear, and wrapping it in a sheet or blanket. The men have prepared a coffin: the lining is probably of printed cloth or gift paper over cloth padding. Presumably the photograph was taken during the period when the body is at the home of the family, or about to be brought into the Molenve Dom, though it may also be the moment before burial.

Some families prefer to lay out their dead; otherwise, the first day after death the body is kept by the undertaker.

service is managed and arranged by the family of the dead; they take a major part in all that is done. One or more choirs may be present; except for the use of spoken psalms recited by the family at the beginning, close, and various unspecified times throughout the service, its form is that of a sobranie. Bread, Salt, and Water are placed on the usual head table; behind this, on the front of the stage, the coffin is placed. This was formerly home-built, but now is generally a standard commercial design. A movement is spreading among conservative Community people and Svobodniki, to return to the use of home-built coffins; the attitude is based upon both economic and plain-community arguments. The coffin is open, and often photographs of the dead as he or she appeared a few years earlier stand up on the inside edge of the lid, "So people can see how they were when alive." Men are dressed in a dark suit with white shirt, women with kerchief (platok), and usually a long dress that reaches the ankles; elderly people, however, may be buried in their old linen clothes of the Community Village period, if these have been stored for that purpose. The undertaker customarily chooses to embalm the dead. The family and friends customarily maintain a vigil during the night in the Molenye Dom; as with most Wake traditions, towards the end of the vigil conversation may be light and jokes will be used: these serve the twofold purpose of releasing emotional tension, and of affirming, in the face of the Individual's death, the continuing life of the Community of his family and neighbours. Community members return to the Molenye Dom through the morning, and the service continues much the same as before

till about noon or a little thereafter, at which point it ends with family prayers; the family then processes outside with the coffin.

There is a break while the coffin is (temporarily) closed. Formerly it was carried in a full procession to the cemetery, but most such processions will travel by automobile if the distance is at all far or if the weather is foul. At the cemetery, the family gathers on the South or East side of the grave, near the coffin, which is again opened. The choir may be present, in which case it will sing a psalm; when that is over, and the Lord's Prayer and Father of All have again been said, the coffin is covered for the last time and lowered into the grave by a group of gravediggers who have been specifically invited for the duty; on occasion, they may offer their own particular prayer. At this point, the Community as such, then, has representatives who take their part in this dismissal of the dead. The lowering of the coffin is a moment of extreme tension, consummated when members of the family - including children, and sometimes friends, cast a few clods into the grave by hand, the family's last dismissal indeed. The men of the family and close friends may also spell the gravediggers, who fill in and top the grave. Wreathes, commonly artificial, which had been displayed behind the coffin in the Molnye Dom, are placed upon the mound. Conversation begins and the assembly makes its way back to the hall. Throughout the observance a greeting, ЦАРСТВО НЕБЕСНОЕ ПОКОЙНОМУ, [The Kingdom of Heaven for the dead!] is frequently used, both formally and informally.

After the burial, the guests and family take part in a funeral supper. The meal is essentially the same as that for a wedding, with the crucial exception that Pereghee is replaced by Lapshi, the white noodles.

This is usually served by the young women of the community area. The meal is framed by the conventional graces, and a choir, to whom with the family, gravediggers, undertaker, and specially invited guests goes the right to eat at the first sitting, supplies a psalm and hymns. These may be generally associated with funerals, and there is a wide range of them, prominent among the former of which is psalm 79; among the latter, the Revolutionary hymn СПИТЕ ОРЛИ БОЕВЫЕ ['Sleep now, Brave fighting Eagles!'] is much loved.

It is the local undertaker's policy to oblige as fully as may be the families he serves, though he privately regrets the very public role placed upon them by tradition. His attitude is easy to understand, defined as it is by the style of contemporary North American funerary practice. The operation of Doukhobor tradition appears, however, to satisfy a number of needs that tend to be suppressed or perverted by the customs of the North American majority..

For the family has a very public role indeed. Aided by friends, it is responsible for the management of the funeral sobranie and the meal that follows it. The senior member - usually either surviving spouse or eldest son - must perform the duties of a master of ceremonies. Members of the family, from eldest down to young children, lead off the singing and recitation of various hymns and psalms. When the coffin is finally carried out of the Molenye Dom, the young children precede it off the stage, then line up to define both sides of a central aisle in the hall; they may hold the wreathes as they form the line, then bear them outside.

Members of the family, of whatever age, are active at all stages of the service.

But the community at large is active too: funerals are sobranies, gatherings of the community at which, in a suitable mood, it not only may, but must, affirm its character by performing its usual functions. Thus, for the most part, all attend to what is going on; yet chatting with neighbours; meditating; eating sunflower seeds; leaving to give help in the kitchen and then returning; if young and pretty, seeing and being seen; going to offer personal comfort, even the kiss-of-peace, to members of the bereaved family; moving in a rocking manner, 'davening' to the music: all these activities, community message-sending and feedback, become a functional part of the funeral sobranie. These informal activities are punctuated, not so much by the formality of the psalms, addresses, and hymns, as by the formality of the rhythmic transitions between the formulaic events, and especially the responses, the graces, that, by demanding the attention of the group, acknowledge the fact that that attention may legitimately be directed elsewhere at other moments.

It is with this essentially living process that the family, whose current conscious experience is one of close and regrettable death, is compelled into involvement. The sorrow that is formalized by the lengthy obsequies is inhibited, both by its formalization and by the family's practical involvement elsewhere, from becoming as deeply obsessive as is sometimes encouraged in other observances. In the very act of satis-

-factorily playing a mournful role, the family is compelled to commit its attention, not to the dead, but to mediation between the dead and the living. The process of the sobranie is such that the community-at-large shares in this communication, affirming its own life to the family. The event may, no doubt, be wearisome and emotionally exhausting to the bereaved family; but it is fundamentally a process of rigorous healing of the injury done them by death.

It will, of course, be pointed out that this process is not noticed, not commented on by the people; that the jarring and discrepant incidents that occur are noticed with disfavour by most present; that the service is not commonly considered to be the healing process (among much else) here alleged. But it must be pointed out in response, that a society's members are usually unaware of the profound processes of their culture, much as most of us take little notice of our breathing, our heartbeat.

Some six weeks after the date of death, family prayers are repeated at the grave and another formal meal is given. This date is that at which the soul is held to have finally taken its departure from the vicinity of the body; the ceremony is called Commemoration. Another wreath may be placed, or the former one renewed at this time. In strict observance, this commemoration may be repeated a year later; but many families repeat it for several or many years, and every Easter. It is strictly suitable for psalms to be said by the grave the Easter after burial. In the case of an untimely death, such as that of a young person, members of

the family may visit the grave and recite psalms frequently. The Lord's Prayer and the psalm Father of All are said as a rule, and other psalms are added by preference (Field notes, 5/8/71).

IV. Conclusion.

Community events are necessarily highly sensitive to internal and also to external social forces. The changes that have characterized the major Doukhobor observances during their Canadian experience are less indicative of unremitting assimilation than many local Anglo-canadians like to think, or than apprehensive Doukhobors may fear.

The core meeting, the Molenye and its attendant sobranie, though not attended regularly by a majority of community members, still serves many of the same functions it appears always to have served: the requirements of the spirit in worship, of feed-back to the leading individuals in the village or community area, and of the maintenance and affirmation of social and cultural solidarity. Elkinton's comment cited above (1902, p.22):

...the men were mostly absent, working on the railroad, and this accounts for the greater number of women present....

indicates that past attendance was not always total. Against it may be cited one lady's comment after a Sunday School service (Field notes, 28/2/71):

The men don't come much - they don't have faith, It's the women that have faith, Without the women there would be nothing.

Sunday Schools are, as has been noted, a scaled-down Molenye - the psalms and hymns used are short and simple, but the ritual is unaltered. They replaced the regular attendance of children at adults' Molenye in the 1930's, but did not have wide success till the mid-1950's. This structure should not be interpreted as a fragmentation of the religious community, but as an inclusive device; it was developed by Peter Chistiakov Verigin, as was the Youth Society and the U.S.C.C. itself, as a formalization for which he concluded there was a need.

The other sobranie-type meetings, ranging from Commemorations of past leaders, through Youth and Children's and other Festivals, to Talent nights and similar community events, have been described above as having the function, among others, of transmitting traditional cultural data in a traditional manner. The meetings are all accessible to Anglo-canadians (or to any interested outsider, really), but they will be comprehensible to such a person in inverse proportion to the amount of cross-cultural content they carry. The presence of English-language material in, say, a Talent Night may be indicative of some degree of assimilation: but if so, there will be significantly few non-Doukhobors present to reinforce the assimilation. Nor will Doukhobors express any great inclination to become unrecognizable. The Doukhobors also take their choirs and songs on tour to the U.S.S.R., and at the turn of the 19th. century they sang before Czar Alexander I; yet they are not less Doukhobors because of that. A fair proportion of what is commonly described as assimilated behaviour is a small distance beyond the minimum

adaptation needed for one culture to have any intercourse at all with its neighbours; to reject such intercourse is to pose a threat of a different sort than Doukhobors have, in the past, chosen to maintain.

Even in the rite-de-passage observances, change has been in the direction of greater communication and by the means of addition of elements rather than their loss. It is true that certain values, in particular 'Plain' life, have been lost; but one fact suggests that some values of this sort draw their force from an impermanent phenomenon.

It must be remembered that Doukhobor life was not always strictly plain in the past, and even that it was not uniformly plain at any one time. The suffering and persecution, with their attendant rigour of doctrine and observance, that seem to have characterized the experience of the 1700's was followed by emigration to Molochnie Vodie and a two-score years of peaceful prosperity, including private ownership. The enforced exile to the Caucasus of the 1840's again enforced an uncompromising life; but the administration of Lukeria Kalmakoff nurtured a period of increased prosperity - even wealth, for some - and rap-prochement with the government. The crucial event - by which the experience of living Doukhobors is still defined - was the intense revitalization of the 1890's, under the spiritual leadership indeed of Peter Gospodnie Verigin; all present experience is defined by a standard formulated when the Burning of Arms took place, however changed in the popular mind that experience may (or may not) be. The later years in Canada, under Peter Chistiakov Verigin, saw the uncompleted beginning

of an institutionalizing process, by which the ideals of the past generation were attached to a formal social framework already implicit in the economic framework of the C.C.U.B.. This framework's economic trusses and girders were found wanting - whether legitimately so or not - in competition with the established economy, and their collapse was a serious blow in every way to the society they had supported.

For Doukhobors, then, the problems of assimilative forces and of involvement in materialism have generally been one and the same; identity has in the past always been maintained by an affirmation of values which the surrounding society ultimately rejected. When those values were rejected, those Doukhobors that clung to them found themselves relieved of various material benefits that were not, in the end, strictly tied to the values. It never was, nor is it now, essential for a devout Doukhobor to be poor or uncomfortable: the bitterness of some of those who are poor, uncomfortable, and devout at this day is testimony to that. But if to be a Doukhobor has always, in the end, resulted in some kind of punishment: then not to be punished has, to some, become equivalent to not being a Doukhobor. The institutions and attitudes, then, must sail between the Scylla of attrition and loss of identity, and the Charybdis of failure to continue communication with the rest of the world, to be that needle that must draw all the thread after it. Scylla has many vicious and venomous heads; Charybdis draws prey down to herself from all directions; but others have sailed safely past them.

At this moment in time it is not clear what future awaits the

Doukhobor institutions. Contemporary North American culture shows it-
-self intensely hostile to serious ideological alternatives, and while
a new revitalization movement is by no means impossible, it will have
no relevance to reality, either within or beyond the immediate community,
if it cannot survive or avoid opposition in some meaningful form. The
very forces of assimilation are also those that, if accelerated, pro-
-voke some defensive reaction, whose form or outcome would not be sub-
-stantially different from that of revitalization.

At present the visible processes are those of a degree of accultur-
-ation of institutions, but this very acculturation seems prepared to
give those institutions the instrumentalities by which to maintaain an
identity. For to do so, the institutions must be sufficiently like
those to which they are alternative to maintain communication, to be
translateable. A picket fence is an excellent and glorious and explic-
-it boundary between my house and that of my neighbour, not because it
is opaque or impenetrable or unscaleable or unbreakable, but because we
are agreed that it is a fence. It is not certain, but it is possible,
that Doukhobor institutions are in the process of acquiring the functions
of a fence. Behind a fence, a man may grow his own garden; it is a-
-cross the fence, at the time of harvest, that he will pass his neighbour
some vegetables.

IX. NOTES ON SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

I. Introduction.

The purpose of this discussion is to present a small number of items of data and to suggest plausible implications of those data. The process is very like that used by one who is confronted by a small number of jig-saw puzzle pieces: whether individual bits happen to fit together or not, they imply an over-all organizing design. This design, incidentally, is one imposed by an arbitrary cutting device, something external to the original picture: but it is the only means by which the picture is now held together. Also, though the design helps the puzzle-worker to organize the picture, the picture itself is a far different thing; its tradition is different from that of the puzzle-worker, its design different from that of the puzzle, its information and style different too. In the case of piecing together elements of a culture, the puzzle-worker has one help: the puzzle-design and the picture-design are interrelated; but they are still different, and the patterns of one will be covert in the other.

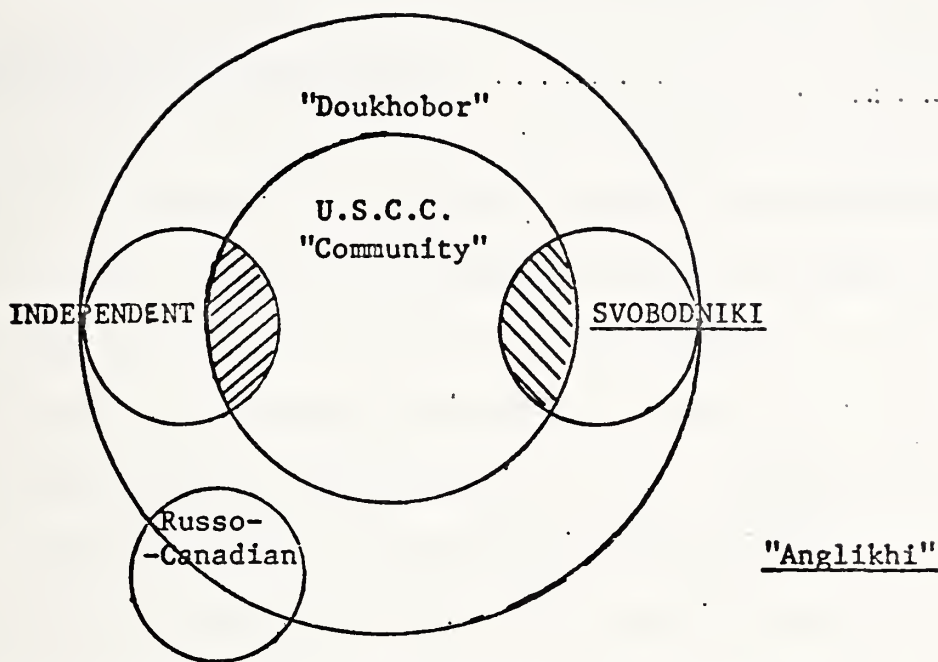
Some objections can be made to the approach used here, on both philosophical and material grounds; and so they should, for the method is imperfect and deceptive. It is hoped, however, that it is also truthful

to some degree; in any case, objections will be suggested, and some apology made, before conclusions are drawn.

The argument centres about two sets of relationships: those of various functional organizing structures within the large community; and those between a diverse collection of terms applicable to individuals, organizations, abstract ideals, and events, but tending to have a consistent dyadic distribution to which consistent values are attached and consistent emotional responses - affect - given.

The organizational models are, unless otherwise qualified, applicable to 'Community' Doukhobors in particular - that is, to all members of the U.S.C.C., their families, and to persons sympathetic to that organization and associated with its members - as, past members, members-to-be, and so on. The Affect model is held to apply broadly to 'Doukhobors' as defined in the Introduction (Ch. I). A review of that definition will be of use.

Many devout Doukhobors use the name in a highly restrictive sense; some will argue that few 'true Doukhobors' exist. Members of the subsects tend to consider themselves alone as representing the purest belief, and members of other subsects as, at best, well-intentioned deviants. To outsiders, however, and among themselves insofar as they are threatened under a broad definition, all Russian-canadian members or descendants of the 1899 immigrants are Doukhobors. Thus a set of domains somewhat like the following exists:



The overlap between Independent Doukhobors, left, and Svobodniki, right, with Community Doukhobors, is informal, and happens in the way of family relationships, business dealings, and attendance at major community events. In all these occasions, and especially in the latter, scope for action that will rapidly demonstrate the ideological affiliation of all present exists - the action may even be taken. But until it is taken, the occasion will not discriminate between individuals or sectarian groupings. Russo-Canadians are those individuals who, for one reason or another, have sought total assimilation to the majority society; they are usually rejected by other Doukhobors as apostates and non-Doukhobors, but most Anglo-canadians will classify them as Doukhobors on the basis of accent, name-ending, or any slender trait; their position in the diagram depends upon the position of the viewer. They are not dealt with here, because they are a small minority and their stability as a class is not proven.

II. Authority and Instrumentality.

Within the community as a geographical entity, four outstanding institutions operate. These are the Family; Social and Religious groupings; and Economic groupings. The latter, in the hegemony of the C.C.U.B., almost completely overlapped the second two groupings; today they are a comparatively skeletal structure shaped by but extending beyond the U.S.C.C. Let us consider the heritage of the U.S.C.C.

The chain of traditional or constitutional prerogative in all the institutions is essentially identical. In the family, the basic units are parents and children. Both were expected, however, to defer to grandparents (cf. Basic Rules...

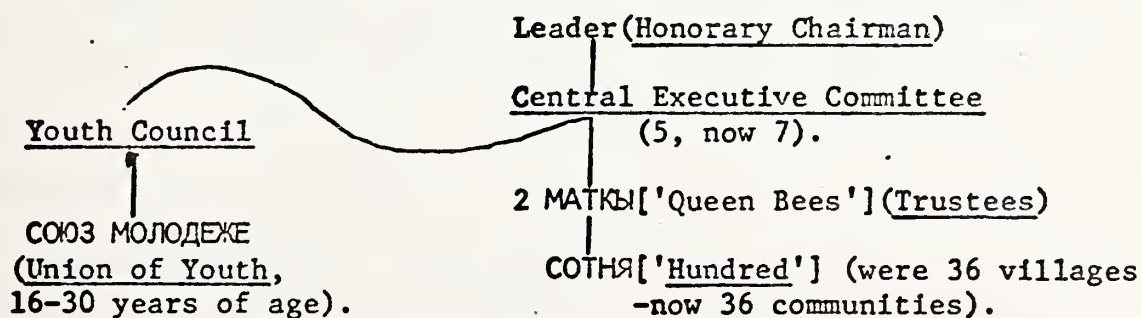
Second: All children must obey Grandmother and Grandfather, and carry out their requests....And then do all, that Mama and Papa order.).

Beyond grandparents, the Leader was patriarch, to whom all were family; no authority existed between the Leader and the Family. The Leader might address children directly, or ordain behaviour for the family - as the injunction against intercourse at the turn of the century - but there was no different chain of instruction (or complaint back) for families as such or for members of families as such.

In Molenye and sobranie, the basic units were adults and children. These took active part in proceedings, but submitted as a rule to the example and direction of 'elders', persons of age and, by general consensus derived from experience and interaction, an authoritative

stance. Above the elders, the Leader gave direction; to the elders, the members looked for explanation or elaboration of his directions, or at least for confirmation. In more loosely organized activities, the upper levels of instrumentality did not change, but were merely less frequently or intensely invoked.

When Peter Chistiakov Verigin reorganized the structures of his father's design, he tended as a rule to formalize existing informal arrangements. Peter Gospodnie Verigin had been a dominating and powerful personality who involved himself to an intimate and minute degree in the workings of the C.C.U.B.; when he was killed, and even earlier when he had been absent, policy was often misdirected, for a style had been fixed that only functioned freely when the leader was physically present and was seen to initiate action. When Peter Chistiakov formalized an instrumental structure, he created an institution that could - and eventually did-- function without a 'Spiritual Leader' though it called for an officer who could fill the role of leader in either fact or name. As Peter Chistiakov defined it, and as it presently exists, the U.S.C.C. took the following form:

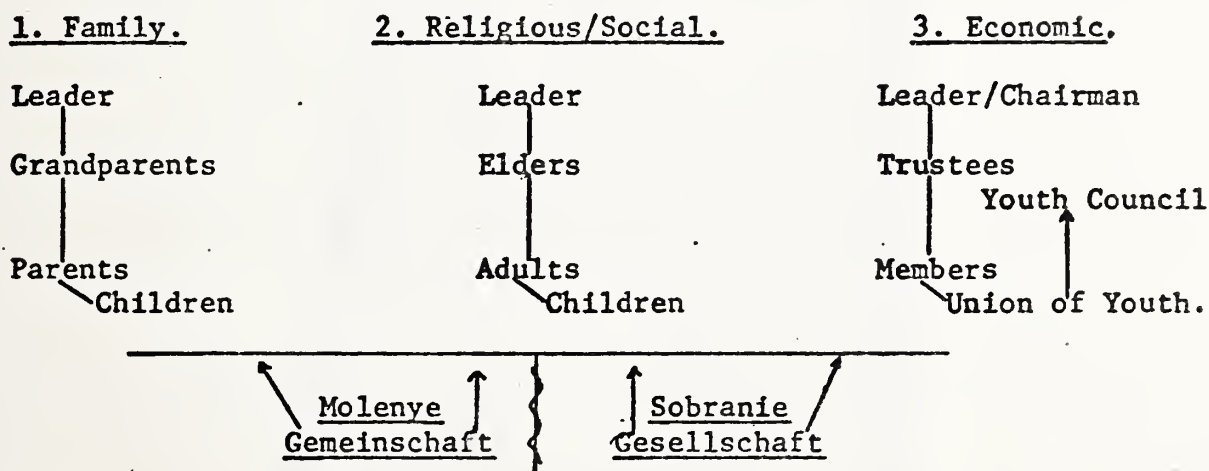


The Matky were elected by members of the Sotnya, which was fairly auto-
-cephalous. The Matky assembled annually and elected the Central Exec-
-utive Committee; in addition, major problems affecting community life
were dealt with by the annual meeting of the Whole, to be solved by the
previously discussed style of debate. A parallel structure, the Soyuz
Molodezhe or Union of Youth, was given responsibility for management of
Festivals, and for a number of activities designed to instruct members
in the institutional styles operative in the Sotnya, and in the whole
U.S.C.C. Dues of approximately \$60.00 a year are currently paid by mem-
-bers between the ages of 18 and 60; these go to the support of the loc-
-al and central organizations, and to the maintenance of the Community
Halls, cemeteries, Russian Schools, Central Office and Iskra, and so on.
The only differences between original and present forms are the role
taken by John Verigin as Chairman rather than 'Spiritual Leader'; in-
-crease of the Central Committee from 5 to 7 members; the physical dis-
-persion of the Sotnya from the Communal Villages to the present region-
-al settlements; and a varying dues rate (Field notes, 5/8/71).

It will be noted that the role of the Central Committee is flex-
-bile. It normally supports and distributes the executive duties of a
Leader; but when a serious question arises, it merges back among the
Trustees from whom it was called forth. Then traditional executive
techniques are called into play; if a Leader or rather, one who will
accept such responsibility in this case, is present, he will act; if
not, the gathering will proceed to action. In effect, and for major

policy, the Central Committee and the Trustees are identical, operating separately only when the need for an executive is minimal.

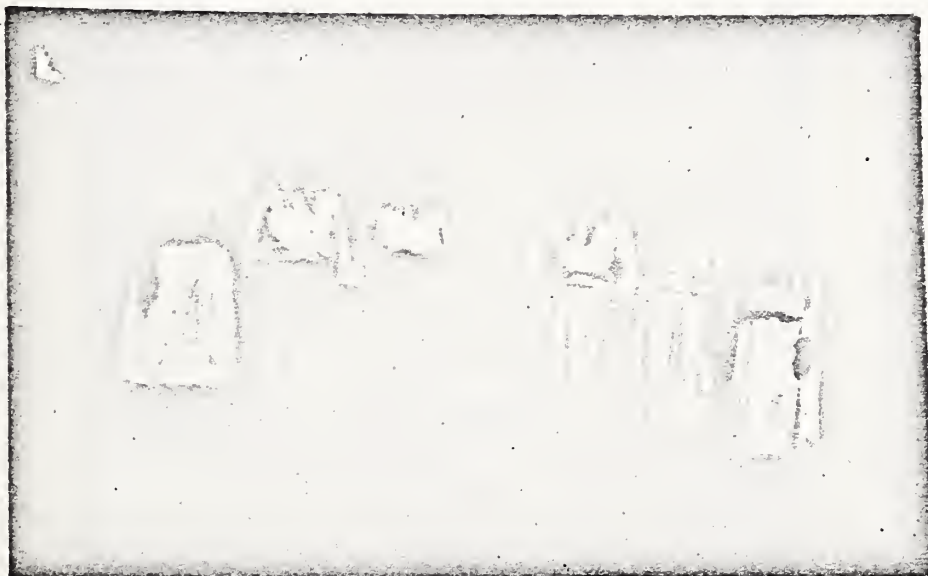
If these various institutions are aligned, they present parallel structures that can be further rationalized through Molenye/Sobranie institutions(cf. IX/1,2,3):



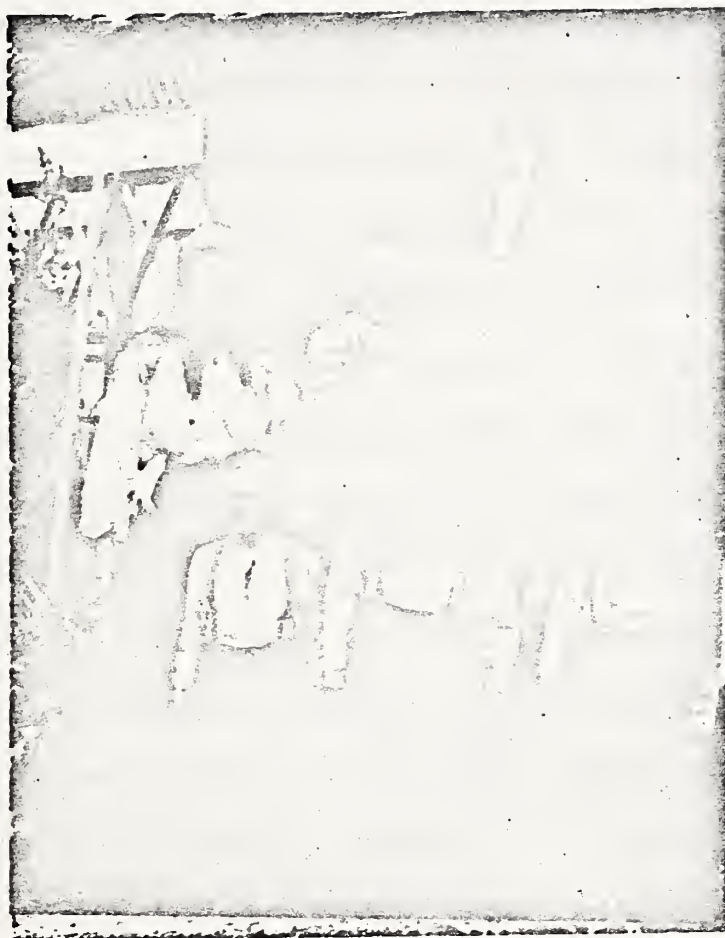
The terms Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have some applicability, so long as their relativism is borne in mind; nevertheless, they characterize the behaviour used in the areas to which they are here assigned. The associations and interactions displayed in the Gemeinschaft areas are characteristically less overtly formalistic than those of the Gesellschaft area, for one of two reasons: the formalism, as of family, is a universal structure; and the formalism of worship and social intercourse makes some action more free by restraining action that might inhibit communication. The formalism of the Gesellschaft areas, by comparison, supplies a rigorous structure along which power and action may be channelled. In effect, the formalisms are complementary.



IX/1. Typical photographs in family use: A proprietary photograph of Peter Gospodnie (Lordly) Verigin, c. 1916. From Tarasoff Collection, courtesy B.C. Provincial Archives.



IX/2. Typical photographs in family use: A group of Elders(unident-
-ified). c. 1925 - 1930. Author's collection.



IX/3. Typical photographs in family use: A Family group outside a Communal Village (unidentified, but Brilliant area). c. 1925 - 1930. Author's collection.

The function of Independent Doukhobors and Svobodniki, when viewed as organizations, is essentially similar, though the status of Leader is reduced. The Chairman of the D.S.C. is primarily a chairman, with no associations of spiritual leadership - indeed, such associations are officially shunned. Authority and responsibility come to be based mainly in the level of executive members, and local organizations are highly auto-cephalous, a state of affairs characteristic of 18th. and mid-19th. century Doukhobor communities, when either local settlements were distant and communications bad, or leadership was weak and unreliable. So too with a contemporary Youth organization, the Doukhobor Youth National Executive Committee (DYNEC), which presently consists of two bodies, a voluntary membership and an elected executive. Svobodniki have, even recently, displayed a varying degree of adherence to a varying group of leaders, some of whom have aimed at the status of full Spiritual Leader, others of whom have held such a status for a partisan group of followers. The phenomenon is not that of acephalous communities, but of numerous (in time or space) bodies claiming sole authority, a condition under which sole authority cannot exist. This fragmentation is in part caused by a hunger - not always rational, not always wrong - for a pure and simple world in which the good and the bad, the right and the wrong, are explicit and obvious, and a soul can be certain his or her judgement is correct.

III. Affect and Value Patterns.

The relationship between Svobodniki and other Doukhobors has always been obscure to Anglo-canadian eyes. The common interpretative attitudes are uncompromising and simplistic, as should be evident from the discussion of exoteric views (Ch. V). There is, to them, either all the difference in the world between 'Freedomites' and 'Orthodox' Doukhobors, or no difference whatsoever.

The position of Doukhobors themselves is ill defined. Members of the three main subjects will live side-by-side, work together, attend community events and intermarry freely; they will also denounce each other in sometimes scurrilous terms, will hate and fear each other, hold each other to be traitors to the Doukhobor Ideals. The parties will, indeed appear to be in irreconcilable opposition - but across that opposition much communication is extended; and neither party will commit itself to finally expel, excommunicate, repudiate the existence of the other.

Institutions, especially in small communities, serve functions or die. One is obliged to assume that the opposition between Svobodniki and Community Doukhobors (with whom for the time being, Independents are lumped as being sufficiently similar in ideology), whether truly functional at present or not, has existed as a culturally valid force. This is not to say that one party is justified at the expense of another, or that the opposition has been universally beneficial: it is to say that the opposition has had a real and valid purpose.

It is possible to set up a model that rationalizes two sets of terms. These terms include major Doukhobor social phenomena; major religious concepts; traditional utterances; organizations; cultural institutions and verbal or material artifacts. The sets are distributed on either side of an axis: this is the concept of 'Going forward' (psalm 6 Var./12; 144/5,6), the ideal of Millenarian Change. It is not argued that there is a necessary vertical linking; but that the relationships across the axis are sufficiently similar to justify at least the conceptual association set up here.

"GOING FORWARD"-psalm 144/5"Those who suffer make the path easier..."(Field notes, 5/8/71),

Artifacts, Rites-de-passage, Community Structures, Individual Ideals.	<p><u>БОЖДЬ - Leader</u> "There is a person on earth, such a one as I, a pillar..." (psalm 79). Divine Spark (Field notes, 13/4;5/8/71)</p> <p><u>БОРЬБА - Struggle</u> "Toil and..." "They beat us and tortured us Sons of Freedom cannot be the Slaves of Corruption." (USCC Motto)</p>	<p><u>COO3 - Union</u> "We will gather ourselves, brothers..."(psalm 79). "This priceless image[of God] shines within us."(psalm 74).</p> <p><u>СТРАДАНИЕ - Suffering</u> "...Peaceful Life."(USCC Motto). "...but we are glad and we rejoice"(psalm 243). "The Welfare of the World is not worth the life of a single child." (USCC Motto)</p>
	<p><u>Sobranie</u> <u>Communication</u> -Debate, Dialogue, Letter 'Secular' C.C.U.B. (Spiritual Leader Peter Gospodnie played a material role and developed a material organization) (Gesellschaft)</p>	<p><u>Molenye</u> <u>Communion</u> -Prayer, Song traditon. 'Sacred' U.S.C.C. (Spiritual Leader Peter Chistiakov inherited a material organization and played a (spiritual) role of <u>Purger</u>. (Gemsinschaft)</p>
	<p><u>Wedding</u> (Socialized sexual) content-ion; initiation into adult toilers' role in community Gnostic psalm (138) <u>Pereghee</u></p>	<p><u>Funeral</u> Suffering resolved by Peace, Rest Initiation into community of the Dead Mystic psalms(e.g.,79) <u>Lapshi</u></p>
	<p><u>Village</u> 'Apartments' and shops, storage, etc.; transients.</p> <p><u>Songs, Hymns(some)</u> May be sung solo or with supporting chorus or in small group(Field notes, 22,23/5/71)</p>	<p><u>Village</u> Living, eating, Assembly -in Big Houses.</p> <p><u>Psalms, Hymns(most)</u> -Leader begins but music then becomes fully harmonic and choral. -Psalm 'must be sung by a choir.' (Field notes, 26/1/71).</p>

The elements listed above are, or have been, very much a part of the life of most Doukhobors in Canada. The ideals in particular, though, are best expressed by two diverse types of personality, one oriented toward the concepts of individualism and of conflict with and witness against the outer world, the other oriented toward concepts of fraternity and of survival from and witness to the outer world.

It is suggested that Svobodniki gravitate to the left-hand side of the model, Community and (to a less involved degree) Independent Doukhobors to the right-hand side. The emphasis is not upon divergent values, but upon values that few individuals can comfortably or long reconcile within their minds. Such inconsistency is not unfamiliar in other societies, and is indeed a cultural survival technique; it is presumed that it has had the same survival function for Doukhobors in the past, and may - with accommodation - continue to do so. Individuals with extreme positions - whether conservative or radical - may occupy the left-hand role, challenging the values of the conforming majority in the right-hand role, yet thereby affirming the values of the society as a whole. At crucial times, the distinction between roles may disappear: at the Burning of Arms, all were zealous, all struggled physically against AntiChristian war; at the present, the behaviour of nearly all displays a somewhat uneasy conformism in the face of the peaceful on-slaught of Western culture.

Although the Svobodniki frame policy in religious terms, past actions have predominantly involved material objects and institutions. To take off clothes, to destroy buildings, is to express ideology

through material symbolism. It is the Community people, on the other hand, who, though conspicuously involved in material institutions, have continually expressed themselves in non-material ways: by maintaining Sobranies in the face of acculturation, and by emphasizing religious values and behaviour as central cultural attributes. The same oppositions appear, in miniature, in Sobranie. Expression is given in the Molenye to union, concord, a continuing pattern; in sobranie, it is given to divergent views, thrusts for a position of influential address, an expression usually mediated and controlled by the intermittent singing of hymns. When all have spoken, the 'struggle' concludes with the invocation of unanimity, if only in a closing hymn.

Perepelkin argues (Doukhobor Problem in Canada..., 1959; esp. pp. 7-12) that the suffering of the Doukhobors is a chastening, a purgation, imposed upon them by God for the sake of their ultimate redemption, after the Type of the Hebrews in Egypt. If one is given the concept of the indwelling Divine Spark, of Spiritual Wisdom, and if one deals clumsily with one's values and with scriptural analogy, it is a short step to take, to a position where one is willing, as God's selfless servant, to cause suffering to the backslider and thereby expedite the millennial process. Such concepts have probably been the rationale for Svobodnik violence at times. Where they, and not some other cause, are operative, let no one choose, therefore, to discredit Doukhobor ideals. All societies let slip their controls from time to time, and our own society has often enough claimed that assorted wars, butcheries, genocides and oppressions have been its own pure-hearted expression of the Divine Will.

The issue of Millenarianism is relevant here. Turner (The Ritual Process, 1969, pp. 94-112) discusses the concept of Liminality, which he defines as the class of entities in transition from one state of being to another, usually by means of a rite-de-passage. Such initiates may lose and acquire attributes during their passage, but they are different from what they were and what they are to become. Turner further suggests that Millenarian societies are in a state of liminality. It has been suggested before (Ch. VI) that Doukhobor Millenarianism, by its rationalistic view of change as a continuing process rather than a unique event, has a conceptual resource against stagnation. It is further suggested here, using the terms Chiliasm and Millenarianism in the opposed sense suggested earlier, that the zealous and purifying attributes of chiliastic expression prevail among the Svobodnik group of values, while millenarian views prevail among the Community Doukhobors.

IV. Conclusion.

It may with justice be argued that highly selected data are cited; that definitions are loose; that theory is inconsistent and that contradictory data may be found.

To know about fish in a pond, much must be considered: the water, the weeds, the invisible life that feeds the fish, much more. To grasp the fish, to have it firm, to eat it - to incorporate it with oneself:

a net will suffice for that. Nets are formless, mostly empty, relevant to nothing, fantastic knottings of threads, unable to distinguish between carp and trout. A net will let the minnows through the mesh, and the pike can tear it if he will. Weeds, water, and whirligig beetles: all slip or are cast out. But nets catch fish.

An analysis like the above will not account for the behaviour of any one typical individual, nor for the exceptional genius or maniac. This is data got by inference, and the raw material is subject to the Uncertainty principle. There is no technique delicate enough to test the data without disturbing them - the pond is muddied, the school is scattered, when the net sweeps past. The subtle manipulation of countless hard statistics are no part of this domain, because the data, the endless situational programming to which the Fieldworker is subject, are as slippery and shifting, as inconsistent and subjective as ordinary conversation. 'Every past moment defines the next, and what I knew then is not what I know now.' By no statistical process does a child learn language; nor does anyone learn of another culture in any other way; to do - active and passive - is the learning. If theory attempts too great a precision, it becomes mere reportage or infinitely complex and thereby useless. Theory is here called upon to establish the limits within which most Doukhobors stand, so that they may be recognized from without.

For the theoretical statement really is, in form, a subtle net, a matrix, an array. It contains probable limits within which Doukhobor

observata may be effectively trapped. Its definitions are broad generalizations of terms used by both Doukhobors and Anglo-canadians, terms which are used with some consistency whatever the preconceptions of purpose of the user. If it is - most justly! - argued that the terms most strongly weighted here are presented as mere generalizations, bloodless, fleshless skeletons that appear to negate the significance of the whole body: very good. This is not an anatomization of the body, revealing its excellence or its pathology. It is an attempt to make the articulation more clear, to see the skeleton that assures the body of its form.

Doukhobor Society can, then, be seen as integrated by a dyadic grouping of values, whose mediating element is the concept of "Going Forward." One half of the Dyad favours active, individualistic, and tension-generating values: to these Svobodniki incline. The other half of the Dyad favours passive, communitarian, and resolved values: to these Community Doukhobors, and to a lesser degree the Independent Doukhobors (more amenable to assimilation), incline. All Doukhobors possess and express all the values to some degree, and are to be distinguished as a sect thereby. It is presumed that the opposition between these values has, or has had, a practical social function for survival of the sect, allowing for negative or positive adjustment to the pressures of external societies.

X. CONCLUSIONS.

Detailed conclusions are presented following the discussions, in most preceding chapters. This section will therefore limit itself to the presentation of general summaries, to a discussion of areas for future study, and to a few final comments.

Two main classes of psalms are presented in translation and discussion, Psalms and Healing Psalms. The context of public/private performance bears witness to the essential unity of style and function of these two sub-genres. Historical and religious elements are examined, and it is noted that the psalms appear to be very stable in form and in content, but that certain historical data have taken root in certain psalms. In conjunction with the psalm study, an examination of exoteric and esoteric attitudes towards the presentation of Doukhobor history, and a survey of Doukhobor religion, are made. Exoteric histories are found to be, as a rule, severely constrained by an ethnocentrism that is often ^{un-}avoidable but sometimes deliberate. Doukhobor religion is described as sharing rationalistic and millenarian traits; for the purposes of adequate discussion, a distinction is made between millenarianism and chiliasm, based on intrinsically different attitudes towards the esoteric definition of the nature and time of millenarian change.

Material culture is examined, with the following findings: Architecture, viewed chronologically, shows accommodation between the styles developed internally, whether for communal or relatively independent dwelling, and the styles influenced or imposed externally, by exile (as in Russia) or dispossession and acculturation (as in Canada). Cookery and eating customs represent a hard core of traditional symbolism, and nourish cultural identity as well as the body. Traditional crafts have for the most part been abandoned under the twin onslaughts of cheap commercial goods and economic need, though one craft, traditionally associated with an essential food (borscht) and old age (for which the external culture provides no adequate role), has been retained. Burial marker style exhibits sometimes conflicting traditions with little significant acculturation: Western styles do not appear to have been acquired to a greater degree than, say, Tartar styles. A superficial survey of English loanwords (Appendix) indicates that major linguistic interface has involved the use of vehicles, North American foods, and employment in the Lumber and Railroad industries. In short, the dominance of traditional or Canadian elements is not consistent across the field of Material Culture, and Canadian elements tend to be used in Russian ways.

The structure and performance of community events is seen as having a massive foundation in religious concepts and style. Influence of acculturative processes is most strong in the area of Marriage, where the entire community is assumed unconsciously to require conventional demon-

-stration of the rite-de-passage, but initial evidence exists that the process may be modified by the growth of cultural self-confidence among younger Doukhobors.

A number of elements are integrated to infer a dyadic model of social values. It is suggested that certain formal relationships between classes of concepts, affects, institutions, and lore express a basic two-part complementary pattern by which the whole society is integrated. The pattern tends to cluster active, mundane, individual, disjunctive values in one domain, and passive, sacred, communal, and unifying values in the other. The former domain is associated with struggle, the latter with redemption. Assorted minor cultural traits may find places in this pattern, but inconsistencies are not entirely rare, nor unexpected, over so wide a field as an entire culture.

Compare, for example, the Matter/Spirit, Suffering/Vindication, Now/Future, Dual Address of Believer/Lord dyads found in many psalms; or the temporary 'shrine' markers for graves, with which are associated the traditionally temporary signs of struggle and transition, wreathes, memorial photographs, and Bread, Salt, and Water for Commemoration - and the permanent stones, invoking 'Eternal Memory' of the dead and affirming their place among the Community with God.

Numerous areas for further study may be suggested here. A more inclusive study of artifacts and early post-CCUB architecture should be undertaken as soon as possible. Legends - especially Family Legends, and the Prophecies of Lukeria Kalakoff - should be collected and analyzed for types of social function, coincidence with formal doctrine and belief, and stylistic elements. Children's Lore has not been examined at all, nor have family, obscene, or witchcraft traditions, of which little is known at present. Comparative study, in different geographic regions,

of stylistic variation between formal events (e.g., Molenye) is necessary. Above all, the corpus of Hymns should be analyzed as soon as possible. A wide range of comparative materials - over ten years of LP recording production by Doukhobors themselves, and of influence by Western hymnody and popular music through media - are already available. The study of Psalm tune texts will be much expedited by the development of adaptable and rational devices for mechanical transcription, preferable in a mode suitable or adaptable to electronic quantitative analysis. This will not only provide a more reliable physical record than is presently possible outside direct recording (and it might, incidentally, solve the question of tune origin - whether by elaboration of a simple text, or direct in the existing melismatic form), but should leave the fieldworker free to perform the other types of analysis which no machine can ever undertake. The present researcher is hoping to approach both these problems shortly.

It is presumed that the Thesis is adequately demonstrated by the bulk of discussion, and the comment of the Introduction (Ch. I) is repeated here: the primary task of this research has been, not to prove the Thesis, but to formulate terms and concepts, and to discover and classify data, by means of which the proof might be approached.

Afterword.

It has long been an unacknowledged custom - not necessarily a proud one - for those who write about the Doukhobors to address their subjects with some sage words of advice and counsel, usually delivered in patronizing tones of false cameraderie. These words go on at length, to explain to all and sundry that the best possible future for the Doukhobors is to vanish. Some would like this vanishing to come about by a total assimilation into the North American style of Western culture, that crown of human achievement; others would like it to come about by more genocidal means. Nearly all, however, seem to think it essential and desirable.

This feeling I cannot share. It is easy, of course, to look down from outside and tell this small group of people that their ideas are irrational, their hopes unattainable; but those who think in that manner do not view their own culture in the same rational light. If ideals of peace and brotherhood are irrational, they are yet more attractive and constructive than the ideals that produced Auschwitz, or My Lai 4, or the War Measures Act. They are even more constructive than the ideals by which the Vancouver Sun, in defiance of the Canadian Press Style Book (see Bibliog., PII, Tarasoff 1958), continues to the present (15/1/72) to use the opprobrious epithet 'Douks' for 'Doukhobors.'

If Doukhobor hopes have been unattainable, it is not because Canadians have shown themselves sympathetic and selfless as a whole. Consider, for a moment, the matter of the Doukhobor lands in British Columbia. The Community Regulation Act of 1914 (Ch. 11, 4 Geo. 5)

states in part:

2. When any...persons are living...under communal or tribal conditions, as distinguished from the ordinary and usual conditions of family life and residence...the provisions of this act shall apply to every one of such persons....

8.(1). For the recovery of any penalty imposed upon any person ...under this act, all the goods and chattels in, upon, or about any lands or premises...used by or for...the settlement or community...shall be liable to distress and sale...as if such goods and chattels were the goods and chattels of such person.

Though the Act, which enforces obligations under the Vital Statistics and Health Acts, is rather cynically entitled "An Act to make provision for the Welfare and Protection of Women and Children living under Communal Conditions," no 'Protection' appears within the body of the Act. Fundamentally, it has legitimacy. Its basis is the acceptable assumption that a Community has the same responsibilities as an Individual.

In 1939, however, the courts (Woodcock and Avakumovic, 1968, p. 305):

...refused protection against foreclosure under the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act, on the grounds that as a limited company the Community could not be considered a group of farmers....

On this basis, the Provincial Government immediately passed the

Doukhobor Lands Acquisition Act (Ch. 12, 3 Geo. 6), which in part provided:

And whereas there are many families settled on the said land, who are or may become liable to ejection:...

2. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council [i.e., Cabinet] is empowered from time to time...to enter into and upon the said lands ...and to inspect, survey, take, expropriate, hold, and acquire the said lands or any part thereof or any interest therein, or any mortgage or other incumbrance affecting the said lands....

3. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council is empowered to subdivide, work, develop, irrigate, drain, fence, and improve any lands acquired by him under this Act...and to sell, lease, mortgage, or dispose of the said lands or of any part thereof...for such consideration payable in such manner and on such terms as he may think proper, and to make with the occupants of the said lands or with any other persons any arrangement or agreement in relation to the said lands that he considers advantageous or beneficial.

5.(2). All securities issued under this Act...shall bear interest at a rate not exceeding five per centum per annum....

In other words, the courts found that, although a community had the responsibilities of an individual, it did not have the rights of an individual. The point may be just; but it is not seen to be just, and most Doukhobors saw no justice in it. On the basis of the decision, the Provincial Government took ownership over C.C.U.B. lands in the province; it paid some \$296,500 for lands, buildings, and improvements on which Doukhobors had paid, over the years, some \$2,150,000 (Hawthorne 1955, pp. 53-58). Although the Act provided for the option to "subdivide, work, develop, irrigate, drain, fence, and improve" the acquired lands, and although certain promises were allegedly made, subdivision was the only activity actually carried out. Nor were the lands made available for open bidding at the time of expropriation, as is customary, and Doukhobors thus had no option to re-acquire their land. In addition, most of the dealings with the expropriated lands were not with the occupants but with "other persons", and the "arrangements...advantageous or beneficial" did not redound to the advantage or benefit of the occupants, but to that of occasional commercial development - as, for example, that of the Castlegar airport. The Provincial Government feared that foreclosure would create

a major problem" (Hawthorne 1955, p. 56), a "social disaster" (untraced quotation). It is true that their policy prevented possible massive evictions and consequent unrest; but it is also true that the policy that resulted in the destruction of the C.C.U.B. had the effect of negating everything for which nearly two generations of Doukhobors had laboured. A conciliatory approach, coupled with arrangements for extension of loan amortisement, would have had two essential virtues: Doukhobors would have retained responsibility for the eventual success or failure of the C.C.U.B., and in the probable event of the latter, transition to a new style of economic life could have occurred more smoothly. Instead, the Doukhobors lost, at once, their economic life style; their property; and their means of production.

In retrospect, the Anglo-canadian culture does not show itself to have acted with any fewer of the vices it likes to father upon Doukhobors, chief among which are greed and duplicity, coupled with a certain massive simplemindedness. It would be a profound mistake to accuse all members of the majority culture of underhandedness, just as it would be a profound mistake to claim unblemished purity of soul for all Doukhobors; no conglomeration of people is, except for short moments in time and short distances in space, any better or worse than any other conglomeration of people.

In conclusion, then, there are only two things left to say. There is nothing in the Doukhobor heritage to give Doukhobors any more reason for shame and regret than any other people may have; and there is nothing

in the Anglo-canadian heritage to give Anglo-canadians any more reason for pride and self-congratulation than any other people may have. Ways of life are rarely good or bad in any commonly-shared sense: the achievement or failure depends upon the human beings who enter into those ways of life and inform them with their own spirit.

СОЛНЦЕ СВЕТИТ НА ВСЕХ ПРАВДОЮ. ТАКЖЕ ПОДОБАЕТ ЧЕЛОВЕКУ БЫТЬ НЕ
ЛЖИВОМУ, СПРАВЕДЛИВОМУ, ЛЮБИТЬ ДРУГ ДРУГА КАК САМОГО ЦЕБЯ.
В ЛЮБВИ ГОСПОДЬ ПРЕБЫВАЕТ.

The sun shines on all by justice. Just so it becomes people to be,
not deceitful, [but] just, to love each other as our very own
selves. In love the Lord dwells.

Psalm 197.

APPENDIX.

This appendix includes a brief linguistic note on the content of a Loanword vocabulary; a very early transcript of an inquisition of three Doukhobor prisoners by an Orthodox cleric; and a series of instrumental documents significant in Doukhobor history.

The series of questions has been published twice before: in part, by Elkinton(1903, pp. 270-279) and by Tarasoff(1964, pp.37-44). It is repeated here for two reasons: it is of great importance for doctrinal and rhetorical comparison of Catechetical psalm style, and the prior publications are excessively scarce.

The instrumental documents are of importance for the study of doctrine, history, and social structure. It was thought that only materials that had been at some time realized should be included, a rubric which excludes minor organizational documents and John Verigin's recent Proposal. Thus the following items are included:

Protocol of the Delegates of the Society of Named Doukhobors, 1928.

Declaration of the U.S.C.C. - 1934, as applied at present. The Declaration was originally ascribed to the Society of Named Doukhobors, but now attaches to the U.S.C.C., as the Society's successor.

Constitution of the Spiritual Community of Christ, 1950. Transcript of a Svobodnik constitution.

Statute of the D.S.C., 1967.

As all these are available in Russian from sources in print (with the exception of the Constitution of the U.S.C.C.), only English texts appear.

NORTH AMERICAN LOANWORDS.

Harshenin's two-part article English Loanwords in the Doukhobor Dialect (1964, pp. 38-43; 1967, pp. 216-230) includes a list of some 200-odd words of English origin. These can be distributed across five general categories with subdivisions, producing the following rough grouping:

I. North American varieties of:	
Plants:	15
Animals:	5
II. North American	
Clothing:	11
Food and Drink:	21
Shelter(Home, Farm, Commercial):	11
Entertainment & Holidays:	7
Greetings and Ejaculations:	6
Medicine:	6
III. 20th. Century Tools, Utensils, Materials, and Energy Sources:	33
IV. 20th. Century Vehicles; their parts, operators, accessories, and functions.	
Highway:	19
Construction and Agricultural:	9
V. North American Encounter; Industry, Law; Measures, Abstract Instruments, etc..	
Lumber Industry:	29
Railroad Industry:	25
Legal:	6
Other:	21.

The majority of plants are trees of Lumber use. One may conclude that major areas of linguistic interface have involved the use of farm and road vehicles, the purchase of North American food varieties, and employment in the Lumber and Railroad industries.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE RECTOR OF THE NEVSKOY SEMINARY OF ST. PETERSBURG, ARCHIMANDRITE INNOKENTIE, AND THREE OF THE SECT CALLED DUCHOBORTZI, MICHAEL STSCHIREFF, ANIKIE AND TIMOTHY SUHARIEF, IN MAY 1792.

Source: Pinkerton 1833, pp. 176-185.

Archimandrite. By what means are you come into this state, that people confine you as men dangerous to society?

Duchobortzi. By the malice of our persecutors.

A. What is the cause of their persecuting you?

D. Because it is said that all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.

A. Whom do you call your persecutors?

D. Those who threw me into prison, and bound me in fetters.

A. How dare you, in this way, speak evil of the established Government, founded and acting on principles of Christian piety? which deprives none of their liberty, except such as are disturbers of the public peace and prosperity.

D. There is no higher Governor than God, who rules over the hearts of kings and men: but God does not bind in fetters; neither does he command those to be persecuted who will not give His glory to another, and who live in peace, and in perfect love and mutual service to each other.

A. What does that signify, "Who will not give his glory unto another?" - to whom?

D. Read the Second Commandment, and you will know.

A. I perceive, then, that you mean to throw censure on those who bow before the images of the Saviour and of His holy ones?

D. He has placed his image in our souls. Again, it is said that those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.

A. From this it is evident, that you have brought yourself into your present condition, by falling into error; by misunderstanding the nature of piety, and entertaining opinions hurtful to the common faith and to your country.

D. It is not true.

A. How, then? Do you not err, when you think that there are 'powers that be' which exist in opposition to the will of God; whereas there is no power but of God? of that Government, which is appointed to restrain and correct the disobedient and unruly, persecutes piety; "whereas he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil"?

D. What evil do we do? None.

A. Do you not hurt the faith by your false reasoning concerning her holy ordinances, and by your blind zeal against God; like the Jews of old, whose zeal was not according to knowledge?

D. Let knowledge remain with you! Only do not molest us, who live in peace, pay the taxes, to harm to no one, and obey earthly governments.

A. But perhaps your paying the taxes, harming no one, and obeying earthly governments, is only the effect of necessity, and of the weakness of your power; while your peace and love respect those only who are of your own opinion.

D. Construe our words as you choose.

A. At least, it is far from being disagreeable to you, I suppose, to behold your society increasing!

D. We desire good unto all men, and that all may be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth.

A. Leave off your studied secrecy, and evasive and dubious answers. Explain and reveal to me your opinions candidly, like men who have nothing in view but to discover truth.

D. I understand you; for that same Spirit of Truth, which enlightens us in things respecting faith and life, assists us to discern affectation and deceit in every man. Nevertheless, in order to get rid of your importunity, and with boldness to preach the true faith, I shall answer your questions as I am able.

A. By what way - by the assistance of others, or by the use of your own reasoning powers only, did you obtain this Spirit of Truth?

D. He is near our heart, and therefore no assistance is necessary. A sincere desire and ardent prayers are alone requisite.

A. At least, you ground your opinions on the word of God, do you not?

D. I do ground myself on it.

A. But the word of God teaches us, that God has committed the true faith, and the dispensing of his ordinances, and of instruction in piety, to certain persons, chosen and ordained for this purpose: - "According to the grace of God given unto me," says St. Paul, "as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation."

D. True; and such were our deputies who were sent hither in 1767 and 1769. But what did the spirit of persecution and of wrath do to them? Some were taken for soldiers; others were sent into exile.

A. You doubtless intend, by these deputies, some well-meaning people like yourself?

D. Yes.

A. But you, and people like you, though well-meaning, cannot be either ministers or teachers of the holy faith.

D. Why not?

A. Because a Church cannot be established by individual authority; as is manifest from I Cor. III,5. Secondly, because special talents and gifts from above are requisite, to "make us able ministers of the New Testament:" II Cor. III,16. And, thirdly, it is absolutely necessary to this lawful and gracious calling, that we possess that ordination which hath remained in the holy Church from the times of the Apostles; as it is said, "And he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ:" Ephes. IV,2.

D. There is no other calling to this office required, than that which crieth in our hearts: neither doth our learning consist in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in "demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Are the gifts which you require such as to be able to gabble Latin?

A. You do not understand the Holy Scriptures; and this is the source of all your errors. The Apostle, in the words quoted by you, does not reject the talents and gifts of acquired knowledge, but contrasts the doctrines of Jesus Christ with the wisdom of the heathen, which was in repute at that time. And that the calling of pastors and teachers always depended on the Church by which they were chosen, is manifest from the very history of those pastors and teachers of the Church who are eternally glorified.

D. What Holy Scriptures? What Church? What do you mean by Holy Scriptures?

A. Did not you yourself say that you founded your opinions on the word of God? That is what I mean by the Holy Scriptures.

D. The word of God is spiritual and immaterial; it can be written on nothing but on the heart and spirit.

A. Yet when the Saviour saith, "Search the Scriptures," and gives us the reason of this command - "for in them ye think ye have eternal life," - can He really understand thereby anything else than the written word of God? This is the treasure which He himself hath entrusted to his holy Church, as the unalterable rule of faith and life.

D. And what do you call a church?

A. An assembly of believers in Jesus Christ, governed by pastors according to regulations founded on the word of God, and partakers of the ordinances of faith.

D. Not so: there is but one Pastor, Jesus Christ, who laid down his life for the sheep: and one Church, holy, apostolic, spiritual, invisible, of which it is said, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" in which no worship is paid to any material object; where those only are teachers who lead virtuous lives; where the word of God is obeyed in the heart, on which it descends like dew upon the fleece, and out of which it flows as from a spring in the midst of the mountains; where there are no such noisy, ostentatious, offensive, and idolatrous meetings and vain ceremonies as with you; no drunken and insulting pastors and teachers like yours; nor such evil dispositions and corruptions as among you.

A. You have here mixed up many things together: let us consider them one by one. 1st., That the Saviour Christ is the only chief Pastor and Head of the Church, is a truth: for He hath founded it by His own merits; under His Almighty providence it exists, is guarded and protected; and "the gates of hell shall never prevail against it." Spiritually, Christ is united to it; for, "behold! I am with you, even to the end of the world:" and by the power of His grace He helpeth the prayers and petitions of believers. But it does not seem good to the wisdom and majesty of God, that all, without distinction, should be engaged in the external state and service of the church, which is so closely united to the internal; and therefore, from the very first ages, this has been committed unto worthy pastors and teachers, "as stewards of the mysteries of God." 2dly, I said that the external state of the Church is very closely united to the internal. Certainly it is so.

Who does not know how powerfully the passions and the flesh work in us, both to good and evil, according to the nature of the object presented to them? We have need to recruit the efforts of our minds by such salutary aids; and to stir up the expiring flame of piety within us, by memorials of the goodness of God, and of the example of holy men. Here is the whole of what you so improperly style material and idolatrous worship. So long as we are united to matter, that is, to the body, we can never reach that pure and inward spiritual worship of God which the holy angels present unto Him, or such as that of the eternally-glorified saints; and on this account, when God requires that we should worship Him in spirit and in truth, it is to warn us against shameful hypocrisy, or other dispositions of mind not corresponding with our external worship. 3dly, With respect to the scandalous lives of some pastors, they can never harm the essence of faith; for that is not the cause of their bad conduct, And that their irregularities can never excuse those who on this account leave the Church and despise her doctrine, is witnessed by the Saviour Himself, in his discourse with the Pharisees: "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," saith he: "all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do ye not after their works; for they say, and do not." Moreover, Christian humility should have deterred you from judging so rashly concerning general corruption and evil dispositions. But I have purposely not yet answered several of your expressions, such as "idolatrous meetings and vain ceremonies," that I might first ask you what you mean by them?

D. You may conjecture that yourself.

A. Well; do not even you shew becoming respect for the characters of those, who have been distinguished for holiness, and after death glorified by God, as patterns of faith and virtue?

D. Where and whom hath God thus glorified?

A. Are the names of Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and such like, unknown-known to you?

D. I know them.

A. What do you think of them?

D. What do I think? - Why, they were men!

A. But holy men, whose faith and lives were agreeable to God; and on this account they are miraculously glorified from above.

D. Well, let us suppose so.

A. Now it is to them that the Church is indebted for all those offices and ceremonies, which you denominate idolatrous and vain; and the worship of images has been declared not to be sinful by the Council of the Holy Fathers; - how then will you make this agree with your views?

D. I know not. I only know, that hell will be filled with priests and deacons, and unjust judges. As for me, I will worship God as he instructs me.

A. But can you, without danger, depend upon yourself? Are you not afraid, that sometimes you may mistake your own opinions, and even foolish imaginations, for Divine inspirations?

D. How? - To prevent this, reason is given unto us. I know what is good, and what is bad.

A. A poor dependence! With the best reason, sometimes, good appears to be evil, and evil to be good.

D. I will pray to God: He will send His word: - and God never deceives.

A. True, God never deceives: but you deceive yourself, assuring yourself of that, on His part, which never took place.

D. God does not reject the prayers of believers.

A. Believers - true: those requests which are agreeable to the law of faith, Divine Wisdom will not reject: but "ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss." For this purpose hath He given us the Book of his divine word, that in it we may behold His will, and that our petitions may be directed according to it. But it is vain to expect in the present day miraculous and immediate inspirations, without sufficient cause, particularly such as are unworthy of Him: and to pretend to such inspirations and revelations, is very hurtful to society, and ought therefore to be checked.

D. But to me they appear to be very useful, salutary, and worthy of acceptance.

A. What? to break off from the society of your countrymen, though united with you by the same laws and the same articles of faith, and to introduce strange doctrines, and laws of your own making? - to begin to expound the doctrines of the Gospel without the aid of an enlightened education, disregarding the advice of such men as are most versed and experienced in those things; and out of your own head to found upon all this a separate society? Is it not also to rise up

against your country, when you refuse to serve it where the sanctity of an oath is required? Should not the simple command of the higher powers be sufficient to unite you with others to defend your country, your fellow-citizens, and your faith?

D.

A. Why do you make no answer to this?

D. There is nothing to say. I am not so loquacious as you; neither have I need of it.

A. But do you not see, at least, whither your blind zeal is leading you, and that you deserve to suffer much more than all that has yet befallen you? - We look for your repentance and amendment.

D. Do what you choose with us: we are happy to suffer for the faith: this is no new thing. Did you ever hear the old story?

A. Tell me, I pray you, what story?

D. "A certain man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a place for the winefat[sic], and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard. And they caught him, and beat him, and sent him away empty....And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others; beating some, and killing some. Having yet therefore one son, his well-beloved, he sent him also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son. But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours. And they took him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard. What shall therefore the Lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others:"Mark XII,1-9. Now I have done with you.

A. At least, answer me this: How can it be reconciled, that you reject the Holy Scriptures, and at the same time endeavour to support yourself upon them?

D. Argue as you will. I have spoken what was necessary, and shall not say another word.

PROTOCOL[Minutes]1928.

Source: Sukhorev 1944, pp. 210-215. Translation courtesy Lucy Kazakoff.

Protocol.

A Conference of delegates - representatives, to the number of 66 persons - from members of the "Named Doukhobors" of Canada, living in the province of Saskatchewan, held 27th. of June 1928 near the town of Kamsack on the farm of the Doukhobor Vasili Popoff, under the chairmanship of Michael P. Dyakoff, secretary - Ivan Z. Makhonin.

Discussion.Recommendations.

1. Motion of Chairman of the executive of the "Named Doukhobors" of the province of Saskatchewan, regarding election of officers for the conference.
2. Minutes of the present conference read by Ivan Z. Makhonin.

3. The first Question of the minutes; the Response of the members of the "Named Doukhobors" to Military Conscripti^on, in general permissiveness of the killing of man by man and all other violence.

1. Resolved, to accept the recommendation of Vasili Hancheroff and do the election of the executive of the meeting. The candidates for the present conference were nominated and accepted as following: 1. Chairman: Michael P. Dyakov; 2 Vice-chairman, Anton S. Popoff; 3. Secretary: Ivan Z. Makhonin.
2. Minutes of the conference, read by conference secretary Makhonin, were accepted without correction. [They] began to discuss each question in its entirety in the order as written. The minutes of the conference were to be attached to the present minutes of the conference.
3. Taking into consideration (1) World-view of the "Named Doukhobors", based on the teachings of Christ and the law of God the Father, revealed by Him; and also (2) Resolutions from local members of the "Named Doukhobors" read at the conference of the delegates - representatives the conference unanimously and categorically declares, that the members of the "Named Doukhobors" not only do not wish, but also do not want, to allow violence, and even more so, the killing of man by man under any musti-

-cation whatsoever. The Spirit of Christ, to which the members of the "Named Doukhobors" give service, is the spirit of love, of all-pardoning brotherhood of all peoples, peace and toil. The "Named Doukhobors" reaffirmed and again declared the principle: 'The good of the whole world is not worth the death of a single child.' Our God is a God of mercy, but not of sacrifice. A person, even though he calls himself a Doukhobor, one who allows himself violence and any kind of killing, cannot be a member of the "Named Doukhobors" and the word 'Doukhobor' in these people is lip-service [lit., sound of adornment] and hypocrisy. For no manslayer will inherit eternal life.

4. Second question of the minutes of the conference day: Marriage, divorce, and their consequences.

4. Marriage, in the world-view of the members of the "Named Doukhobors", must be eternal. That which God has joined, no person may separate. The basis for those who enter marriage is love. In the absence of the basis, there is not any marriage, nor are the members free. Those separating must give each other a peaceful declaration which gives each of them the right to enter into a new marriage according to their personal preference and wish. The questions of the security of the children of the marriage, and also of the material welfare of the waiting parties - are presented for the consideration and decision of the honorary elders - members of the "Named Doukhobors", and their judgement on these questions is final and

5. The third question of the minutes: the registration, in full or in part, giving the affiliation of the members of the "Named Doukhobors" of the province of Saskatchewan.

6. The fourth question of the minutes: Concerning Trials in general.

7. The fifth question of the minutes of the conference day: General Education, and, specifically, attendance at Canadian schools at all levels by children of the members of the "Named Doukhobors."

binding for both sides and must be carried out sacredly and unbroken.

5. To carry out a full registration, in forms, through the regional registrars, and through the executive, a copy of the registered family lists to be presented to the corresponding governing committee of the province [was resolved, as was:]. To forward to the Executive no later than July 30, 1928 [such lists].

To formulate full and complete by-family lists of the members of the "Named Doukhobors" living in the province in Saskatchewan.

6. In the case of misunderstandings, quarrels and insults, which may arise among the members of the "Named Doukhobors", such are laid before the executive for consideration and decision, but before that, for the consideration of the delegates - representatives at the conference. [?]. Crime and acts of criminal character may not be presented for consideration of the above-named executive committee of the "Named Doukhobors", for the simple reasons that every member committing a criminal offense loses his rights and will no longer be a member of the "Named Doukhobors" and is subject to the so-called government's justice.

7. Education is to be acknowledged to be not only desirable; but (taking into consideration the present historical times, when the world, guided by the present fallacious civilization, is heading for destruction) is

8. The sixth question of the minutes of the conference day: the report of the Executive Committee of the "Named Doukhobors" of the same belief.

9. The seventh question of the minutes of the conference day: the report and recommendations of Peter P. Chistiakov: to elect the one executive committee of the "Named Doukhobors" living in the province of Saskatchewan, regardless of the pattern and form of their economic material life-style.

also necessary - because upon the foundation of knowledge [must] the truth of the teaching of Christ and of His spirit be carried into the world: brotherhood, peace, and Godly love. The attendance at Canadian school of children of members of the society of the "Named Doukhobors" must be considered desirable and necessary; however, preaching to the children of Imperialism and all kinds of hatred towards people is intolerable.

8. The Report is accepted. The minutes of the conference of the 25th. of May, 1928, are to be acknowledged. The work of the executive Committee is to be acknowledged as satisfactory, and our thanks are to be expressed to the members of the executive committee.

9. The report and the recommendations of Peter P. Chistiakov are given consent and adopted, and on the basis 'regardless of the pattern and form of their economic material life-style' of the members of the society of "Named Doukhobors," the one executive committee of the "Named Doukhobors" who are living in the the province of Saskatchewan. The list of candidates for membership of the executive committee is to be accepted. The following persons were unanimously elected to membership of the executive committee:

1. Goncheroov, Vasili N.
2. Makhonin, Vasili Z.
3. Bonderev, Ivan G.
4. Makaev, Larion L.
5. Rebin, Ivan N.
6. Rilkov, Gregory Z.

10. The concluding word of the president of the conference, Michael P. Dyakov, concerning directives to the new executive committee of the "Named Doukhobors" of the province of Saskatchewan.

7. Kanigin, Gregory N.; and from among these were elected, as the praesidium, the following three persons:

1. President of the Committee:
Makhonin, Vasili Z.
2. Vice-President:
Makaev, Larion L.
3. Secretary:
Bonderev, Ivan G.

10. To recommend to the executive committee to make an immediate start on current work and the putting-into-practice and fulfillment all the recommendations of this conference.

The Delegates-Representatives.

President of the Conference,
Michael Petrovich Dyakov.

Secretary of the Conference.
Ivan Ivanovitch Makhonin.

DECLARATION - 1934.

Source: Official literature of the U.S.C.C.

Declaration
of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ
in Canada.

Proclaimed and accepted at the Second Convention by the authorized delegates of the Named Doukhobors, held at Verigin, Saskatchewan, Canada, from the 29th. of July to the 7th. of August 1934 A.D.

1. We, the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, have been, are, and will be members of Christ's Church, confirmed by the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself and assembled by His Apostles.
2. Members of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ essentially are of the law of God and of the faith of Jesus. The law of God is expounded in the Ten Commandments and the faith is professed thus: We believe in and profess - Jesus Christ the Son of God - Who came in the flesh and was crucified. He is our sole - Leader, Saviour and only Hope. There is none and could not be any other name under the heavens - through which man ought to be saved. We have faith and hope through His name to attain the highest blessings. There is no higher blessing than "eternal life in unutterable joy." This is the hope and reward in Christ Jesus and the principal aim of the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ. Following in the footsteps of our Divine Teacher, we, The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ proclaim as did He: we have come into this world not to transgress the law of God, but to fulfill it, and therefore all idolatry and desecration we strongly denounce and acknowledge only

the law and supreme authority of God. We, The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ, having acknowledged and submitted ourselves to the law and authority of God by this have liberated ourselves from the guardianship and power established by me, because: "we cannot serve two masters" and members of The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ cannot be slaves of men - having been redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ. Members of The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ are not slaves of corruption, but are Sons of the Free Spirit of Christ and declare: we ought to submit more to God than to man. We triumphantly declare that we do not allow any force whatever by man over man and even more so the allowance of killing of man or of men by a man or men under no circumstances, causes or arguments whatsoever. Every individual, group of individuals, parties or governments of men, and anyone whoever they may be proclaiming their struggle against war and its non-allowance but at the same time agreeing and allowing to kill even one individual for the sake of any interests whatsoever - is a lie and a hypocrisy and nothing but a "leaven of the Pharisees." The life of one individual is of equal value to the lives of many individuals. The commandment of God states: "Thou shalt not kill." Christ explains and warns: "No murderer shall inherit Eternal Life." War - mass slaughter is an item compiled. Where the killing of one individual is allowed there the allowance of mass murder is inevitably admitted - which is war.

3. The modern world - mankind, has scattered and divided itself into countless numbers of groups - following the watch-words and programmes

of the various political parties. Every political party struggles against each other not for the good and benefit of the people but for dominance over them - with all the consequences as a "diabolical incitement." Members of The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ have never recognized and do not recognize any political party. They have never entered nor will they ever enter into the ranks of any political party. They have never given nor will they ever give their votes during elections, thereby, are free from any responsibility before God or man for the acts of any government established of men. Members of The Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ essentially are above party politics - they not only gave their votes but their bodies, blood and souls to the One and Unreplaceable - Guardian of the hearts and souls of men - the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, thereby we have attained perfect freedom by egressing from the slavery of corruption into the freedom of glory of the children of God. We emphatically declare unto all:

KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL SET YOU FREE.

4. Members of The Union of Spiritual Communities fo Christ accepted and are fulfilling the command of Jesus Christ: "Render therefor unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's (meaning the governments of men); and unto God the things that are God's." Residing in whatever state or country in this world, we triumphantly declare: going under the banner of "Toil and Peaceful Life" - everything demanded of us which is not contradictory to the law of God and to the faith of Jesus, we will accept, fulfill and exe-

-cute, not through fear but by conscientious guidance.

Note: In the earliest texts of the declaration, the ratifying body was the Society of Named Doukhobors. In November 1938 (Woodcock & Avakumovic 1968, p. 307) the Union of Spiritual Communities of Christ was formed, supplanting the Society of Named Doukhobors and acquiring its policy without change.

CONSTITUTION - 1950.

Source: B.C. Provincial Archives. "Documents seized..." from the homes of Michael 'Archangel' Verigin and Joe Podovnikoff, Hilliers, B.C.(New Jerusalem community), during police raids, 1950. The present document is the instrument of the Svobodnik group led by John Lebidoff at that time, the Spiritual Community of Christ.

Constitution.

1. "Spiritual Community of Christ" with Leadership (by a Divine Right) to be designated by the Lord God Himself.
2. Spiritual Community of Christ, has been, is and will be a member of Christ's church, confirmed by the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself and assembled by His Apostles. Members of the "Spiritual Community of Christ" essentially are of the Law of God and the Faith of Jesus.
3. The object and purpose of the Spiritual Community of Christ is to attain the highest blessing promised by Jesus, namely "eternal life in unutterable joy." Spiritual Community of Christ proclaims as did our Divine Teacher, that we have come into this world, not to transgress the law of God, but to fulfill it, which conception justifies our present and future conduct. Spiritual Community of Christ cannot serve two masters.
4. Location of the operation of Spiritual Community of Christ is to be carried on wherever our Lords wills. We are His servants.
5. Due to the absence of the Divine Leadership an "Interim administration"(not elected) inspirationally appointed will be in charge of the affairs of the Spiritual Community of Christ, until proper leadership

appears on the scene. "Interm Administration" is to be wholly responsible only to Divine Leadership and cannot be removed or replaced by the people as members of the Community.

6. Interm Administration is composed of the following individuals

Chairman: John L. Lebidoff - and his wives:
 Secretary: Pozdnikoff, Florence Elie - Lebidoff.
 Lactin, Natasha William - Lebidoff.
 Chernenkoff, Molly Alex - Lebidoff.
 Pozdnikoff, Constantine Elie - Lebidoff.

7. Spiritual policy of the "Spiritual Community of Christ" is a re-affirmation of the original beliefs of our faith which are detailed herein under sub-indications of this paragraph seven.

- 7(a). Canadian methods of schools and education are considered detrimental to the cause of the Spiritual Community of Christ and are therefore rejected.
- 7(b). Statistical registration (recordings of birth, deaths and marriages) are considered as not essential and are rejected.
- 7(c). Service in armed or alternative forces are contrary to the faith and so are irrevocably rejected.
- 7(d). Proposed citizenship of any country and subjection to any flag is rejected.

8. Administrative policy of the affairs of the Spiritual Community of Christ are likewise detailed under sub-indications of this paragraph eight.

- 8(a). Accepted members of the Spiritual Community of Christ is to, as first step, transfer all his or her property, movable or real-estate, to the Interm Administration. It is required that he or she sign a deed in that respect.
- 8(b). Should a member decide to withdraw from the community at a later date, he or she cannot demand any share of it.
- 8(c). Interm Administration as identified in paragraph six is to have full authority in all the business affairs of the community, and will exercise borrowing powers invested in them, as the needs occasions of the community arises and will be the only Custodian

and user of the seal of the Spiritual Community of Christ. Audits of accounts, annual and special meetings are to be in care of the Intern Administration. Voting and majority rights are non-existing because experience has shown that too often the majority votes in favour of adverse situations as exemplified by all elections held by man in the world today. All male members between the ages of 18 and 60 must pay dues of twenty two dollars (\$22.00) yearly, Twelve dollars (\$12.00) for the chairman and ten dollars (\$10.00) to the treasury of the Spiritual Community of Christ. Intern Administration is to be compensated for its services from the funds of the treasury. All disabled, aged, orphaned and widowed are to be assisted by the treasury. Appointments and removal of directors (if any) compensation for their services is to be in the hands of the Intern Administration.

8(d). Personal conduct of each member of the Spiritual Community of Christ is to be in accordance with his or hers spiritual growth and will follow the original trend of "to whom much is given, of him much is expected." Petty everyday differences of members will be settled by own jurors elected for each occasion. Violation of any spiritual conception established by the Community will not be tolerated. Each case of misconduct will be reviewed by a body of 12 elected for the occasion.

8(e). It is expected that crime will be non-existent, but should there be a criminal occurrence, the Intern Administration will turn the perpetrators over to the authorities of the country. Paragraph 8-e is self explanatory - in detail it means that one cannot be a member of the Spiritual Community of Christ and a criminal at the same time. As near as possible, both the Intern Administration and rank and life file members must adhere to the conduct as was practiced in the time of Lukeria Vasilivna Lakmakova.

With the advent of a Divine Right Leadership this constitution can be changed or reconstructed at will.

Toil and Peaceful Life.

The welfare of the whole Universe is not worth the Sacrifice of one child.

"Sons of Freedom cannot be Slaves of Corruption."

Spiritual Community of Christ.

Dated - January 7th, 1950 A.D.

Signed Chairman(John L.Lebidoff)

Secretary (Mrs. Florence Elie
Lebidoff).

(Natasha William
Lebidoff).

(Polly Alex Lebidoff).

Helper for Sec. (Constantine E.
Lebidoff).

Note: Spellings, spacing, etc., as on original facsimile.

STATUTE - 1967,

Source: Official literature of the Doukhobor Society of Canada.

Statute
of The Doukhobor Society of Canada.

1. Foundation of Doukhobor creed, and rituals:

Considering the history and ideology of Doukhobors, the Assembly confirm: that the ideal manifests in the aspiration to acquire supreme blessings of brotherhood, equality and love according to the teaching of Jesus Christ, and by the following principles:

- (a). Acknowledge and love God in Spirit.
- (b). Love thy nearest as you wish to be loved.
- (c). Thou Shalt Not Kill.
- (d). Do not do unto others what you do not wish done unto you.
- (e). Vegetarianism, sobriety and abstaining from use of stupifying alcohol.
- (f). The rituals consist of simple, Christianlike customs of liturgy, weddings, funerals, dress, greetings and hospitality.

2. Aims and Rules of Unification.

The authorized delegates from various Doukhobor groups have resolved to establish the Doukhobor Society of Canada. The main aim of this society is the unification of all Doukhobors on the basis of Doukhobor principles. The Doukhobor Society of Canada is headed by Central Executive Committee.

All Doukhobors desiring unity and who respect Doukhobor ideals and principles, as expressed in this Statute, - may join and become members of this Society.

The existing groups and organizations may enter as units while re-

-taining their present affiliations in their organizations. In places where there are no organized units, it is recommended that members organize a unit, compile a membership list and elect two representatives. Those living in isolated or remote localities, may enter as single families or individuals, but it is desirable that single families and individuals join the nearest organized units wherever practicable.

Membership lists must be forwarded to the Central Executive Committee.

Expenses of the Society are paid out of membership dues, which are allocated by authorized delegates at the Assembly.

The rules of election of members of Central Executive Committee and terms of office are determined by the Assembly.

All problems are resolved by a majority vote.

Every adult member bears full moral responsibility for his personal conduct and observance of Doukhobor principles. Society as a whole does not accept any responsibility for such members.

3. Cultural and Educational Activity.

The Doukhobor Society of Canada considers increasing development of cultural and educational activities which are vital and necessary. Upon investigation and study of possibilities we will endeavor to increase education of Russian language through additional schools, publication of periodicals and such useful items which assist education and culture.

4. Spiritual Instruction.

Considering the spiritual foundation of Doukhobors, the Assembly binds parents to be living examples to their children in spiritual enlightenment and in basic Doukhobor principles. The Assembly recommends establishment of Sunday Schools for children, where Doukhobor history and creed shall be taught. For guidance a psalm: "Be Devout" is recommended. Text of the psalm is attached to this Statute.

5. Charity Within and Outside of Society:

All charity work is the responsibility of members in each locality. It is desirable to increase charity to the utmost. Collected sums should be forwarded to destination by local representatives or responsible persons in the locality. Reports of such activities must be sent to the Central Executive Committee for their record.

6. On Contact with Anti-Militaristic Organizations.

Striving to fulfill the Commandment "Thou Shalt Not Kill" and considering it our duty to do our utmost in preventing bloodshed - the Assembly finds it necessary to maintain contact with other pacifistic and anti-militaristic groups and organizations and to increase our struggle for disarmament and peace, according to the Doukhobor creed.

7. Admission of Persons of Various Nationalities into Society:

The Assembly welcomes encouragement of Doukhobor ideology by anyone. However, admittance of non-Doukhobors into Society does not depend entirely upon us. The subject of acceptance depends on the sincerity of the applicant and acknowledgement by the Government in regards to exemption

from military service.

8. Acknowledgement of Spiritual Leadership:

Considering the history of Doukhobors and their creed, we affirm, as our ancestors did, that we "Believe and Profess , Jesus Christ, Son of God, who came in flesh and was crucified. He is our only Leader, Savi-
-our, and Hope."

